

JOURNAL
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BIHAR AND ORISSA
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VOL. III]

[PART I.

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[PART I.

The Annual Presidential Address.

By His Honour Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

GENTLEMEN,

Our Society has now completed the second year of its existence and I think we may congratulate ourselves on the results which have been attained and the steady progress which has been made in various directions. The number of members has risen during the year from 237 to 319, which I think you will agree is good progress in a province like ours, where education is still backward and there are comparatively few persons capable of taking an intelligent interest in the subjects with which our Society deals. I hope that the year on which we are now entering will show a further large accession of members.

Our Journal has appeared regularly. We have had no dearth of contributions and the quality of the papers accepted for publication has been favourably noticed, here and in England, both in the Press and by well-known Anthropologists and Orientalists. At the last annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society the inauguration of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society received special mention, and a synopsis of the contents of our Journal

appears regularly in the organ of that Society. Several well-known European authorities including Professor Ridgeway, Dr. Rivers, Mr. Crooke, and Mr. S. C. Hill* have promised to contribute papers to our Journal, while Sir George Grierson and Mr. Vincent Smith have already done so. The March number of last year contained a discussion by Sir George Grierson of Principal Jackson's identification of the Magadha Pura of the *Mahābhārata* and the same gifted writer has just sent us an admirable account of the *Pārijāta Haraṇa* with the text and a metrical translation. In the September number Mr. Vincent Smith has entered into a controversy with Dr. Spooner on the subject of his identification of the temple depicted on the terra-cotta plaque found by him at Kumrāhār as the Bōdh Gayā shrine, and Dr. Spooner's rejoinder is printed in the same number. Discussions like this are of great value, as it is only by such means that the truth can finally be arrived at. For the same reason Dr. Spooner will no doubt welcome Mr. Jayaswal's criticism of his theory of the Persian origin of the Emperor Chandra Gupta and his minister, which will enable him, either to modify his theory, if he finds the weight of argument against him, or to strengthen it by answering the criticisms to which it has been exposed.

But this is a digression. The *Pārijāta Haraṇa*, to which I have just referred, is an old Maithili drama by Umāpati Upādhyāya who flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century; and it is one of a number of works written by learned men of Mithilā at a time when, in India generally, Sanskrit literature had suffered an eclipse, owing to the subversion of Hindu kingdoms by the Muhammadans. In this, as in other dramas of Mithilā, the male characters when speaking prose use Sanskrit, and the female, Saurasēnī Prākṛit, but all the songs are in the Maithilī dialect of the Bihārī language. The translation will bring home to those, including myself, who cannot read the original, the literary merits of this forgotten bard, while the

* Since this was written an exhaustive Memoir on Randfurlic Knox has been received from Mr. Hill, which is included in the present number of the Journal.

admirable rhythm and diction of the metrical parts make one regret that the writer has not previously exercised his talents in this direction. It is to be hoped that Sir George Grierson's valuable paper will cause others to study this interesting mediæval literature and to follow his example in rescuing from oblivion similar writings of bygone days. I might mention, as a special stimulus to the junior members of my own service, that Sir George obtained his first copy of this drama when he was Subdivisional Officer of Madhubāni.

Two other excellent literary papers which have appeared during the year in our Journal are those by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasād Śāstri on the age of the great poet Kālidāsa and on the chronology and character of his works. After a careful study of all the evidence available, the Pandit has come to the conclusion that Kālidāsa flourished in the latter part of the fifth and the early part of the sixth century A.D. His conclusions have been called into question by Mr. B. C. Mazumdār. The grounds of that gentleman's criticism and the Pandit's reply thereto will be found in the September number of our Journal.

In the domain of Archæology the most valuable contribution is that by Dr. Spooner on temple types in Tirhut. It was published in our June number and is enriched by many most interesting illustrations. This paper was read before a large and appreciative audience in the hall of the Patnā College last February, and I hope that the reception accorded to it will encourage the learned Doctor to favour us with another paper at no distant date.

The March number of the Journal contains a paper by our versatile Secretary, Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, on the prehistoric stone implements found in the Ranchi district. As is well known, such implements are found throughout the hilly portion of our province. A description has already been given by the Rev. P. O. Bodding of a number of stone implements found by him in the Santāl Parganās.* Babu

* J. A. S. B. lxxx., Pt. III, No. 1, and lxxxiii., Pt. III, No. 2. The subject has also been dealt with by Mr. W. H. P. Driver and others.

Sarat Chandra Roy has collected nearly a hundred celts in the Rānchi district in the course of about eighteen months, and these have been presented by him to the Provincial Museum, together with a few from Mānbhum sent to him by the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Campbell. A small collection from the Santāl Parganās made by Rev. Mr. Bodding for the Hon. Mr. Walsh has also been presented by the latter gentleman to the Museum. Efforts will be made to secure a representative collection of these implements from all the tracts where they are to be found; and when this has been done, material will be available for a critical discussion of the relics of the Stone Age in Bihār and Orissā. Sarat Babu opines that the celts found in Rānchi are of a more archaic type than those of the Santāl Parganās and Mānbhum, but it is impossible to draw definite conclusions until many more specimens have been examined than are at present available. Personally I should be inclined to doubt if there could have been any marked cultural difference between the people who lived in Rānchi during the Stone Age and those who lived in the adjoining districts.

It is curious that in Chōtā Nāgpur, as in so many other parts of the world where these celts are found, the people call them thunderbolts and believe that they have fallen from the sky. They also attribute to them curative properties, and regard the water in which a celt has been washed, or containing scrapings from it, as a specific in various diseases.* The precise diseases for which they are thought to be a cure vary from place to place. In Rānchi the treatment is believed to be efficacious for rheumatism, lung affections and certain fevers, while here and elsewhere it is resorted to in cases of difficult childbirth. In Darjeeling the possession of a "thunderbolt" is regarded as such an essential part of the medicine man's equipment, that

* Dr. Campbell tells me that in Mānbhum the prehistoric beads of rock crystal which are found in various parts of Chōtā Nāgpur are also believed to possess curative properties, and that water in which such a bead has been washed is regarded as an infallible cure for dysentery.

their manufacture for this purpose is surreptitiously carried on; and stones shaped as celts are often produced which are made of such soft material that it seems certain they could never have been intended for use as implements.

Sarat Babu has found stone implements associated with remains of the Copper Age to such an extent that he concludes that their regular use "continued well on into the Copper Age and even into the Iron Age". This is not at all impossible, but it must be remembered that the ceremonial use of articles often continues long after it has been discontinued in ordinary life. The Indian midwife still severs the umbilical cord with a piece of sharp bamboo, or with a shell, rather than a knife; the mirror given to a Hindu bride is of burnished brass or copper; and the fire for certain religious ceremonies is kindled by friction and not by means of a match. In the same way the custom of burying stone celts with a corpse may have survived long after they had ceased to be in daily use as implements.

The subject of Epigraphy is represented by no less than seven papers on thirteen copper-plates, all but one of which bear record of grants of land made by Orissā Chieftains. In the March number Mr. B. C. Mazumdār describes a copper-plate land grant which was recently dug up by a cultivator about 14 miles north-east of the capital of the Feudatory State of Sōnpur. The inscription is written on three plates, measuring roughly 8" by 4" and strung together on a ring, the ends of which are secured by a lump of copper bearing, as the seal of the grantor, the figure of a goddess seated on a lotus and flanked by elephants with up-lifted trunks. The king making the grant was Mahāśiva Gupta, Yayāti, and his capital was at Sōnpur. The inscription is not dated, but Dr. Fleet attributes the Trikalīṅga Guptas, of whom this king is one, to the eleventh century A. D.

In the June number Mr. Mazumdār describes another set of three copper-plates which were dug up at Binkā in the Sōnpur State about fifteen years ago. The inscription on these plates records a grant of land by Raṇabhañja Deva, "Chief of Band" and son of Śatrubhañja Deva, of whom a similar charter has

already been published.* The seal bears the figure of a bull. Mr. Mazumdār thinks that the grantor ruled about the end of the twelfth century.

A third land grant (dealt with by the same gentleman in the September number) obtained from a Khoṇḍ cultivator of the Band State, is also recorded on three plates, and its date is assigned tentatively to 1475 A.D. The donor, Kanakabhañja, is also called the ruler of Band, but Mr. Mazumdār thinks that he was not related to Raṇabhañja, the donor of the grant just mentioned, for the following reasons. Kanakabhañja is described as a member of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, whereas Raṇabhañja, like the Bhañjas of Māyurbhañj, claimed descent from Virabhadra, who was hatched out of the egg of a pea-hen; from the account given of Kanaka's lineage, it would seem that the family was founded by his grandfather Solnabhañja; lastly, the emblem on his seal is not a bull but a lotus. However that may be, both families are long since extinct, and the present rulers of Māyurbhañj and Band have no connection with them.

Finally, in the December number, Mr. Mazumdār describes a fourth charter (also recorded on three copper-plates) which, like the others, was sent to him by the Mahārājā of Sōnpur. It was dug up in that State in the village of Kumurukelā which is one of the two villages forming the subject-matter of the grant. The donor was Rājā Śatrubhañja, a descendant of Raṇabhañja mentioned above, and apparently a feudatory of the Kimidi Bhañjas. Mr. Mazumdār places him in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasād Śāstri has given an account in the December issue of seven copper-plates which were sent me by the Feudatory Chief of Dhenkanāl. All of these are single plates inscribed on both sides. Four of them were dug up on the banks of the Brāhmaṇī river. The other three had become objects of worship in a local temple.

* Ep. Ind. XI. 98. Two other grants by Raṇabhañja Deva have been published by Mr. R. D. Banerji in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 321—328. A third by the same ruler remains to be deciphered.

One of these plates bears testimony to a land grant by a Chief named Kulastambha, of whom two other similar records are already known ; another by his son, Ranastambha ; and three more by the latter's son, Jayastambha. From one of Jayastambha's plates it appears that he had a son named Nidayastambha, and from another that Kulastambha's father was named Kāñchanastambha. Thus these plates give us a list of five rulers in a direct line ; they belonged to the Sulki family, and appear from the palæography of their grants to have lived in the tenth century. The place where they ruled is as yet uncertain.

The sixth plate is interesting as recording a grant by a female ruler named Tribhubana Mahādevī, daughter of Rājā Malladeva, who ruled some time after the extinction of the Keśari Dynasty. The land to which the grant relates was in the neighbourhood of Bhubanésvar in the Puri district.

The last of these Dhenkanāl copper-plates records a grant by Jayasimha Deva, who is styled "Overlord of the Goṇḍs" ; it is probably not much more than a century old.

Another Orissā copper-plate, of about the same age as the one last mentioned, recording a grant by Rāma Chandra Deva, Rājā of Nāṇḍapura, is in the possession of a Pārsi gentleman of Broach and has been deciphered by Rai Bahādur Man Mōhan Chakravarti. The language and character are Oṛiyā. The chief interest of this and the plate last mentioned lies in the evidence they afford that the system of recording land grants on copper-plates survived in Orissā up to the time of the British conquest. These charters, taken together, furnish a considerable amount of new information regarding the former rulers of Orissā, while the success which has already attended our search for these ancient records affords ground for hoping that many more will in time be brought to light. We have in fact already got another copper-plate which was kindly sent us by one of our Madras members, Sri Lakshmi Nārāyan Deb Yuvarāj Sahib of Tekkali in the Ganjam district. An account of this will appear in the June number of the Journal.

The only copper-plate from Bihār of which we have hitherto obtained an account is one of king Govinda Chandra of Kanauj; it bears a date equivalent to 1126 A.D. and conveys a grant of land in the neighbourhood of Maner in the Patnā district.* Five rulers of Kanauj in the direct line are mentioned, viz., Yasovigraha, Mahichandra, Chandradeva, Madanapala, and Govinda Chandra. The inscription has been deciphered by Professor Rāmavatāra Śarmā from a transcript and photograph lent to him for the purpose by Professor Jadunāth Sarkār.

In the domain of history the most valuable contribution is Professor Jadunāth Sarkār's paper, in the June and September numbers of the Journal, on the History of Orissā in the seventeenth century reconstructed from Persian sources. This paper contains a complete list of the Moghal Subādārs of Orissā from 1628 to 1725 A.D. and gives a great deal of new information regarding their proceedings. Owing to changes in the area under Imperial rule and other causes there were extraordinary variations in the estimated revenue of Moghal Orissā at different periods. The amounts range from about 31 lakhs in 1594 A.D. to 101 lakhs in 1695. Ten years after the latter date, however, the revenue was again returned at less than 36 lakhs. It must be remembered that these figures refer only to the assessment, and that the actual collections were always considerably less.

Mahamahopādhyāya Pandit Gangānāth Jhā has written an interesting dissertation in our June number on house-building and sanitation in ancient India; and Mr. Jayaswāl in our March number has furnished some useful notes regarding the Empire of Bindusāra.

In the field of Ethnography we have a number of interesting papers on the aboriginal tribes of Chōtā Nāgpur and adjoining areas. The traditions and legends of the Santāls form the subject of two papers by the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Campbell, who has also written regarding their marriage customs and their death and cremation ceremonies. The Rev. Mr. Boddington discusses

* Several copper-plate land grants by this ruler have already been published, the first, so far as I am aware, being those described by the late Rājā Rājendralāla Mitra, J.A.S.B. xlii, 314.

the position of women in the same tribe. Some Munḍā legends are given by Babu Sarat Chandra Roy in the June number, and a further instalment of Hō folklore by Babu Sukumar Haldār in the September number. In connection with these folktales I should like to emphasize the importance of having them narrated in the tribal language, and of noting, when this is done, whether the characters are made to speak only in that language, or whether they use also Hindi or Bengali words. This will furnish a clue to the origin of the tales, which in the latter case are probably borrowed from outside sources.

Babu Hari Nāth Ghosh has written regarding the Bhumij of Chōtā Nāgpur and Babu Sarat Chandra Roy has given us two instructive papers on the Bīrhōrs, one of the wildest of the jungle tribes of Chōtā Nāgpur, the larger portion of whom are still leading a nomadic existence and earning a precarious living from hunting, making rope of the bark of creepers, and gathering honey and beeswax. It is not many years since the existence in India of the primitive institution known as totemism was denied, but we now know that most of the aboriginal tribes are divided into exogamous groups on a totemistic basis. In many cases the beliefs and taboos connected with this institution have fallen into disuse or been forgotten, but amongst the primitive Bīrhōrs the taboos still survive; and although there is no sign of any belief in the descent of men from the animals, birds, fish or plants which constitute their totems, there is a general idea that they have some sort of connection with them, either in temperament or personal appearance. Each Bīrhōr clan claims to have been first located in some particular hill; and once a year, when the men of the clan worship the presiding spirit of that hill, they associate with themselves some portion of their totem, such as a piece of its skin, or its horn.

I am told that some of our members think that anthropology occupies too prominent a place in our Journal. To my mind the subject is one of engrossing interest, but I am far from wishing to see it favoured at the expense of the other subjects with which the Bihār and Orissā Research Society deals. The sole reason for

the apparent predominance of anthropology is that we have been specially successful in obtaining contributions relating to that subject. We are doing our utmost to induce competent authorities on other subjects to send us papers, and I have no doubt that in time these efforts will bear fruit. When they do, the amount of space devoted to anthropology will become relatively less. In any case, the supply of material for this section of our activities is not likely to be maintained at the present rate for any great length of time, as the material in sight is gradually being used up.

In this connection I would venture to point out how greatly we have hitherto been dependent on our Bengali members for contributions. Mr. Jayaswāl has been a frequent contributor, but the only other Bihārī members who have given us papers are Dr. Gangānāth Jhā, Pandit Rāmavatār Śarmā and Saiyid Wāsi Ahmad Bilgrāmi. I am glad to think, however, that there are signs of an improvement in this direction in the near future, as we have recently received promises of contributions from several Bihārī gentlemen, including one on four well-known Pīrs of Bihār by Nawāb Saiyid Imdād Imām and another on Dāud Khān by Maulvi Saiyid Zamir-ud-din. I hope also that we may be able to induce some of the great nobles of Bihār to have their records examined with a view to the compilation of a full account of their family history, with such particulars regarding the social and political conditions of former times as it is possible to glean from the ancient documents in their possession. The Hon'ble Mahārāja Bahādur of Darbhanga has already promised to see what he can do in this direction.

Turning to our other activities, the first thing I should like to mention is that we have obtained through the Local Government the permission of the Secretary of State to print some of Buchanan Hamilton's Journals, and it will perhaps not be out of place if I describe briefly what these interesting documents are.

In 1807 a survey of the territories forming the Presidency of Fort William was ordered by the Court of Directors. The surveyor was to "collect information upon the general topo-

graphy of each district; the condition of the inhabitants, their religious customs, the natural productions of the country, fisheries, forests, mines and quarries; the state of agriculture; the condition of landed property and tenures; the progress made in the arts and in manufactures; the operations of commerce, and every particular that can be regarded, as forming an element in the prosperity or depression of the people."

The officer selected for this duty was Dr. Francis Buchanan, a Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment of the East India Company, whose name was subsequently altered for family reasons to Hamilton. He had previously conducted similar surveys in Burma, Chittagong, Mysore and Nepal, and he brought to bear on his latest task a mind that was marvellously equipped for the task. His observations present a clear and comprehensive picture of life in the districts visited by him more than a century ago, when practically untouched by western influences. The survey was prosecuted with vigour for seven years and was not abandoned till over four lakhs of rupees had been spent on it. Buchanan-Hamilton's Reports and Journals were transmitted to the Court of Directors in 1816, but for some unexplained reason they received very little attention till 1838, when Mr. Montgomery Martin was permitted to inspect the Reports and collate them for publication.

Martin's selections were published under the title:—"The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India" (3 volumes, 1838). Some of you are doubtless acquainted with this work, and know what a valuable storehouse of information it forms for the districts covered by the survey. But, valuable as it is, this compilation does anything but full justice to the real author, for Martin far outstripped the functions of an editor, and took liberties which have detracted considerably from Buchanan-Hamilton's reputation as an investigator. He also left out whole passages relating to matters which did not interest him, such as the author's account of the Pāñch Pāhārī at Patnā and his notes on numerous temples and inscriptions. In 1908, Mr. H. McPherson found that Martin

had omitted from the Bhāgalpur Report not only many interesting histories of old estates, but also accounts of the Santāls and other primitive tribes. This was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for India, and under his orders the Reports are now being examined with a view to the publication of the ethnographic material which they contain.

Meanwhile Professor Jackson has been devoting his attention to the Journals, which record with wonderful clearness the daily observations made by Buchanan-Hamilton in the course of his survey. There are four Journals which relate to Bihār and Orissā :—

- (1) Bihār and Patnā (including Gaya).
- (2) Bhāgalpur (including Monghyr and the Santāl Parganās).
- (3) Shāhābād.
- (4) Purneā.*

Professor Jackson is now editing the first of these volumes, and it is hoped that he will be able to publish it under the auspices of our Society in the course of the current year. The Local Government have made a grant towards the cost of this work.

I gave an account last year of the very gratifying results which had already attended our search for relics of the Copper Age, celts of that metal having been discovered in every district of Chōtā Nāgpur. Two interesting finds have since been made, one in the Māyurbhañj State and the other in Palāmanu. The former of these finds, which was described in the September number of the Journal, is of special interest, not only because it has added another locality to the list of those where remains of the Copper Age were already known to exist, but also because of the peculiar nature of the implements in question. Five of the ten specimens found have been presented to our Museum and are on the table before me. One of them is more or less of the ordinary type, but the other four appear to be battle-axes, or possibly representations of such weapons for ceremonial use. They are of very

* The Purneā volume is at present untraced.

unusual thinness and appear to have been beaten out of a much thicker casting, and then cut to shape. In the case of the majority of the copper implements hitherto discovered the subsequent working seems to have been confined to the beating necessary to form an edge, while the side which was exposed to the air when the molten metal was poured into the mould, which in the case of copper is necessarily an open one, is usually very uneven and bubble-blown.* There are, however, exceptions, especially amongst Dr. Campbell's specimens from Manbhum; some of these show signs of a good deal of hammering, while two of them are evidently castings, exactly as taken from the mould, which were destined for similar treatment, but had not yet undergone it, when some prehistoric foray or other accident caused them to be abandoned and to lie forgotten for centuries.

The Palāmau find also is of special interest. It was brought to our notice by the Rev. Father Ernes, who is a member of our Society, and but for whose timely intervention it would probably never have been heard of. In all 23 pieces were dug up from the bank of a small stream. Of these six are axes of the ordinary type, but 17 are bar celts such as have only once before been found in India, namely, in the Balāghāt district of the Central Provinces. I have brought for your inspection several of these bars. The purpose to which they were put is uncertain. Possibly they served as weapons, in which case they must have been hafted by being passed through a wooden handle and secured by a ligature, but it seems to me more likely that they were used as pickaxes, or as ploughshares. The latter suggestion was made by Dr. Campbell who tells me that they are almost identical in shape with the iron ploughshares now in use in the north of the Manbhum district. Dr. Campbell has kindly sent me one of the latter. The general resemblance in shape is undoubted, but there is one notable point of difference; the iron ploughshare is flat on both sides, while the sides of the copper implements are curved, one side being convex and the other concave. Like all the

* Several of the implements have a small hollow on the side next the mould. Dr. Caldwell thinks that these hollows were formed by steam escaping from an imperfectly dried mould when the molten metal was poured in,

other prehistoric metal implements hitherto discovered, these celts are of almost pure copper, the only foreign bodies being very small fortuitous quantities of iron, nickel, sulphur, lead or zinc.

Endeavours have recently been made to find some of the crucibles in which the copper for these implements was melted and the moulds in which they were cast, but hitherto without success. It is not unlikely that the utensils in question were made of earthenware, in which case the hope of finding any of them at this distant date is very slender.

It is a curious circumstance that, while in the greater part of Europe most of these ancient implements were made of bronze, and comparatively few of pure copper, India apparently possessed no Bronze Age. The rarity of copper implements in Europe is explained by the transition from the Stone Age to that of Bronze having been due, not to the peaceful advance of civilization, but to the irruption from the south-east of an Aryan race who had already not only learnt the use of copper, but had also discovered that the admixture of a small proportion of tin made the metal much harder and better fitted for cutting-tools and weapons. The absence of bronze implements in India may be due either to the rarity of tin, though deposits of that ore are known to exist in the Hāzārībāgh district, or to the people of the copper culture having been displaced before they had progressed to the stage of making bronze, or finally to the discovery of the use of iron at a relatively early period. In the ordinary course of events, one would naturally expect a metal which can at once be reduced from its ores to be discovered and brought into use before a composite metal like bronze. In this connection, Dr. Caldwell tells me that in ancient times, apparently before tin was discovered, the Indians used to harden copper with an alloy of iron. Thus an old copper coin was found on analysis to contain about 5 per cent of iron, and an image of Buddha, supposed to be more than 2000 years old, about 7·6 per cent.

My statement that bronze implements have not been found in Chōtā Nāgpur refers only to articles made in prehistoric times.

Some articles, both of bronze and of copper, belonging to a later period, have been found at Pokhuria in Mānbhum and Baheā in Rānchi and presented to the Museum by Dr. Campbell and Babu S. C. Roy respectively. These articles are on the table before me. They include bells, bangles, plates and other vessels, a figure of an ox on a pedestal, and these two pieces of bronze bent at both ends, which Dr. Caldwell suggests, were used with other similar pieces as a musical instrument, like the modern harmonica. Dr. Caldwell who has mounted them roughly to illustrate how he thinks they were used, finds that they contain 19·37 per cent. of tin, or about the same proportion as modern Indian gongs.

The search for Sanskrit manuscripts is now engaging the serious attention of our Council. In the issue of our Journal for September 1915 Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasād Śāstri, who has had unique experience of this work and has done more than any one else to trace out and secure for preservation these valuable records of the past, gave an account of what has been done in this direction, and pointed out that, in spite of the large collections already made, much still remains to be done. He estimated that in the Puri district alone there are at least 200,000 manuscripts written on palm leaves. Enquiries recently made on the spot at my instance by the Commissioner of Orissā have confirmed this estimate, and it is gratifying to learn from him that the local pandits and mahants are willing to co-operate with us wholeheartedly in our efforts to examine and catalogue them. Our Council have arranged to employ on this work Pandit Bisvanāth Rath Kabyatirtha, who is exceptionally well qualified to undertake it, and whose services have kindly been lent to us by the Hon'ble Mr. Jennings.

It is known that there are also large collections of manuscripts in Tirhūt, both in the libraries of the great nobles of that part of the province and also in the possession of Maithil pandits, many of whom are now in very poor circumstances. We propose to extend our search to this area as soon as we can find a suitable person to undertake the work. Pandit Hara Prasād

Śhāstri has kindly undertaken to supervise the work both here and in Orissā. We are already greatly indebted to this learned gentleman for much valuable assistance and advice, and I am glad to take this opportunity to tender him our grateful thanks.

We are asking Government to help us to defray the cost of these enquiries, in the same way as the Government of Bengal have helped the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Any expenditure which we shall have to incur ourselves will be met from a donation of Rs. 5,000 which we have received from Rājā Kamaleśvari Prasād Singh of Monghyr. The Council have already acknowledged this fresh instance of Rājā Kamaleśvari Prasād's well-known generosity and public spirit, but his gift is such a munificent one that I think you will agree with me that we should pass a special vote of thanks to him at this meeting.

I now come to the question of the Provincial Museum. Mr. Munnings, the Government Architect, has prepared a plan for a building which would suffice, for many years to come, to serve the requirements both of a museum and of a public library. There are many obvious advantages in the location of the two institutions in a single building, though sooner or later the process of development would, it is hoped, lead one or the other to seek a new home. The site suggested by the Government Architect adjoins the Hardinge Park, and there are good reasons for this choice so far as the museum is concerned. It is near the railway station, and is thus readily convenient for visitors from other parts of the province, while it would not be too far from the site selected for the University. I understand, however, that the promoters of the scheme for a public library think that its permanent home should be in a place more easily accessible to pedestrians living in the town. In a matter of this kind their wishes must prevail, and in that case some other site must be sought for the library. No immediate decision is necessary, as during this period of financial stringency Government are not in a position to find funds for the construction of the museum or as a contribution towards the cost of the library. Fortunately temporary accommodation is available for both purposes. The

library can be housed for the next two or three years in a part of the new Secretariat, while the articles collected for the museum and the records of the Research Society can be kept in the rooms built for lawyers' chambers in the High Court which are not needed at present for that purpose. One or two of the rooms might also be fitted up as a library, in which to keep the books which Government have purchased for the Society, as well as Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's valuable library which he has so generously promised to present to our Society.

Having secured a temporary home for the articles to be shown in the Museum, the collection of exhibits will now be pushed on vigorously. A curator will be appointed whose duty it will be to arrange, number and catalogue all exhibits received, and also to travel about the province collecting suitable articles of interest of which large numbers are already known to exist. In this matter Dr. Spooner's assistance and advice will be of the greatest value. Dr. Spooner tells me he has already got from Basārh a very valuable collection of seals of Gupta times and some terra-cotta figurines, and also a large collection of pottery. These articles will be placed in the museum as soon as we have appointed our curator. We have already got two inscribed cannons from Assam which have been presented by Babu Saurindra Mohan Sinha of Bhāgalpur, and some sculptures and other ancient carvings are beginning to come in. Amongst other things we have got one of those curious Sambalpur "boundary stones" mentioned by Mr. Mazumdār in his account of Kanakabhañja's copper-plate.* These stones bear the figure of a donkey and a sow, and are clearly intended to express the same idea as the imprecatory verse found in many Orissā copper-plates, in which any person dispossessing a Brāhman of land gifted to him is condemned in his next life on earth to be begotten of a donkey or a sow. The sun and moon depicted above the donkey and the sow and the cow below those animals appear to be cited as witnesses of the transaction. There is a tradition that this particular stone was originally used to indicate an old boundary

* J. B. O. R. S., September 1916, p. 358.

line between the Sambalpur and Sarguja States which was fixed by a treaty on the conclusion of hostilities between the two rājās. Mr. Walsh tells me that he has recently found a similar stone in the Mānbhum district.

Mr. Cobden-Iiamsay has presented to the Museum an excellent collection of articles of ethnographic interest in Orissā and Babu Sarat Chandra Roy is making a similar collection in Chōtā Nāgpur. I am handing over my own small collection of articles from various places including Tibet, Baluchistan and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Chief of Sōnpur has generously presented to the museum the copper-plates to which reference has already been made. Four plates found in the Baud State will also be placed in our museum.*

The Provincial Coin Cabinet is still in its infancy. The number of coins received during this year was 280, but this did not include the contents of several finds which had not been distributed before the close of the year. I take this opportunity to say that we shall be grateful for any gifts of private collections similar to that made by the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham which I mentioned in my address last year.

In conclusion, I should like to remind you of the remarks I made last year on the subject of miscellaneous contributions to the Journal. As I then said, although many members may lack the leisure or the special knowledge requisite for lengthy papers on the subjects with which the Society deals, there are few who will not at one time or another come into possession of interesting items of information which are deserving of permanent record, though too brief to form the subject of regular papers. A section is provided at the end of each number of our Journal for short notes of this kind, but the issue which we have hitherto received has been disappointingly small. I gave some instances last year of things which might thus be recorded, but the list was far from exhaustive, and the illustrations could

* Three of these bear record of grants by Ranabhaṅga Dera (see footnote on page 6 *ante*), and the fourth by a king named Somesvara, ruler of the Kosala country about the eleventh century A.D.

be multiplied indefinitely. Many facts of the kind referred to are constantly coming to notice in the ordinary course of one's daily work. For instance, a Judge may have before him a case of murder due to a belief in witchcraft, or a desire to obtain blood for some magic rite ; or he may learn of some peculiar cult, caste custom, or rule of inheritance ; or an ancient document may be tendered as evidence. It is very desirable that these and similar matters should be rescued from oblivion, and we shall be very grateful if, in future, all our members will make a point of sending us notes regarding them whenever they are in a position to do so. If this is done systematically, the "Miscellaneous" section of our Journal will eventually become a valuable storehouse of information which cannot fail to be of great use to subsequent enquirers.



LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Pārijāta-Harāṇa of Umāpati Upādhyāya.

Edited and Translated by Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E.,
Honorary Member, Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

In the year 1879, when I was Subdivisional Officer of Madhubani, I made a small collection of plays by Maithili authors, including a modern copy (henceforth referred to as 'B') of Umāpati's Pārijāta-Harāṇa. I was shortly afterwards transferred to another post, and before my departure I made over the manuscripts to Babu Śrīnārāyaṇa Śimha, of Jōgiārā, who for a long time had been giving me most efficient help in the study of Maithili and who undertook to fair out the texts of the plays for the press. A crowd of other duties drove this from my mind, and it was not till a year or two ago that I again came into touch with my old friend. He reminded me of the task he had undertaken nearly thirty-five years previously and returned to me the manuscripts, with a Hindī paraphrase of each, and an English translation of the latter. When Sir Edward Gait invited me to contribute a paper to the Journal of the Bihār and Orissā Research Society, I thought that I could not do better than to recall my long connexion with Bihār by editing and translating one of these. The result is the present paper.

In preparing my single manuscript of the Pārijāta-Harāṇa for the press, I found that some passages were hopelessly corrupt, and had it not been for the cordial help of His Highness the Mahārāja Bahādur of Darbhāṅgā, these pages could never have seen the light. With great kindness he instituted a search for other texts and obtained on loan for me two more copies of the play. One of these was a very old manuscript in the Maithili character (henceforth referred to as 'A') which in appearance dated from about the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Of this,

one leaf was missing, and the rest was much worn and stained by water, and in parts illegible; but, on the whole, it formed a most valuable check on manuscript B, and I have adopted it, and not B, as the basis of my edition. The other copy was a printed edition of the play (referred to as 'P'), issued by the Mithila Publishing Company (Darbhāṅgā) in the year 1893. I understand that this edition is now out of print and that copies are unobtainable. These three texts agree very closely. Except for evident scribal errors there are very few divergent readings. A comparison of B and P showed that these two could certainly be referred to a common source, B having been copied and P having been printed from either the same manuscript or from two manuscripts that were both copies of the same. A, on the other hand, is independent, and, in the case of the few variant readings, almost always more trustworthy. In all three the portions in Sanskrit and in Maithili have been excellently preserved and required few corrections; but, as usual in this class of manuscript, the Prakrit is extremely incorrect. I have throughout endeavoured to bring the spelling of the Prakrit into line with rules laid down in the ninth chapter of Mārkaṇḍeya Kaviśvara's Prakṛta-sarvasva; but, wherever I have altered the spelling of the texts, I have taken care to give the original spelling in the critical footnotes. One or two Prakrit passages were so corrupt that it has only been possible to give conjectural restorations.

While the text has been edited for Sanskrit scholars, in preparing the translation I have had in view readers who are not familiar with that language. I have therefore explained many proper names that are familiar to all Indian students, and, in translating the verses, have deliberately, and freely, expanded the sense of the original. Umāpati's songs teem with allusions, each of which suggests a definite picture to an Indian mind, but which, without a commentary, would be unintelligible to a person whose mind was not soaked in oriental ideas. I have therefore, in translating, endeavoured so far as was prudent to present not only the allusions, but also the associated pictures.

This procedure seemed preferable to encumbering the pages with heavy explanatory footnotes. For similar reasons, in the translation, I have avoided a strict transliteration of proper names, but have given them their customary English forms. Thus, in the translation, and only in the translation, I write 'Krishna', not 'Kṛṣṇa', Rukminī and not 'Rukmiṇī.' Moreover, in Maithili a final short vowel is quite commonly omitted in ordinary speech. Thus they say both 'Harihara' and 'Harihar', 'Hindūpati' and 'Hindūpat.' In translating the poetical passages I have freely employed this license as the metre required. Elsewhere I have followed the usual system of transliteration of Indian words.

The subject of the play is familiar to students of Indian literature. The story is told in chapters 124-125 of the Harivaṁśa, and somewhat different versions are given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (V, 30, 31) and in the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' (X, 59). Umāpati follows the Harivaṁśa account^[1], which is briefly as follows:—Kṛṣṇa, the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, and king of Dwārakā, has two chief wives, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā, of whom Rukmiṇī is the senior and the mother of the heir-apparent, Pradyumna, while Satyabhāmā is the favourite. In Indra's paradise there is a wonderful tree, granting all desires, and called the Pārijāta. Nārada, the minstrel and messenger of the gods, pays a visit to Kṛṣṇa at Dwārakā, and finds him in company with Rukmiṇī. He presents him with a flower from this tree, which Kṛṣṇa passes on to Rukmiṇī. Satyabhāmā, happening to see this, is filled with jealousy, and refuses to make peace with Kṛṣṇa unless he brings to her, not merely a single flower, but the entire Pārijāta-tree. Kṛṣṇa asks Indra for it, but his request is refused. Kṛṣṇa then attacks Indra, and carrying off the Pārijāta-tree presents it to Satyabhāmā, who plants it in her courtyard. Nārada instructs her and her friend Subhadrā that a gift given to a Brāhmaṇa under the shadow of

[1] He departs from it in one particular. Kṛṣṇa's assistant in the fight with Indra was, according to him, not his son, Pradyumna, but his friend Arjuna Dhananjaya.

the tree bears undying fruit in this world and in the next; but the gift must be that which is most dear to her. Nārada being a Brāhmaṇa, Satyabhāmā gives to him Kṛṣṇa as her dearest possession. Similarly, Subhadrā gives him her husband, Arjuna. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna thus become Nārada's slaves, and he puts them up for sale. Satyabhāmā and Subhadrā buy their husbands back, the price in each case being a cow, and the play ends with the general joy of all concerned.

The full title of the play is the *Pārijāta-haraṇa-nāṭaka*, or 'the *nāṭaka* describing the rape of the Pārijāta.' A *nāṭaka* is a heroic comedy in not less than five acts, and this name is therefore not strictly applicable to the present work, which is in only one act. Properly speaking, it should be classed as a *nāṭikā*, or heroic comedy of less than five acts, but all the Mithilā plays that I have seen are called '*nāṭaka*,' although none of them is of more than one act. The form of the comedy differs in one respect from an ordinary Sanskrit play, and in this it agrees with other dramas composed in Mithilā. In the Sanskrit drama the languages employed are Sanskrit for the superior male characters and various dialects of Prākṛit for the inferior males and for the women. In the dramas of Mithilā, the superior male characters all speak Sanskrit, and the women, when speaking prose, use Śaurasēṇi Prākṛit; but all the songs, whether sung by men or by women, are in the Maithilī dialect of the Bihārī language. Mithilā has for centuries been celebrated for the graceful lyrics composed in its local dialect. The most famous name connected with these is that of Vidyāpati Thākur (circ. 1400 A.D.), whose songs were adopted by the Vaiṣṇava reformer Chaitanya, and through his influence became household words over all Bengal. Some of Umāpati's lyrics in the present work will be recognized as worthy specimens of this dainty poetical style.

Tradition states that Umāpati was a most learned scholar. He seems to have been familiar with the Gītāgōvinda of Jayadeva, and one of his lyrics (No. 24) gives forth an echo of a verse of that celebrated Song of Songs. A few of the Sanskrit

words employed by him are not found in the usual Sanskrit dictionaries, and, in one case, his language does not follow the customary grammatical rules^[1]. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with it, reference may here be made to a convention in regard to these songs that will puzzle the unaccustomed reader. In each song the final verse has seldom any connexion with what precedes, but is reserved for indicating the name of the author and for laudation of his patron. It will be noticed that this custom is followed throughout the present play.

Aufrecht, in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, mentions no less than ten different authors bearing the name of Umāpati. The best known of these was Umāpati Dhara Miśra, who attended the court of Vijaya Śeṇa (circa 1119 A.D.)^[2] father of the celebrated Vallāla Śeṇa (circa. 1158—1170), the organizer of the caste system still existing among Bengal Brāhmanas and Kāyasthas. Vallāla was succeeded by his son Lakṣmaṇa Śeṇa (circa 1170—1200), and Umāpati Dhara Miśra survived until his time; for a well-known verse, said, I know not on what authority, to have been inscribed on the gateway of Lakṣmaṇa Śeṇa's palace, names him as one of the five gems of Lakṣmaṇa's court^[3], and the poet Jayadēva, who lived under the latter, refers to Umāpati, in the fourth verse of the *Gītagōvinda*, as a contemporary who employed bombastic language. He was the author of a long poetical inscription found in *Rajshāhī*^[4], which fully bears out Jayadēva's criticism, and of some verses quoted in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*. I mention him here because he

[1] विज्ञापयित्वा । (just after verse 21), instead of विज्ञापय. The context seems to show that this is deliberate.

[2] The dates are those given by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*.

[3] गोवर्धनश्च शरयो जयदेव उमापति ।

कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लदमयस्य च ॥

"In the court of Lakṣmaṇa Śeṇa there were (five) gems, viz., Gōvardhana, Śaraṇa, Jayadēva, Umāpati, and Kavarāja," Umāpati is also mentioned as attending Lakṣmaṇa Śeṇa's court in the *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* (Mr. Tawney's translation, pp. 181, 182, 183).

[4] J. A. S. B. XXXIV (1865), Pt. I, pp. 128ff.

states in the inscription that Vijaya Sēna conquered Nānya the Heroic, who can be no other than Nānya Dēva, (1098-1135) the founder of the Rājput dynasty of Tirhut, under whose descendant lived another Umāpati, the author of the *Pārijāta-haraṇa*.

This, second, Umāpati is said to have been an inhabitant of Kōilakh, in the Bhaur Pargana of the present Darbhanga District. He attended the court of Harihara Dēva, surnamed Hindūpati, or Lord of the Hindūs, whose Queen bore the name of Mahēsvari Dēvi. The name of Harihara Dēva does not occur in any of the dynastic lists of Mithilā, but Umāpati's patron is said, by a tradition that in all probability preserves the truth, to have been the same as the Rājput ruler of Mithilā sixth in descent from the Nānya Dēva, already referred to, and named Hari (or, according to one list, Hara) Dēva (1304--1324). [1] He was the last representative of his line. According to tradition, he abdicated in the year 1324 A.D., and retired to the forests; but, as a matter of history, he seems to have been conquered and slain by a certain Mukunda Sēna. He was a contemporary of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī (1295--1316) and of Ghayāsu'd-dīn Tughlak (1321--1325). The latter, on his march to attack Lakhnautī, passed through Tirhut. As the author of the *Tārīkh-ē-Firōzshāhī* says, [2] 'All the countries of Hind and Sindh, and the chiefs and generals of east and west, had trembled for fear of him for many a year.'

Hari Dēva is famous in Mithilā as the organizer of the Tirhut caste system and as the founder of the *pānj*, or genealogical record of members of the Brāhmaṇa, Kāyastha and other castes. In this way, he did much the same for Tirhut that Vallāla Sēna had done more than a century previously for Bengal. Assuming that he is the same as Umāpati's Harihara Dēva, we learn from

[1] Authorities for this dynasty, commonly known as the Simrāon Dynasty: B. H. Hodgson, J.A.S.B. iv (1835), pp. 122ff; ANON, *Indian Antiquary*, vii (1878), pp. 89ff.; BHAGVĀNLĀL INDRAJI and G. BÜHLER, ib. ix (1880), p. 188; ib. xiii (1884), p. 414; RĀSAVINĀBĪ DĀSA *Mithilādarpaṇa*, Pt. I (Darbhanga, 1915), pp. 60ff., MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, J.A.S.B. xi (1915) pp. 407ff.

[2] Elliot, iii, 234.

the present play that he successfully opposed Musalmān attacks. The poet describes him as one 'whose dread scimitar cuts down the forest of Yavanas' and as a 'furious fire consuming' the same forest. Allowing for poetic hyperbole, this may refer to unrecorded attacks launched from Patna, or possibly, to Ghayāsu'd-din's march through Tirhut, already referred to, in which the conqueror is said to have done no harm to the country.

I have been unable to gather any further particulars regarding Umāpati. If his patron was Hari Dēva, then the poet must have preceded Vidyāpati, Tirhut's most famous master-singer, who flourished nearly a century later, about the year 1400 A.D., under the later dynasty founded by Kāmēśvara Ṭhākur.



॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

अथ

॥ पारिजातहरणनाटकम् ॥

महामहोपाध्यायकविपण्डितमुख्य-

श्रीमदुमापतिशर्म-

विरचितम् ॥

जय जय मधुकैटभ-अर्दिनि जय जय महिषासुर-मर्दिनि ।
 धूमरनयन-भसम-मंडिनि चंडमुंड-दुङ्ग-सिर-खंडिनि ।
 रक्तविजासुर-मंहारिनि शृंगभनिशृंग-हृदय-दारिनि ।
 सब-सुर-सक्ति-रूप-धारिनि सेवक सबहिक^१ उपकारिनि ।
 अनुपम रूप सिंहवाहिनि सबहि^२ समय रहिहह दाहिनि ।
 सुमति उमापति आसिख-बानी सकल सभा जय करथु भवानी ॥ १ ॥

नान्दीश्लोकः ।

चोणी यस्य रदे मृणालशकलं मूलार्णवः पल्लवम् ।
 स्वर्गगा वसनं विभाति गगनं कस्त्रिकालेपनम् ॥
 चन्द्रश्चारुललाटचन्दनमुदुअणी गता मात्यताम् ।
 तेन श्रीधरणीधरेण हरिणा हिन्दूपतिः पात्यताम् ॥ २ ॥^३

^१ Metre, 6+4+4. Last line, 6+4+4+2. In the third line, A. has रक्तबीजसु चंदारिनि, which is hopeless.

^२ BP. सबडक ।

^३ BP. सबड ।

^४ Metre, *Sāṅgālikriṇṇā*.

अपिच ।

यस्यास्यं पूर्णचन्द्रः स्ववचनममृतं दिग्जयश्रीश्च लक्ष्मी ।

देाःस्तम्भः पारिजातो मृकुटिकुटिलता संगरे कालकूटः ॥

तीव्रं तेजो ऽग्निरौर्वः पद्मजनपरा राजराज्यस्तटिन्यः ।

पारावारो गुणानामथमतुलगुणः पातु वो मैथिलेशः ॥ ३ ॥¹

(नान्द्यन्ते)

सूत्रधारः । अलमतिविस्तरेण । आर्ये दहागम्यताम् ।

नटौ । आणवेदु अज्जो ।²

सूत्रधारः । आदिष्टोऽस्मि यवनवनच्छेदनकरालकरवालेन
विच्छेदगतचतुर्वेदपथप्रकाशकप्रतापेन भगवतः श्रीविष्णोर्दशमाव-
तारेण हिन्दूपतिश्रीहरिहरदेवेन यथा उमापत्युपाध्यायविरचितं
नवपारिजातमंगलमभिनीय वीररघावेगं ग्रमयन्तु भवन्तो भूपाल-
मण्डलस्य । तद् गीयतां मङ्गलम्

नटौ । अहो भागधेश्रं³ ।

। नटरागे गीतम् ।⁴

सुर-तरु घन उपवन करु मंडप वेदि रचल भल हिम अचला ।

अपनहि आनन दान-वचन भल पुनु पुनु गाओलि भवानि भला ।

¹ Metre, *Sragdharā*.

² आज्ञापयत्यार्यः ।

³ अहो भागधेश्रम् ।

⁴ Metre, 6+4+4+2, 6+4+4, with *dhruva*.

००-०००-०-०-, ००००००० ०-०-.

In the second line the *ā* of गाओलि and in the last line the *ā* of पालय must be read as short.

In line 2, BP. have पाउलि for गाओलि ।

In line 5, P. has हरि for हर ।

परमेसरा परमेसरा जय जय सभ रस पेसरा ॥ ध्रुवम् ॥
 चान-कला नयनानल थापल मानल सुरब भुजंगवरा ।
 अमिय-सार हर अविरल होमल हसल सकल सुर असुर नरा ।
 गङ्ग भिजाय भाङ्ग भौ भोजन सेज ओकाओल बाघ-कला ।
 दीप समीप बरय फनि-मनि-गन देवि देव दुङ्ग मन मिलला ।
 भाव भगति भावित भगवति भव देयु सदा जय अभय वरा ।
 सुगुरु उमापति सकल-नृपति-पति हिन्दूपति प्रतिपालथु धरा ॥४॥
 नटी (कर्ण दत्ता) अञ्ज कौविसेसो कलअलो¹ ।

सूत्रधारः । भगवान् श्रीकृष्णः सह रुक्मिण्या देव्या रैवतोपवन-
 मभिवर्ते । तदेहि गत्वा पश्यावः ॥

इति निष्क्रान्तौ । प्रस्तावना ॥

। (नेपथ्ये) श्रीकृष्णप्रवेशिका² ।

। मालवरागे गीतम् ।

कंस केसि कुल-मोचल उग्रसेन देल राज ।
 जदु-कुल कयल निराकुल तदुओ वज्रत अकि काज ॥
 भूमिक भार उतारव³ तारव दानव लोक ।
 धरम धरातल थापव हरव साधु-जन सोक ॥
 गरव हरव सुर-राजक काज करव सब जानि ।
 भगत भाव अवधारव धरव परम पद आनि ॥

¹ अर्थ किंविशेषः कलकलः । A. has कौरिसेसो, i.e. properly (for S'au-rasēni) कौरिसेसो = कौटिल्य रथ ।

² P. प्रवेशकम् ।

³ P. भूमिभार अवतारव ।

सकल नरेस सुकुट-मनि पट महिखी विरमान ।

हिन्दूपति रस-विंदक सुमति उमापति भान ॥ ३ ॥¹

(ततः प्रविशति श्रीकृष्णः । रुक्मिणी सखी च ।)

श्रीकृष्णः (स्वगतम्) । श्लोकः ।

भूमिभारनिवारणाय दुरितच्छेदाय शुद्धात्मनाम् ।

वेदार्थव्यवहारणाय च परिचाणाय धर्मस्य च ॥

दर्पस्य प्रशमाय दुष्टमनसां देवद्विजद्रोहिणाम् ।

ब्रह्मेन्द्रादिमदचयाय च मया लब्धोऽवतारो भुवि ॥ ४ ॥

(प्रकाशम्) । देवि दृश्यतां रैवतोपवने वसन्तशोभा ।

। वसन्तरागे गीतम् ।

अनगनित किंशुक चारु चंपक वकुल वकुल फुलियाँ ।

पुनु कतऊ पाटलि पटलि नौकि² नैवारि माधवि मल्लिआँ ॥

कर जोरि रुकुमिनि कृष्ण संग वसन्त-रंग निहारहीँ ।

रितु रभस सिसिर ममापि रसमय रमथि संग बिहारहीँ ॥

अति मंजु बंजुल पुंज मिंजल³ चारु चूअ विराजहीँ ।

निज मधुहिँ मातलि पल्लवच्छवि लोहितच्छवि काजहीँ ॥

पुनु केलि-कलकल कतऊ आकुल कोकिला-कुल कूजहीँ

जनि तीनि जग जिति मदन नृप-मनि बिजय-राज सुराजहीँ ॥

नव मधुर मधुर सुसुगुध मधुकर निकर निक रस⁴ भावहीँ ।

जनि मानिनी जन मान भंजन मदन गुरु गुन गावहीँ ॥

¹ Metre, 6 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 1.

² Metre, *Sardulavikrīṭa*.

³ P. पिंजल ।

⁴ BP. नीप ।

⁵ BP. मधुकर कोकिला रस ।

बह मलय निरमल कमल परिमल पवन सौरभ¹ मोहही² ।
 रितु-राज रैवत सकल दैवत सुनिज³ मानस मोहही⁴ ॥
 जदुनाथ साथ बिहार हरखित सहस सोड़स नायिका ।
 भन गुरु उमापति सकल-नृप-पति होयु मंगल दायिका ॥ ॥
 प्रिये विश्रम्यताम् । (इत्युपविश्य आकाशाभिमुखम्) । आश्चर्यम् ।

। नारदप्रवेशिका ।

। बराडीरागे गीतम्⁵ ।

अवतर अवनी तेजि⁶ अकास । न थिक दिवाकर न थिक जतास ॥
 धोती धवल तिलक उपवीत । ब्रह्म-तेज अति अधिक उदीत ॥
 बैनव-दंड वेद कर सोभ । आवधि नारद दरसन लोभ ॥
 परम जुगुत तिनि जगतक हीत । ब्रह्मा-सुत⁷ मोर संभुक मीत ॥
 सुमति उमापति भन परमान । जग-माता देवि हिंदुपति जान॥८⁸

(ततः प्रविशति नारदः ।)

नारदः । (सहर्षम् ।) श्लोकः ।

न शङ्कुना वा न विरञ्चिना⁹ वा ।

न योगिभिर्यन्मनसापि¹⁰ दृष्टम् ॥

¹ BP. मलय परिमल कमल उपवन कुसुम सौरभ ।

² Metre, 5+4+3, 4+6+6. Last four syllables - - - - .

³ P. (नारदप्रवेशिका ——— बराडीरागे गीतम् ।

⁴ BP. तेजल ।

⁵ BP. ब्रह्म सुत ।

⁶ Metre, 6+6+3.

⁷ P. विरिञ्चिना ।

⁸ BP. योगिना यन्मनसापि ।

तदद्य गोविन्दपदारविन्दम् ।

विलोकयिष्यामि दृशा कृतार्थः ॥ ८ ॥¹

। असावरौरागे गौतम् ।

जाग्रव हरिक समाजे । पात्रोव नयन-सुख आज्ञे ॥

कि आरे ॥ (ध्रुवपदम्) ॥

जोगडं न जानिअ जह्नी । दिठि भरि देखव तह्नी ॥

ब्रह्मा सिव सेव जाही । काहि भजव तेज ताहि ॥

मनहि भगति खेव माँगी । समय परम पद² लागी ॥

हिन्दूपति जिउ जाने । महेश्वरि देह विरमाने ॥

सुमति उमापति भाने । पुनमति भजु भगमाने³ ॥ १० ॥⁴

(परिक्रम्य) । इयं सत्यभामायाः सखी सुमुखी ।

(प्रविश्य सुमुखी ।)

सुमुखी । अणुप्पेसिदन्दि ! देईए सच्चभामाए जधा एक मं
अज्जउत्तो सुमरदि तत्थ गमिस्सं । (नारदं प्रति) । बग्हाणं
पणमामि । पुच्छामि अ णारदो वा णरो वा भवं⁵ ।

नारदः । पूर्णकामा भव । मां वानरं भणसि । नूनमनेकोपप-
यानुसारौ ते वचनक्रमः ।

¹ Metre, Upēndravajrā.

² B. गति ।

³ BP. भगवाने ।

⁴ Metre, 6 + 4 + 2.

⁵ अनुप्रेषितास्मि देव्या सत्यभामया यथा एकान्ते मां आर्यपुत्रः स्मरति तत्र गमिष्यामि ।
(नारदं प्रति ।) ब्रह्माणं प्रणमामि । प्रच्छामि च नारदो वा नरो (or वानरो) वा
भवान् । ABP. have देईए for देईए, जधा (P. यद्वा) for जधा, and एकान्ते ;
and BP. सुमरदि for सुमरदि, which are incorrect for S'ānrasēni. P.
बमामि for प्रणमामि ।

सुसुखी । (भीरु) । अदंशं भणामि अच्छरीशं^१ । दिव्यकविन्दो^१ ।
नारदः । दिव्यकपिं भणसि । सर्वदा श्लेषकुशलासि । कथय
कुत्र श्रीकृष्णः ।

सुसुखी । सखिहिदो ज्येव^२ ।

(प्रविश्य दौवारिको धर्मदासः ।)

धर्मदासः । आज्ञापयति श्रीकृष्णः पश्य सत्यभामयाः पन्थानमिति ।
नारदः । दौवारिक श्रीकृष्णाय नारदं मां निवेदय ।
दौवारिकः (श्रीकृष्णनिकटं गत्वा) । देव द्वारि नारदस्तिष्ठति ।
श्रीकृष्ण । मत्वरमानीयताम् । नारदोऽपि द्वारि वार्यते ।
दौवारिकः । महर्षे उपसर्पतां देवम् । (इति निष्क्रान्तः ।
नारद उपसर्पति । श्रीकृष्णः प्रणम्य देव्या सह संपूज्योपवेशयति) ।
नारदः । वंशवृद्धिरसु ।
श्रीकृष्णः । महर्षे त्रिलोकसंचारिणा भवता किमाश्चर्यं कुत्र दृष्टम् ।
नारदः । भवच्चरितादन्यत्किमाश्चर्यम् ।
श्रीकृष्णः । आमोदो विशेषेण जायते^३ । किञ्चिदुपहर्तव्यमानी-
तमस्ति ।

नारदः । (श्लोकेन ।)

श्रीस्ते वचसि किं देयं वाणी चाखे स्मृतिः कुतः ।

शिवब्रह्मादिसेयस्य सेवकाः के तवेतरे^४ ॥ १ ॥

^१ अये दंशं भणामि आश्चर्यं दिव्यकवीन्द्रः (or दिव्यकपीन्द्रः) । P. अचरिषं for अच्छरीशं ।

^२ संनिहित एव ।

^३ P. जायते ।

^४ Metre, *Anuṣṭubh*.

। असावरीरागे गीतम् ।

तोहे प्रभु^१अंतरजामी । गुप्त करह किअ खामी ॥
हरि हरि ॥ (ध्रुवपदम्) ॥
सुरपति देख अमूले । पारिजात एक फूले ॥
तुअ पद पूजय पाऊ । तई दरसन मनु आज ॥
भगति दीअ जअ पानी । से लेह अभिअ सम जानी ॥
दीनबंधु तोहे देवा । करय पार के सेवा ॥
सुमति उमापति भाने । पुनमति भजु भगमाने^२ ॥
हिंदूपति जिउ जाने । महेसरि दैइ विरमाने^३ ॥१२॥
(इति पुण्यं ददाति । श्रीकृष्णो गृहीत्वा सादरं पश्यति ।
सर्वे साश्चर्यं पश्यन्ति । ततः सत्यभामाप्रवेशिका^४ ।)

। मालवरागे गीतम् ।

सतिभामा^५ देवि देख परवेस । खामि सोहाग सुहाओनि वेस ॥
हरखित हृदय गरुअ^६ अभिमान । कृष्ण पिआरि परान समान ॥
देखइते चान-कलाक सँदेह । वसुधा वसु जनि विजुली रेह ॥
मनिमय भूखन अंग अमूल । कनक लता जनि फूलल फूल ॥
सुमति उमापति भन^७ परमान । पट-महिखी दैइ हिंदुपति जान^८ ॥१३॥

^१ PB. हरि ।

^२ PB. भगवाने । P. interchanges the last two lines.

^३ Metre, 6 + 4 + 2.

^४ P. प्रवेशक-मालवरागे गीतम् ।

^५ BP. सत्यभामा ।

^६ P. गरु ।

^७ P. कवि ।

^८ Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 1.

(ततः प्रविशति सत्यभामा सुमुखी सखी च ।)
 सत्यभामा । सहि सुमुखि सच्चं सुमरिस्त्रुदि अञ्जउत्तो¹ ।
 सुमुखी । असच्चं देईए अगदो कहिस्सु² ।

(सत्यभामा पञ्चमरागे गीतं गाद्यति ।)

सखि हे रभस रस चहु फुलवारी ।

तहाँ मिलत मोहि³ मदन मुरारी ॥

कनक मुकुट मँह⁴ मनि भल भासा ।

मेरु-सिखर जनि दिन-मनि बासा ॥

सुंदर नयन वदन सानंदा ।

उगल जुगल कुवलय लय चंदा ॥

वन-माला उर उपर उदारा ।

अंजन गिरि जनि सुरसरि धारा⁵ ॥

पिअर⁶ बसन तन भूखन मनी ।

जनि नव घन जगल दामिनी⁷ ॥

¹ सहि सुमुखि सत्यं स्मरिष्यति आर्यपुत्रः । AB. have सुमरिस्त्रुदि and P. सुमरद् ।

² असत्यं देव्या अग्रतः कथयिष्यामि । P. अञ्जदो ABP. कहिस्सु ।

³ BP. मोर for मोहि ।

⁴ मँह is not in BP., but some such word is required by the metre. A. is here illegible.

⁵ This verse is not in B. P. makes it the fifth.

⁶ BP. पीत ।

⁷ B. उगल, which spoils the metre. P. has जनि नव घन उगल दामिनी । मनी and (दा) मिनी must be scanned --.

जीवन धन मन सरवस देवा ।

सं लय करव हरि-चरनक सेवा ॥

सुमति उमापति मन परमाने ।

जग-माता देइ हिंदुपति जाने¹ ॥ १४ ॥

सहि सुमुहि अज्ज उज्जाणे अक्करीओ आमोदो । अहं पि
माहवी लदन्दरेण पेक्खन्दि जधा किं करोदि परोक्खे अज्जउत्तो² ।
(इति तथा करोति ।)

श्रीकृष्णः । नारद किमस्य पुष्पस्य माहात्म्यम् ।

नारदः । (श्लोकेन कथयति ।)

रूपं गन्धं रसं स्पर्शं मरो यो यं यमिच्छति ।

याचितं तं तदा तस्मै सर्वं पुष्पं प्रयच्छति ॥ १५ ॥

सत्यभामा । अक्करीअं खु पारिजादस पुप्फं । का अणा
जेइदेइं परिच्चइअ पाविस्सदि³ ।

श्रीकृष्णः । (रुक्मिणीं प्रति ।) देवि गृह्यतामिदम् ।

रुक्मिणी । (प्रणम्य गृहीत्वा ।) महन्तो क्खु एसो पसादो पत्तो ।

¹ Metre, 6+4+4+2.

² सहि सुमुहि अस्य उज्जाणे आस्यर्थे आमोदः । अहमपि माधवीलतान्तरेण डेल्ले
यथा किं करोति परोक्खे आस्यर्थेपुनः । AP. अक्करी । ABP. सर वी for सहं पि
BP. लदान्तरेण, A. illegible. For पेक्खन्दि cf. गच्छन्दि shortly after verse
16. According to Pischel, § 454, this form is incorrect.

³ आस्यर्थे खलु पारिजानस्य पुष्पम् । का अन्या जेइदेवीं परित्यज्य प्राचरति ।
ABP. पारिजातस्य पुप्फं । B. जेइदेइ परित्यजिअ पाविस्सदि । P. जेइदेइ
परित्यजिअ पापइस्सदि । A. illegible, but has परित्यजिअ । I have
corrected the Prakrit throughout.

⁴ महान् खल्वेव प्रसादः प्राप्तः । P. has पत्तोः for पत्तो, which it trans-
lates by पत्तेः,—an impossible equation.

सत्यभामा । जुत्तं एदं जेडकुमारमादाए^१ ।
 सुमुखी । कथं जुत्तं । परं देई परोक्खे चिट्ठिदा^२ ।
 रुक्मिणी । सहि मित्तसेणे संभावेहि मज्झस्सवम्^३ ।
 निचसेना । सहि सव्वधा कादव्वं जइ देई णच्चिस्सदि^४ ।
 रुक्मिणी । जधा आणवेदि पिअसही^५ । (दति तथा करोति ।)

। राजविजयराने गीतम् ।

आज जनम फल भेक्षा । सभ परितेजि हरि मोहि फुल देला ॥
 पुजल पुरुष हम गौरी । आसा तनि परिपूरखि^६ मोरी ॥
 उपर रहल मोर माथे । मोडह सहस वर नारिक साथे ॥
 सुमति उभापति भाने । महसरि देइ गति हिंदुपति जाने^७ ॥१६॥

सत्यभामा । सहि सुसुहि अदोवरं किं पेक्खिदव्वं किं सुणि-
 दव्वं । तदो णिवड्ढस्स आवासं जेव्व गच्छन्^८ ।
 सुमुखी । एदं ण जुत्तं देअं अदिट्ठिअ^{१०} ।

^१ युक्तमेतद् ज्येष्ठकुमारमातुः ।

^२ कथं युक्तम् । परं देवी परोक्षे स्थिता ।

^३ सखि निचसेने संभावय सहोत्सवम् । BP. निचसेने ।

^४ सखि सर्वथा कर्तव्यं यदि देवी नर्तिष्यति । ABP. have कादव्वं (for कादव्वं see Hēmacandra, iv, 214) and यच्चदस्सदि (P. यच्चदस्सदि) ।

^५ यथाज्ञापयति प्रियसखी । ABP. have जहा for जधा ।

^६ BP. परिपूरल ।

^७ For this *carana* BP. substitute पुनमति भजु भगवाने ।

^८ Metre, 6 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2

^९ सखि सुमुखि अतःपरं किं प्रेक्षितव्यं किं श्रोतव्यम् ततो निवर्तस आवासमेव गच्छाव । Regarding the form णिवड्ढस्स (ABP. निवड्ढस्स), see Pischel, §467. Regarding जेव्व see Markandeya ix, 154. B. has जेव्व । For गच्छन् see Mark. ix. 103.

^{१०} एतद् न यत्तं देवमदृष्टा ।

श्रीकृष्णः । कथं विनयते¹ प्रिया सत्यभामा ।

सत्यभामा । अज्ज वि पिआ सद्दो सुणीअदि ज्ज्व्व । (उप-
सृत्य सगद्गदम् ।) जअदु जअदु² । (इत्यर्धांते वाकुत्सभः । नारदं
प्रणमति ।)

नारदः । स्वाभिवज्जमान्यतां गमिथसि ।

सत्यभामा । अज्ज वि सा आसा³ ।

श्रीकृष्णः । प्रिये इदमासनमास्यताम् ।

सत्यभामा । (सगद्गदाचरम् ।) अज्जउत्त दाणि ज्ज्व्व सीसे
वेअणा उप्पणा । तदो आवासं जेव गच्छन्दि⁴ । इति सख्या सह
निश्रान्ता ।)

रुक्मिणी । अज्जउत्त ण भोअणं कदुअ महस्सिणा पुणीअदु⁵ ।

श्रीकृष्णः । एवमसु । (ततो नारदेन सख्या च समं देवी
निश्रान्ता ।)

श्रीकृष्णः । (स्वगतम् ।) प्रत्यक्षं मानं⁶ कृत्वा सत्यभामा मां
संतापयति । तथा हि ।

¹ A. om. कथं । P. विनया ।

² अथापि प्रियाशब्दः श्रूयत एव । जयतु जयतु । For सुणीयदि, see Märk. ix, 135. BP. have जअदि (जयति), once only.

³ अथापि सा आशा ।

⁴ आर्यपुत्र इदानीमेव शीघ्रं वेदनोत्पन्ना । तत आवासमेव गच्छामि । P. has सीरो for सीसे । For दाणि, see Märk. ix, 52. For वेअणा, id. ix, 11. The form गच्छन्दि is not given in the grammars, but cf. the Saurasēni 1st pl. गच्छन्, Märk. ix, 103. Cf. पेक्कन्दि shortly before verse 15.

⁵ आर्यपुत्र न भोजनं कृत्वा महर्षिणा पूयताम् (=महर्षिः पुनातु) । B. has पुडीअदु । After कदुअ A. inserts six akṣaras, which, owing to the state of the MS., are illegible.

⁶ A. is here different, but is illegible.

। श्लोकः ।

मालिन्येन मलीमसीकृतमुरः कम्पेन चोत्कम्पितम्
मौनेन¹ द्रवितं विलोचनजलैः श्लाघैः पुनः शोषितम् ॥
निक्षिप्तं² च सगद्गदेन वचसा कारुण्यवारांनिधौ ।
विश्लेषेण पुनर्मदीयद्वयं न्यस्तं ऊताग्रे तथा³ ॥ १ ॥

अन्वेषयामि तावदुपवनलतासु । (परिक्रम्य) । नूनं परित्यक्त्यैव
गता प्रिया । तदावासमेव गच्छामि । (पुनः परिक्रम्य) । इदं
प्रियावासदारम् । इत्थं शिशिरोपचारव्यथा सुसुखी । पृच्छामि
तावदेनाम् । सुसुखि प्रियायाः का वार्त्ता । (प्रविश्य सुसुखी ।)

सुसुखी । सेव्यं पुर्वं अस्मा । सव्या सन्ती सम्पदं जगता देव्येण
किदा⁴ ।

श्रीकृष्णः । प्रियायाः परिजनस्यापि वाणी वक्तव्ये । विश्लेषेण
कथय ।

¹ P. मोहेन ।

² BP. निःक्षिप्तम् ।

³ Metre, *Sāradālavikrīḍita*.

⁴ सैव पूर्वमन्या । सर्वा शान्तिः साम्प्रतं जना देवेन (or देवेन) कृता । This Prakrit passage is conjectural. All the texts are corrupt. A. has देव पुर्वं अस्मा सव्या सन्ती अथ देव्येण किदा, which would correspond to देव पूर्वम् अन्या सर्वा सन्ती (or शान्तिः) पुनः देवेन कृता, of which I can make no sense. BP. have सेव्यं पुर्वं अस्मासव्यासन्ती सम्पदं जगता देव्येण (P. देव्येण) किदा. which P. translates सैव पूर्वं अनायास वासन्ती सनाप्तम् (? साम्प्रतम्) जना देवेन कृता, but अनायास वासन्ती सनाप्तं cannot be right.

सुमुखी ।

। नटरागेण गीतम् ।

किं कहव माधव तनिक बिसेसे ।

अपनऊ तनु धनि पावक लेसे ॥

अपनुक आनन आरसि हेरौ ।

चानक भरम कोप कत बेरौ ॥

भरमऊ निअ कर उर पर आनी ।

परस तरस सरसौरुह जानौ ॥

चिक्कुर-निकर निअ नयन निहारी ।

जलधर-जाल जानि हिअ हारी ॥

अपन बचन पिक रव अनुमाने ।

हरि हरि तेऊ परितेजय पराने ॥

माधव अबऊ करिअ समधाने ।

सुपुख निठुर न रह्य¹ निदाने ॥

सुमति उमापति भन परमाने ।

माहेसरि देइ हिंदुपति जाने² ॥१८

ता णिवेदेमि देईए देवागमण³ ।

श्रीकृष्णः । (सत्रासम्) सुमुखि तथा विधेयं यथाज्ञापयति
मां देवी । (सुमुखी निष्क्रान्ता) ।

¹ P. रह्य न ।

² Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2.

³ तावन् निवेदयामि देव्यै देवागमनम् । For the form ता, cf. Pischel, § 150.

श्रीकृष्णः । तावज्जालमार्गेण पश्यामि¹ प्रियायाः कोपावस्थाम् ।
(तथा कृत्वा ।) 'हा धिक्' (इति प्रमादः) । संदेहे ।
पातिता मया ।

। श्लोकः ।

बद्धा² शुक्लपटेन भालमखिलं हिला दृष्टाद्भूषणम् ।
प्रश्वासैः परिशोष्य श्रोणमधरं ग्लान(नै)स्य शश्वत्वरः³ (रैः) ॥
संतापं शिशिरोपचारनिवहैरावेदयन्ती तनोः ।
कोपान्नामभिषिञ्चतीव हृदयं(ये) न्यस्तं कदुष्णाश्रुभिः⁴ ॥ १८ ॥
(ततः प्रविशति यथोक्तरूपा सत्यभामा तामववौजयन्ती⁵
सुमुखी च ।)

सुमुखी । देह समाससेहि⁶ ।
सत्यभामा । किं उण उवश्वारेहि⁷ ।

भालवरगे गीतम्⁸ ।

हरि सउं प्रेम आस कय लाओल
पाओल परिभव ठामे ।

¹ BP. प्रपश्यामि ।

² P. बद्धा ।

³ ग्लानं च शश्वत्° । B. शश्वत्° ।

⁴ Metre, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ B. तामेव°

⁶ देवि समाससेहि । A. has समाससहि, B. सरसुसिहि, P. समाससहि ।
For समाससेहि, see Pischel, § 467.

⁷ किं पुनरुपचारैः । BP. have ऊवश्वारेहिं ।

⁸ P. क्रोडावरगे गीतम् ।

जलधर छाहरि तर हम सुतलजुँ
 आतप भेल परिनासे ॥
 सखि हे मन जनु करिअ मलाने ।
 अपन करम फल हम उपभोगव ।
 तोहँ किअ तेजह पराने ॥ ध्रुवम् ॥
 पुरुव पिरिति रिति जुनि जहुँ विसरल¹
 तदओ न ऊनकर दोसे ।
 कतन² जतन धरि जहुँ परिपालिअ
 साप न मानय³ पोसे ॥
 कवहुँ नेह पुनु नहि परगामिअ
 केवल फल अपमाने ।
 बेरि सहस दस अमिअ भिजाविअ
 कोमल न होअ⁴ पखाने ॥
 गुरु उमापति पऊ देव दरसन⁵
 मान होअव अवसाने ।
 सकल नृपति पति हिंदूपति जिउ
 महारानि बिरमाने⁷ ॥ २० ॥
 अलँ दाव जौअदुव्वलाआसेण⁸ ।

¹ P. विसरव ।² P. कतेक ।³ B. मानयि ।⁴ BP. परगाम⁵ B. कोमल हो न पखाने ।⁶ BP. गुरु उमापति हरि होएव परसन ।⁷ Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 2. Dhruva 6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 2.⁸ अलँ तावज्जीवदुर्धलाआसेम ।

। विभासराने गीतम् ।

सहस्र पूर्ण^१ ससि रहस्रो गगन बसि

निसि वासर देस्रो नंदा^२ ।

भरि वरिसस्रो विस बहस्रो^३ दहस्रो दिस

मलय समीरन मंदा ॥

साजनि आव जिवन किअ^४ काजे

पऊ मोहि हिन कर

अपजस जग भर

सहय न पारिअ लाजे ॥ ध्रुवम् ॥

कोकिल अलि-कुल कलरव आकुल^५

करस्रो दहस्रो दुऊ काने ।

सिमिर सुरभि जत देह दहस्रो तत

हनस्रो मदन पचवाने^६ ॥

सुकवि उमापति हरि होष्ट परसन

मान होष्टत समधाने ।

सकल नृपति पति हिंदूपति जिउ

महेसरि देह^७ बिरमाने^८ ॥२१॥ (इति सूर्च्छति ।)

^१ A पूर्णिमा, which breaks the metre.

^२ BP. देखस्रो दसस्रो दिस दंदा । ABP. have दंदा, but a marginal note on B corrects it to नंदा, which gives better sense.

^३ B. विस रहस्रो । विस = Skr. विष, in the sense of 'water.'

^४ BP. कोन ।

^५ A. कलर बेसाकुल । B. रवय बेसाकुल । P. करय बेसाकुल ।

^६ B. मनसो सतवाने । P. सनसो सतवाने ।

^७ BP. पठमच्छिपी बिरमाने ।

^८ Metre, 6+4+4+2. 6+4+2. Dhruva, 6+4+4+2, 6+2, 6+2, 6+4+2.

श्रीकृष्णः । हा धिक् । संदेहे पातिता मया । तदुपस-
र्पामि प्रियाम्^१ । (इत्युपसर्पति । सखीं संज्ञया निवार्य विज्ञाप-
यित्वा^२ चरणतलं परिमृशति^३ ।)

सत्यभामा । (संसंज्ञम् ।) सहि सुसुहि अक्षारिसो ज्वेव अज्ज
दे कर-प्फत्तो^४ । (नयने उन्मौल्य श्रीकृष्णं दृष्ट्वा अवगुण्डयो-
पविशति ।)

श्रीकृष्णः । (वद्धाञ्जलिः ।) । प्रिये प्रसीद । मानिनि ।

। मालवरागे गीतम् ।

अरुन पुरुव दिसि बहलि सगरि निसि

गगन मगन^५ भेल चन्दा ।

मुनि गेलि कुमुदिनि तइओ तोहर धनि

मूनल सुख अरबिन्दा^७ ॥ २ ॥

। एतस्मिन्नर्थे श्लोकः ।

रुचिर्गलति कौमुदी शशनि कौमुदौ हीयते ।

वदन्ति कमलान्ततः (कलमन्ततः) शृणु समन्ततः कुकुटाः ॥

पुरोदिगतिरोहिता परितिरोहितास्तारकाः ।

कथं तव वरोरु हे सुखसरोरुहे सुद्रणम्^८ ॥ २ ॥

^१ P. हा ईदशी दर्श पातिता ।

^२ विज्ञापयित्वा, so in all three copies.

^३ P. तदुपसर्पामिनाम् ।

^४ P. परामुशति ।

^५ सहि सुसुहि अन्यादृश एव अथ तव करस्पर्शः । B. अज्जदेवाफसो । P. देपसो ।

^६ P. मल्लिन ।

^७ Metre, 6+2+6+2, 6+4+2.

^८ Metre, *Prthvi*. कमलं ततः is written कमलान्ततः for the sake of the alliteration.

कमल वदन कुवलय दुःख लोचन

अधर मधुरि निरमाने ।

सगर सरीर कुसुम तुभ्र सिरिजल

किञ्च तुभ्र हृदय पखाने¹ ॥ २४ ॥

। एतस्मिन्नर्थे श्लोकः ।

आस्यं ते सरसोरुहेण रचितं नीलोत्पलाभ्यां दृश्या ।

बन्धुकेन रदच्छदौ तिलतरोः पुष्पेण नासापुटम् ॥

इत्येवं विधिना विधाय कुसुमैः सर्वं वपुः कोमलम् ।

क्लूरं मानसमग्ना पुनरिदं कस्मादकस्मात्कृतम्² ॥ २५ ॥

मानिनि ।

असकति कर कंकन नहि परिहसि

हृदय हार भेल भारे ।

गिरि सम गरुत्र मान नहि मुंचसि

अपरुब³ तुभ्र बेवहारे⁴ ॥ २६ ॥

। गीतार्थे श्लोकः ।

कान्ते किं तव कञ्चुकं न कुचयोर्नो हस्तयोः कङ्कणम् ।

दोर्वल्लीवल्यावलीमपि न दोर्वल्येन विन्यस्यसि ॥

हारं भारमिवावधारयसि⁵ चेदेवं गुरुं मेखत् ।

मानं मानिनि किं न मुञ्चसि मनाक् तं भावमावेदय⁶ ॥ २७ ॥

¹ Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 2.

² Metre, *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

³ A. अपरूप ।

⁴ Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 2.

⁵ P. भारमिवापधारयसि ।

⁶ Metre, *Sardūlavikrīḍita*. AP. have विन्यस्यसे ।

मानिनि ।

अवगुण परिहरि हरखि हेह धनि

मानक अवधि बिहाने ।

हिमगिरि-कूमरि¹ चरन हृदय धरि

सुमति उमापति भाने² ॥ २८ ॥

। अथवा केदाररागे गीतम् ।

मानिन मानह जउँ मोर दोसे ।

सांति³ करह⁴ बरु न करह⁴ रोसे ॥

भौह कमान बिछोकन बाने ।

बेधह बिधुमुखि कय समधाने ॥

पौन पयोधर गिरिवर साधौ ।

बाज पास⁵ धनि धरु मोहि बाँधी ॥

कौ परिनति भय परसनि होही ।

भूखन चरन-कमल देह मोही ॥

सुमति उमापति भन परमाने ।

जग-माता देह हिंदुपति जाने⁶ ॥ २९ ॥

सत्यभामा । (प्रणम्योत्थाय ।)

¹ P. कुम्हारि ।

² Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 2.

³ P. शांति ।

⁴ BP. करिष ।

⁵ BP. फांस ।

⁶ Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2.

। केदाररागे गीतम् ।

ताहि अवसर ताहि ठाम । माधव ।

किप्र बिगरल¹ मोर नाम ॥

आब कि करव परकार । माधव ।

अपजस भरल सँसार ।

सबहु पाओल अवकास । माधव ।

जग भरि कर² उपहास ॥

कोन परि सखि सभ³ साथ । माधव ।

उपर करब⁴ हम माँथ ॥

जाहि देखि हसलहु कालि⁵ । माधव ।

से आब देअ⁶ करतालि ॥

परम⁷ करम मोर वाम । माधव ।

सकल तकर⁸ परिनाम ॥

सुमति उमापति भान । माधव ।

सुपहु करव समधान ॥

हिंदूपति जिउ जान । माधव ।

¹ BP. जोड़े लेल for बिगरल ।

² BP. भेल

³ P. सभ सखि ।

⁴ A. कछत ।

⁵ BP. काहिह ।

⁶ BP. देति ।

⁷ BP. धरम ।

⁸ BP. तनिक ।

महेसरि¹ देह विरमान² ॥ २० ॥ (इति मूर्च्छति) ।

श्रीकृष्णः । (उत्थाय ।) प्रिये समाश्वसिहि ।

सत्यभामा । (आश्वास्य ।) अञ्जुत्त आसासो वि मे
लज्जाश्रो³ ।

श्रीकृष्णः प्रिये प्रसौद । स्फुटमाज्ञापय । कथं ते मनः
समाधातव्यम् ।

। श्लोकः ।

भुवनं समये दयादृगन्तः⁴ ।

त्वयि युक्तो मयि ते दयादृगन्तः⁵ ॥

भवती न विना परास्तभावः⁶ ।

कुपितायां त्वयि मे परास्तभावः⁷ ॥ २१ ॥

सत्यभामा । (मानिनी ।) मल्लारगे गीतम् ।

माधव करह हमर समधाने ।

देह मोहि पारिजात तह आने ॥

प्रहि खन तोरित⁸ करिअ परयाने⁹ ।

नहि तह¹⁰ हमर अवस अवसाने ॥

¹ BP. माहेसरि ।

² Metre, 6 + 4 + 1.

³ आश्वस्य आसासो अपि मे लज्जाश्रोः । BP. have आसासो वि मल्लज्जाश्रो ।

⁴ A. दिगन्तः । दयादृगन्तः = दया + दृगन्तः ।

⁵ A. दिगन्तः । दयादृगन्तः = दया + दृगन्तः ।

⁶ परास्तभावः = परा + अस्त + भावः ।

⁷ परास्तभावः = परा + अस्त + भावः । Metre, *Aupacchandāsika*.

⁸ P. लरित ।

⁹ BP. करह पयाने ।

¹⁰ P. तह ।

ग्रहि परि ह्रमर¹ पुरत अभिमाने ।

हयत हसी² नहि ह्योअ अपमाने ॥

सुमति उमापति भन परमाने ।

पट-महिखी देइ हिंदुपति जाने³ ।

श्रीकृष्णः । धर्मदास दौवारिक देवीगृहान्नारदमचानय⁴ ।

नेपथ्ये । यथा देवाज्ञा⁵ ।

(प्रविश्य नारदः ।)

नारदः । अनुजानीहि मां पुरन्दरपुरगमनाय ।

श्रीकृष्णः । एवं भवता मद्वाचा⁶ पुरन्दरो वाच्यः ।

। श्लोकः ।

पुरन्दर प्रेषय पारिजातम् ।

पश्यन्तु वध्वस्तव साभिलाषाः ॥

पुल्लोमकन्याकुचकुङ्कुमाञ्चितम् ।

भिनत्तु मा शार्ङ्गशरस्तवोरः⁷ ॥ ३३ ॥

श्रीघ्नं प्रत्यागम्यताम् । (नारदस्तथेति निष्क्रान्तः ।)

श्रीकृष्णः । धर्मदास प्रातर्गत्वा धनञ्जयं ब्रूहि सज्जीभवतु भवान-
मराधिपसमराय । अन्यदपि सुभद्रा प्रियाश्यासनाय प्रेषणीया ।

¹ A. परिहरि ।

² So B. A. हमेतहसहि । P. हमेत हसहि ।

³ Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2.

⁴ A. दौवारिक धर्मदास नारदं सवरमानय ।

⁵ BP. यथाज्ञा राज्ञास् ।

⁶ A. omits भवता । BP. मद्वाचा ।

⁷ Metre, Upajāti (Upēndravajrā, Indravajrā, Vamsastha, Upēndravajrā).

नेपथ्ये । यथा देवाज्ञा ।

(ततः प्रविश्य¹ सुभद्रा ।)

सुभद्रा । सहि सच्चभामे समाससेहि । अवणदस्सदि दे संतावं
अज्जो² ।

श्रीकृष्णः । कथं चिरायते नारदः ।

(प्रविश्य नारदः ।)

नारदः ।

श्लोकः ।

यच्च मोहवशात्कृष्ण ब्रह्मा शम्भुश्च सुहृते ।

लोकेश श्रीमदान्धस्य तच्च शक्रस्य का कथा³ ॥ ३४ ॥

परमनुग्रहीतव्यः श्रीकृष्णेन⁴ मदापनोदेन । (उपसृत्य) श्रीकृष्ण
इदं प्रत्युत्तरितं पुरन्दरेण ।

। श्लोकः ।

पारिजातदलं यावत्सूचिकाद्येण विध्यते ।

तावत्कृष्णं विना युद्धं मया तुभ्यं न दीयते⁵ ॥ ३५ ॥

श्रीकृष्णः । तर्ह्यनुभवतु फलं नारद वैमुख्यस्य । अयमहमिदानीं
मनसा विहङ्गमराजमाकलयामि । रक्ष धनञ्जय । पारिजाततरुं हरामि
इन्द्रमदं चापहरामि⁶ । प्रिये अनुजानीहि ।

¹ P. प्रविशति ।

² सहि सत्यभामे समाससेहि । अपनेष्यति ते सन्नापसार्थः । This is not in BP. A has सण्ह (? for सण्ह = सृष्ट्वा), which must be a mistake, and which I have conjecturally amended to संतावं ।

³ Metre, *Anustubh*.

⁴ BP. श्रीकृष्णो ।

⁵ Metre, *Anustubh*. ABP. all have यावत्सूचि° ।

⁶ BP. चापवारयामि ।

सत्यभामा । किदकज्जो णिवट्टसु सिग्धं आणन्दपडत्तिहरो
पेसिदव्वो¹ ।

श्रीकृष्णः । अयं नारदो निवेदयिष्यत्यागत्य कार्ष्णसिद्धिम् ।

नारदः । उत्कण्ठते मे लोचनं भ्रातृपुत्रसङ्ग्रामदर्शनाय ।

(ततः श्रीकृष्णो धनञ्जयनारदाभ्यां समं पारिजात-

हरणाय निष्क्रान्तः ।)

सत्यभामा । सहि सुहदे अवि णाम किदकज्जो अज्जउत्तो
सत्ति पडिणिव्वट्टिस्सदि² ।

सुभद्रा । अधइ³ ।

सत्यभामा ।

मालवरागे गीतम् ।

प्रथमहि ओ रे कुसुम रचित प्रक तलपड ।

की अलपड⁴ विरह बैआकुल कुल पड ॥

तनि विनु ओ रे नयन बरिस जलधर सन ।

की परसन कति खन⁵ देत विहि दरसन ॥

उपवन ओ रे पिक पञ्चम कर जनु सर ।

की अनुसर मार मदन धनि धनु सर ॥

¹ कृतकार्यो निवर्तस्व शीघ्रं आनन्दप्रवृत्तिधरः प्रेषितयः । BP. have निवट्टस्स ।

² सत्ति सुभद्रे अपि नाम कृतकार्यं आर्षपुत्री भट्टिति प्रतिनिवेतिष्यते । A. भट्टि पडिनिरट्टइस्सदि (sic) । B. भत्ति पडिणिव्वट्टिस्सदि । P. भत्ति पडिणिव्वट्टिस्सदि-दिस्स दिस्सदि (sic) ।

³ अथ किम् । A. अद अथइ । B. अथइ । P. अथ किं ।

⁴ BP. अलपड for की अलपड ।

⁵ A. कसन दे for कति खन देत ।

सुनु धनि ओ रे सुमति उमापति भन मत ।

कौ धनमत सुपङ्ग मिलत रस जनमत¹ ॥ ३६ ॥

सहि सुहृदे वामं एअणं मे परिप्फुरदि² ।

सुभद्रा । सहि पेक्ख । एणारदो संपत्तो³ ।

(प्रविश्य नारदः ।)

नारदः । देवि दिद्या⁴ वर्धसे । जितं श्रीकृष्णेन । हतस्य
पारिजाततरुः⁵ ।

सत्यभामा । इदं दाव पारिजातओच्छाद्विअं⁶ गेह । (इति
हारं ददाति) । भअवं णिवेदेहि समासेण समरजअवुत्तन्तम्⁷ ।

नारदः । अहो निर्दयं प्रहारं⁸ परस्परं भावपुचाणाम् ।

। वसन्तरागे गीतम् ।

ऐरावत असवार पुरन्दर चन भूखन धनु हाथे ।

सहस्र तुरग रथ चढल⁹ धनुर्धर तनय जयन्तक साथे ॥ आरे ॥ ध्रुवम् ॥

भाइ भाइ रन भेल भयङ्कर गजवर गरुड़ दुरन्ता ।

अचरज देखय देवगन आप्ल गिरिस गौरि¹⁰ परजन्ता ॥

¹ Metre. 6 + 1 + 4 + 1 + 2, 6 + 1 + 1 + 1.

² सहि सुभद्रे वामं नयनं मे परिप्फुरति । B. has परिप्फुरदि ।

³ सहि पेक्ख । नारदः सम्प्राप्तः ।

⁴ AB. दृष्ट्या ।

⁵ BP. हतः पश्चात् पारिजाततरुः ।

⁶ B. पारिजातओच्छाद्विअं । P. पारिजातस्य औच्छाद्विअं ।

⁷ इदं तावत् पारिजातौत्साद्विकं गृह्णाण । भगवन् निवेदय समासेन समरजस-
वृत्तान्तम् । P. वृत्तान्ती ।

⁸ B. प्रभारं ।

⁹ BP. सहस्र तुरग चढि चलल ।

¹⁰ B. गिरि सं गिरि । P. गिरि स गिरिस ।

सारंग-सर सुरपति चर वेधल गांडिव-पानि जयन्ता ।
 ठामहि ठोर ठोकि बिनता-सुत भाङ्गल¹ दिग्गज दन्ता ॥
 पारिजात तरु गरुड़ चढ़ाओल हरि कर-कमल उपारी ।
 सब काँ सिब पुनु कयल समञ्जस आप्णल सुदित सुरारी ॥
 सकल जवन-वन वर दावानल दसम देव अवतारा ।
 सकल नृपति पति हिंदुपति जिउ गति² सब रस जाननिहारा³ ॥३७॥
 (ततः प्रविशति सपारिजातो गरुडारूढः श्रीकृष्णः ।

अश्वारूढो धनञ्जयश्च ।)

श्रीकृष्णः । प्रिये गृह्णतामयं पारिजाततरुः ।

धनञ्जयः । सखि सत्यभामे संप्रति सर्वासां मानवतीनां मूर्धनि
 विराजसे । यतः,—

। श्लोकः ।

अयं रोगशोकादिकं नाशयित्वा

सुदृष्टो ऽधिना⁴ सर्वमर्थं ददाति ।

स ते स्नेहतो मधवेनोपनीतो

महापुण्यभूमिस्तरुः पारिजातः⁵ ॥ ३८ ॥

तदुपगम्यताम् ।

सत्यभामा । (प्रणम्योत्थाय ।)

¹ So B. A. has सार. P. भाङ्गल ।

² A. सकल नृपति हिन्दुपति जिउ गति । P. सकल नृपति पति हिन्दुपति पति ।

³ Metre, 6+4+4+2, 6+4+2.

⁴ So B. A. has चदर्शनादधिना, P. दर्शनादधिना, both of which spoil the metre.

⁵ Metre. Bhūmānāmanāta.

। राजविजयरागे गीतम् ।

जय जय पारिजात तरु-राज ।

पाँश्रोल पुरुष पुन दरसन आज ॥

सरगक भूखन गुनक निवास ।

सुरज्जक तोहँ परिपूरह¹ आस ॥

सेवक सब तुअ दानव देवा ।

मानव जानव कौ तुअ सेवा ॥

सुरपति निअ कर करथि किआरी ।

सची देथि सुरसरि-जल ढारी ॥

सुमति उमापति भन परमाने ।

माहेसरि देइ हिँदुपति जाने² ॥ ३२ ॥

नारदः । सत्यभासे जानासि पारिजाततटे दत्तमक्षयं भवति ।

तदारोप्यतामङ्गणे ।

श्रीकृष्णः । एवमस्तु । (इति सर्वे रोपयन्ति ।)

श्रीकृष्णः । धनञ्जय बहिरनुगम्य वाजिराजिं³ विसर्ज्यागच्छ ।

(ततस्तथा कृत्वा पद्भ्यामेव प्रविशतः ।)

सत्यभामा । नारद किं देज्जम्⁴ ।

नारदः । प्रियपदार्थः⁵ ।

¹ B. पूरल मन, P. परिपूरल ।

² Metre, first two verses, 6+4+4+1; last three verses, 6+4+4+2.

³ A. वाजिराजं, P. राजिराजं ।

⁴ नारद किं देयम् ; AP. किं दिज्जो, B. किं विज्जो ।

⁵ P. प्रियः पदार्थः ।

सत्यभामा । सो को उए अज्जउत्तदो असो¹ ।

श्रीकृष्णः । प्रिये प्रभवसि मयि² । देहि मां ब्राह्मणाय ।

(सत्यभामा लज्जते ।)

नारदः । कथं लज्जसे ।

। श्लोकः ।

गौर्या मे गिरिशो दत्तः पौलोम्या³ च पुरन्दरः ।

तथा तटे तरोरस्य त्वया कृष्णः प्रदीयताम्⁴ ॥ ४० ॥

सत्यभामा । (कुशादिकमादाय ।) अज्ज इत्यादि⁵ अकुंठिअ-
अज्जउत्त-चरण⁶-भक्षण-कामा अज्जउत्तं णारदाए देमि । दक्खिणं
च देमि⁷ ।

नारदः । खसि । सुभद्रे त्वया किं न दीयते धनञ्जयः ।

धनञ्जयः । एवं भवतु । प्रभवति मयि श्रीकृष्णानुजा ।

सुभद्रा (सलज्जं सङ्कल्प्य ददाति ।)

नारदः । खसि । युवां मे दासौ संवृत्तौ ।

उभौ । किमधिकं स्यादभौष्टम् ।

नारदः । (सगर्वम् ।) किंकरी किं कारयामि ।

¹ स कः पुनरार्थपुत्रादन्यः । B. has के and °उत्तदसौ ।

² A. omits मयि ।

³ B. पौलोम्या ।

⁴ Metre, *Anuṣṭubh*. After गौर्या मे गि a leaf of two pages is missing from A.

⁵ B. has इत्यादि. See Hemacandra i, 57. P. इत्यादि ।

⁶ B. omits चरण ।

⁷ अथ अत्रादि अकुण्ठितार्थपुत्रचरणभजनकामा आर्थपुत्रं नारदाय ददामि ।
दक्षिणं च ददामि ।

⁸ B. omits सलज्जं ।

। श्लोकः ।

इलं विभर्तुं श्रीरुणः कुदालं च धनञ्जयः ।

द्वयोवा¹ स्कन्धमारुह्य भूमिव्यामि यथासुखम्² ॥ ४१ ॥

चरणौ तावत्संवाहयताम् ।

उभौ । अनुग्रहो ऽयमावयोः ।

नारदः । (स्वगतम् ।) एवमेतत् । अहो ब्रह्मण्यता³ लीला
वा परमेश्वरस्य । (प्रकाशम् ।) केन वा विश्वम्भरस्य वृकोदरस्या-
नुजस्य⁴ च पूर्यतामुदरम् ।

भवतु । विक्रियौ⁵ ।

(उच्चैः ।) को ऽपि दासकृता वर्तते ।

सुभद्रा । सहि सच्चभामे जावं रुष्णिणी⁶ ण किणदि⁷ दाव
किणहि⁸ अज्ज⁹ ।

सत्यभामा । (सलज्जम्) । एसा किणामि । किं सुसं ।
सुवर्णभारसहस्रं मणि-रत्न-रासी वा णअणिहीओ वा तिणि
लोआ वा¹⁰ ।

¹ So B. P. has द्वयोवी ।

² Metre, *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ B. चब्रह्मण्यता for अहो ब्रह्म⁰ ।

⁴ So B. P. has वृकोदरानुजस्य च पूर्यताम् ।

⁵ BP. विक्रियित्यौ ।

⁶ BP. रुक्मिणी ।

⁷ BP. किणदि ।

⁸ BP. किणहि ।

⁹ सहि सत्यभामे यावद्वृक्मिणी न क्रौणति तावत्क्रौणीद्यायेम् ।

¹⁰ एसा क्रौणति । किं सुसं । सुवर्णभारसहस्रं मणिरत्नराशिर्वा नवनिधयो वा चयो लोका वा । The missing leaf of A. ends with the word सुवर्ण. It then goes on भावसहस्रं मानरवासिवाणश्चाणहिषीवातिनिहोवा । B. has एसा किणामि किं सुसं सुवर्णं भारसहस्रं माणि रत्न वासी वा णअणिहिषीवा विणि लोआवा । P. has एसा किणामि किं सुसं सुवर्णं भावसहस्रं मणिरत्नरासी वा णअणिहिषी वा जि विज्जलोआ ना । From these it has been easy to reconstruct the original Prakrit.

नारदः । (कर्णौ पिधाय) । शान्तं पापम् ।

सत्यभामा । सच्चं भण जेण पच्चओ होइ¹ ।

नारदः । धेनुं देहि ।

सत्यभामा । देमि । सहि सुहदे तुमं पि धणंजअं² किणसु
जाव दोवई³ ण जाणादि⁴ ।

सुभद्रा । अहं पि धेणुं देमि⁵ ।

नारदः । उन्मुक्तौ⁶ तौ । सत्यभामे देवि संपूर्णस्ते बद्धमानः ।

सत्यभामा । भवदो आसिसा-पसादेण⁷ ।

नारदः । किमतः परमिच्छसि ।

(ततः सर्वे गायन्ति) ।

ललितरागे गौतम् ।

जलधर समय करथु जल-दाने ।

भरखि रहथु धरनी धन धाने ॥

धरम प्रजा परिपालथु⁸ राजा ।

चारु⁹ वरण करथु निअ काजा ।

¹ सत्यं भण येन प्रत्यक्षो भवति ।

² P. अणज्जअं ।

³ B. द्रोवइ ।

⁴ ददामि । सखि सुभद्रे त्वमपि धनंजयं क्रीणीष्व थावदु द्रौपदी न जानाति ।

ABP. have जाणइ ।

⁵ अहमपि धेनुं ददामि ।

⁶ B. उन्मुक्तः ।

⁷ भवत आसिषः प्रसादेन ।

⁸ A. धरम प्रजापति पालथु । B. धरमे । P. धरमे ।

⁹ P. चारि ।

बाभन वेद खेद जनु पावे¹ ।
 साधुक संग² कुजन जानु आवे¹ ॥
 पिशुन पाव³ जनु नृपतिक काने ।
 गुन बुझि भूप करिअ⁴ सनमाने ॥
 चिरै जिबयु हिन्दूपति देख्यो ।
 गुन कीरति गावहि सब केअो⁵ ॥४२॥

। श्लोकः ।

उर्वीं शस्त्रेण गुर्वीं विलसतु सुखिनः सन्तु सर्वे च लोकाः ।
 क्षीणोपातः समन्तात्प्रवितरतु गुणं भावयित्वा वसूनि ॥
 साधूनां संनिवासः सह पिशुनजनैरेकलोके ऽपि मा भूद् ।
 आशूद्रानां कवीनां भ्रमतु⁶ भगवती भारती भङ्गिभेदैः⁷ ॥४३॥

इति महामहोपाध्यायकविपण्डितमुख्यश्रीमदुमापतिविरचितं
 पारिजातहरणाख्यनाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

¹ BP. interchange पावे and आवे ।

² BP. संधि ।

³ B. लागु ।

⁴ P. करयु ।

⁵ Metre, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2.

⁶ P. असति ।

⁷ Metre, *Sragdharā*. For the first line A. has उर्वीं शस्त्रेण गुर्वीं विलसतु सन्तु सन्तः सदैव क्षीणेभ्यः । The rest of the verse is in the same way hopelessly corrupt in A., and the reading adopted is that of BP.

TRANSLATION.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

IN THE PROLOGUE.

STAGE MANAGER.

ACTRESS.

IN THE PLAY.

KRISHNA.—The eighth incarnation of Vishnu, King of Dwāraka. .

NĀRADA.—The minstrel of the gods.

DHANANJAYA or ARJUNA.—A Pāṇḍava Prince, the cousin and close friend of Krishna.

DHARMADĀSA.—The gate-porter of Krishna's palace.

RUKMINĪ.—The senior Queen of Krishna.

MITRASENĀ.—Her Companion and Lady-in-waiting.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—The younger and favourite Queen of Krishna.

SUMUKHĪ.—Her Companion and Lady-in-waiting.

SUBHADRĀ.—Sister of Krishna, married to Dhananjaya.

SCENE.—A Grove on Mount Raiyata, close to Krishna's palace at Dwāraka.

The Rape of the Pārijāta.

PROLOGUE.

THE BENEDICTION.

VERSES (MAITHILI).

1.—*Invocation to Dēvī.*

Glory to Her who slew Madhu and Kaiṭabha¹,
Glory to Her who o'erthrew Mahishāsura,—
She who to ashes burnt Lōchanadhūma,
Smote off the heads of proud Chanda and Munḍa.
Raktabijāsura butchered She pitiless,
Gave She the hearts of Nisumbha and Sumbha.—
The form of each deity's power energetic
To Thyself dost Thou take, to Thy servants benignant.
Peerless One! Mounted on lion triumphant!
Ever be gracious to us who adore Thee.
This be the prayer of large-hearted Umāpati,
' Bless Thou, Bhavani, this noble assembly ! '

[¹] The whole of this invocation is a reference to the *Dēvī Mahatmya*, contained in Chapter lxxxi ff. of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*. As there told, the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha sought to slay Brahmā. At the latter's prayer, Māhāmāyā, a form of Dēvī, issued from Viṣṇu and awoke him from his sleep. He then slew the demons.

Other demons subsequently conquered the gods, and their leader, Mahishāsura, became supreme. The gods then gave forth each his special energetic power, and these united themselves together and became Chāṇḍikā, another form of Dēvī. She destroyed the demons, including their leader (Chapters lxxxii-iii).

Sumbha and Nisumbha were two other demons, who also conquered the gods and drove them from heaven. Chāṇḍikā came to the rescue. Sumbha, hearing of her beauty, invited her to marry him. She explained that, by a vow, she could marry no one who did not conquer her in fight. Enraged, Sumbha sent an army under his general Dhūmrālōchana (called Lōchanadhūma in the text) to capture her, but she destroyed the army and reduced Dhūmrālōchana to ashes (Chapter lxxxi, 9). Sumbha then dispatched Chanda and Munḍa at the head of another army. This army she also destroyed, while she decapitated Chanda and Munḍa (lxxxvii, 19). More armies were dispatched with a like result. One of the demon generals was Raktabija ('Blood-seed'), a giant. Whenever he was wounded, each drop of blood that fell to the ground became a giant as mighty as himself. Chāṇḍikā attacked him, and swallowed the blood that issued from his wounds, so that none reached the ground. In this way Raktabija bled to death (lxxxviii, 61). Then Sumbha and Nisumbha themselves assailed her. She first pierced Nisumbha to the heart with an arrow (lxxxix, 32), and then killed Sumbha in the same way (xc, 22). Chāṇḍikā, or Dēvī, has many names. One of these is Bhavani, used in the last line of the invocation,

2. *Sanskrit Benediction.*

May Hari¹, the supporter of the world,
 Who on his tush upraised the mighty earth,
 Light as filament of lotus-stalk,
 From the primeval ocean, which to Him
 Was but a tiny pool; to Whom the galaxy
 Is but a garment, with the broad sky to serve
 For musk-inunction; on Whose fair brow shines
 The moon, in place of mystic sandal-marks;
 The garland round Whose neck is all the stars, —
 May He protect our King, great Hindupat.

Moreover —

3.

And you, my Masters, may ye be preserved
 Secure by him, the Lord of Mithilā;
 By him, with noble full-moon countenance
 And nectar voice; the fortune of whose wars,
 In conquest of the world, is Lakshmi's self².
 Naught but the glorious Parijata tree³
 Matches in form the pillars of his arms;
 His wrathful frown is deadly in the fight,
 As the dire poison drunk by Dāvi's lord⁴;
 His valour fierce is that resistless flame⁵
 Cast in the ocean by the saint of old;
 His feet are humbly served by troops of kings,
 As brooks do service to a mighty flood.

STAGE MANAGER.—(After the recitation of the Benediction) Enough of long discussion. Lady, kindly come here.

ACTRESS.—(Entering.) What are your commands, Sir?

STAGE MANAGER.—I have received a command from him, whose dread scimitar cutteth down the forest of the Yavanas⁶, whose splendour

[¹] The third incarnation of Hari or Vishnu was in the form of a boar. A demon named Hiranyāksha had dragged the earth to the bottom of the primeval ocean. Vishnu then assumed the form of a boar, conquered the demon, and (Markandeya Purana, iv, 54) repelling the water with his snout, lifted the earth, like a lotus, with one of his tusches.

[²] The spouse of Vishnu. She is the goddess of good fortune.

[³] One of the five trees of Indra's paradise. Its rape by Krishna is the subject of the present play.

[⁴] Dāvi's lord is Śiva. The allusion is to the famous Kālākūṭa, a deadly poison charned out of the ocean by the gods, and drunk by Śiva.

[⁵] A terrible fire born from the wrath of the Rishi Aurva. To prevent its consuming the whole world he cast it into the ocean, where it still remains concealed.

[⁶] i.e., the Musalmāns. Compare the concluding lines of Song No. 87.

illuminateth the path of the four Vādas that had become cleft asunder, who in person is the tenth incarnation of the holy Vishnu¹, His Majesty Harihara Dēva Hindupati, to produce the delightful new play by Umāpati Upādhyāya concerning the Pārijāta tree, and thus to allow the Honourable Gentlemen who form this company to assuage the delirium of their heroism. Please, therefore, sing something auspicious.

ACTRESS.—Ah! This is indeed good fortune. (*She sings.*)

4. *Song (celebrating Siva's wedding to Pārvati) (Maithilī).*

In the dense grove of Kalpa-trees²,
That give us all things rich and rare,
Himālaya³ a bower framed,
And set therein an altar fair.

And then, herself, Bhavānī sang
With tuneful lips the nuptial strain,
In which to Siv she gave herself,
Chanting it o'er and o'er again.

*Hail to the Lord, Supreme in Time and Space
Lovely and pleasant⁴, infinite in grace.* (Refrain.)

Dreadful, with snakes around his neck,—
Over his eye of burning heat⁵,
Upon his brow, the crescent moon,—
Accepted he her praises sweet.

[1] The tenth, or *Kalkin*, incarnation of Vishnu is yet to come. He will appear seated on a white horse, with a blazing drawn sword, for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of religion. Harihara Dēva, whose successful opposition to Musalmān domination is referred to in the introduction, is again treated as this tenth incarnation in the 37th song.

[2] The Kalpa-tree was one of the trees of Indra's paradise. It was a 'Wishing-tree', granting all desires.

[3] The Himālaya was the father of Pārvati, the spouse of Siva. The song describes their wedding, and the arrival of Siva with his uncouth train of goblins serving as a marriage procession. Siva himself appeared as a horrible ascetic, with matted hair, and his body smeared with ashes, wearing serpents round his head and skulls for a necklace. The terror and ridicule excited on this occasion among the bystanders and the wedding guests is a favourite subject of Indian poetry.

[4] I take *passarā* as a corruption of the Sanskrit *passala*, beautiful. It may be a corruption of *pasuora* (Pāṇini iii, 2, 175), splendid.

[5] Siva has three eyes, denoting past, present, and future time. From his third eye, in the centre of his forehead, issues fire. The moon's crescent above the central eye denotes the measure of time by months, and the serpent round his neck the measure by years.

Upon the altar Hara poured
 An endless stream from nectar brewed.
 Gods, Asurs¹, men, all laughed alike
 Mocking at his appearance rude.

'The bridegroom eats,—but bhāṅg's his food,—
 'With Ganges wets the poisonous weed²,
 'A nuptial couch, forsooth, he spreads,—
 'A tiger-skin supplies the need.'

Close by, for hallowed wedding lamps,
 Shone serpents' jewels like the sun³.
 Dēvī and Dēv⁴ stood side by side,
 Their hearts united, two in one.

Bhava and Bhagavatī⁵ here
 Our souls with love and faith ye fill,
 Grant ye us ever victory,
 And surety from every ill.

And quoth Umāpati, the wise,
 The teacher and the poet too,
 May Hindūpati, Lord of kings,
 Protect the earth and wrong subdue.

(*Listening*) Sir, what is the cause of this noise?

STAGE MANAGER.—Holy Krishna is entering the Raivata grove with
 Rukminī. Let us go and watch them. (*Exeunt.*)

END OF PROLOGUE.

[¹] Hara is a name of Śiva. The Asuras, comprising the two great groups of Daityas and Dānvas, are a class of demons, enemies of the gods. The term 'Gods (*dēvas*) and Asuras' or 'Gods and Dānvas' is frequently used to mean 'all supernatural beings.' So in Song 39.

[²] Śiva received the Ganges as it fell from heaven upon his matted hair, through which it wanders on its way to earth. He was a great eater of *Bhāṅg*, or Indian hemp.

[³] The serpent is fabled, like our toad, to bear a precious jewel in its head.

[⁴] Names, respectively, of Śiva and Pārvatī.

[⁵] Also names of the same.

THE PLAY.

SCENE.—*The Raivata Grove, near Krishna's Palace. (Behind the Scenes.)*

5. *Song introducing Krishna.*

Vile Kamsa's line he overthrew¹,
He slew the Kēśi-horde,
The throne his graceless son had seized
To Ugrasēn restored.

The care-worn Yādavs, sore oppressed,
He freed from cark and rue,
But nathless he, Incarnate God,
Hath yet more work to do.

He must relieve the burden'd earth
From sin's appalling load;
The Dānavs², too, must straightway place
Upon salvation's road

And virtue's laws he surely must
On sinful earth impose,
And silence, 'mid the harass'd saints,
The litany of woes.

And openly, that all may learn
In meekness to abide,
He must the haughty king of gods³
Abase in all his pride.

[¹] Kamsa was the son of Ugrasēna, king of Mathurā, the chief city of the Yādavas. He deposed his father, and ruled with great tyranny in his place. He was Krishna's implacable foe, and sent the Dānava Kēśi, or Kēśin, and others of his tribe to kill him. But Krishna overcame and destroyed them all. He then slew Kamsa, and restored Ugrasēna to the throne. The destruction of Kēśin is described at length in the 31st and that of Kamsa in the 37th chapter of the *Hariṣamsa* (Calcutta Edition of 1839).

[²] The Dānavas were a tribe of Asuras (See Note to Song 4). They were demons, and, like the Daityas, greatly oppressed the earth. In his incarnation as a dwarf, Vishnu overcame Bali, their king, and made him ruler of the nether regions. The *Hariṣamsa* (line 34,341) identifies Krishna with this incarnation. According to this authority, Bali, after his conquest by Krishna, desired salvation, was taught by Nārada, and received it. The whole story is to be found in the 261st and 262nd Chapters of the *Hariṣamsa*.

[³] i.e. Indra. The humbling of the pride of Indra, by the rape of the Pārijāta-tree, is the subject of this play.

And love and faith in the Supreme
He must establish meet
That all may due salvation find,
And reach the heav'nly seat.

That he, rejoicing with his Queen,
The jewelled crest of kings,
Great Hindupat, discerns true love,
The wise Umāpat sings.

*Enter Krishna, accompanied by Rukminī and her companion,
Mitrāsēnā.*

KRISHNA (*Aside*).

6. *Verses (Sanskrit).*

To lift the load from th' earth, and cut off sin;
To teach pure souls, by practice, to regain
The hidden meaning of the holy Veds;
To rescue virtue from unrighteous thrall;
To crush the pride of men of evil heart,
The enemies of Brāhmanas and gods;
The overweening arrogance to break
Of such as Brahmā, Indra, and the like;
These are the tasks I set myself to do,
When I become incarnate in this world.

(*Aloud.*) Lady, behold the beauty of spring in this Raivata grove!

(*He sings.*)

7. *Spring Song (Maithili).*

Countless Dhaks in crimson glory
Golden Champaks, Bakuls rare,
Bakuhuls in wild luxuriance
Blossom in the vernal air¹.

[1] The *kimsuka* or *Butea frandosa*, also called in Hindi *palāḥ* or *dhāk*, with its crimson flowers in full bloom, presents a striking spectacle, like fire on the horizon (Cf. Platts' *Hindustani Dictionary*, s. v. *dhāk*). The *Champaka* (*Michelia champaca*) has fragrant yellow flowers. The *bakula* (*Mimusops Elengi*), also called in Hindi *maulsari*, has very fragrant flowers. It is said to put forth blossoms when sprinkled with wine from the mouth of a lovely woman. *Bakuhula* (for *bakophula*) is *Agati grandiflora*.

Scattered o'er the bosky distance
 Clusters of the Trumpet vine,
 Graceful Jasmines, snowy Mādhwis,
 With sweet Mālatīs entwine¹.

With her hands in homage folded,
 Rukmini beside her king
 Wanders through the woodland mazes,
 Gazing on the charms of spring.

Winter's raptures now are ended.
 New-born transports have they found.
 Spring's delights rejoice the lovers,
 Treading on enchanted ground.

Glowing shine the dense Hibiscus,
 Minjal, Mango wide outspread,
 Em'rald leaflets coyly flushing,
 Drunk with nectar, ruby-red².

Now the cuckoo-folk are calling,
 All-impassioned by the sound,
 As the murmured sighs of dalliance
 Echo in the groves around.

'Tis as though with frenzied psalms
 Welcomed they Love back again,
 O'er the threefold world triumphant,
 King, victorious, to reign.

Black bees, beavies buzzing busy
 Gyrate madly in the shade,
 Drunk with honey, mazed with nectar
 Culled from flowers of the glade.

'Tis of Love they, too, are singing
 Praises of The Heaven-born,
 He, who takes the proudest maiden,
 Conquers her, and breaks her scorn.

[¹] The *pāñjali* is the *Bignonia suaveolens*, the tree that bears the trumpet-flower. The *nīpa* is *Nauclea cadamba*, with fragrant orange-coloured blossoms. The *nāwārī* is a kind of jasmine, *Jasminum zambac*. *Mādhavī* is *Gaertner's racemosa*, a large creeper bearing fragrant white flowers. *Mālatī* is another kind of jasmine, *Jasminum grandiflorum*.

[²] *Harjula* is the name of several trees. Here, perhaps, it is a kind of Hibiscus. I do not know what plant is meant by *minjala*. P. has *rāñjala*, which means the leaf of the *kusa* grass. *Chūa* (Sanskrit *chūtaka*) is the young tender red shoot of the mango-tree.

Malaya¹ sends fragrant breezes,
 Sandal-scented o'er the vale.
 Fragrant, too, the spotless lotus,
 Fragrant flower, fragrant gale.

Twofold glamour thus enfolds them,
 The sweet spring-tide's winning smile,
 Raiwat's² fragrance,—both conspiring
 Hearts of gods and saints to wile.

Lo, the miracle of Krishna³,
 Multiplied in earthly mould.
 Sixteen thousand maids, disporting,
 Krishna in their arms enfold.

Wise Umāpati, the teacher,
 Singer, too, and suppliant,
 Prays the Monarch of all monarchs⁴
 Blessings on us all to grant.

KRISHNA (*Speaking*).—Sit down, dear. (*They take their seats. They gaze into the air with surprise.*) Wonderful !

(*He sings.*)

8. *Song sung by Krishna, introducing Nārada (Maithilī).*

Behold, there comes a portent to the earth ;
 With glorious light the air is all aflame ;
 'Tis not the sun that falleth from the sky,
 Nor fire descending offerings to claim.

In garments white, and, clear upon his brow,
 The sacred caste-mark, on his breast the thread,
 There comes a Brāhmaṇ, splendidly sublime,
 In all the vigour of his lineage dread.

[1] Malaya is the name of one of the great mountain-chains of India. It is the southern portion of the Western Ghāts. It is famous for its sandal-trees. The sandal-scented breeze coming from Malaya is a favourite subject of Indian poets.

[2] The name of the grove in which Krishna and Rukmini are wandering. In Sanskrit, Raiwata.

[3] Krishna is called Jadupati in the text. In Sanskrit, this would be Yadupati, the Yada-lord. Yada was the ancestor of the Yādavas, and Krishna was his most illustrious descendant. Besides Rukmini and Satyabhāmā, Krishna had more than sixteen thousand wives, by each of whom he had one daughter and ten sons. He had the power of multiplying himself, so that each wife thought that she had him to herself.

[4] i.e. either the god of love, or the poet's patron, Hariharā Dēva, Hindūpati,

His lute gives added beauty to his hands¹,
 His hands the holy Vēdas also bear.
 Nārada comes, the hymner of the gods,
 Homage to pay, and rev'rence to declare.

Most worthy and most wise is Nārada,
 Filled, for the world, with sympathy sincere
 The mind-born son to mighty Brahmā born,
 Of my lov'd Śiva the companion dear.

The wise Umāpati, of kindly heart,
 Does these true sayings faithfully rehearse,
 And Hindūpati, Mithilā's great King,
 Knows Dēvi, Mother of the Universe.²

Enter Nārada in a joyful mood.

9. Verses (Sanskrit).

NĀRADA.—

That which nor Brahmā nor Mahēś³ have seen,
 Nor rapt ascetics e'en in visions rare,
 The lotus-foot of Krishna,—Cowherd⁴, God,—
 That shall I see with mine own eyes to-day.

(He sings.)

10. Song (Māihilī).

*To Hari's⁵ court to-day I haste,
 And soon my eyes true joys will taste.* (Refrain.)

He whom rapt ascetics know not,
 With mine own eyes I shall see,
 He whom Śiv and Brahmā worship,
 To whom else bend I the knee?

[¹] Nārada was the minstrel of the gods, and carried a lute (*vīṇā*).

[²] This line has a double meaning. *Dēvi* also means 'Queen'; and the goddess Dēvi, here called 'the Mother of the Universe', was also called Mahēswari, which itself was also the name of Hindūpati's Queen. Hence the last two lines may alternatively be translated 'Hindūpati and Queen Mahēswari know (true) love'. The same occurs in the concluding lines of Songs 14 and 29.

[³] A name of Śiva.

[⁴] Krishna spent his youth among the cowherds of Gōkula. He is hence called 'Gōvinda', a name usually explained as meaning 'he who finds (*vindati*) cows', but really a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit 'Gōpēndra', i.e. 'the Lord of Cowherds.'

[⁵] Nārada, being a celestial, naturally looks upon Krishna as the god, Hari or Vishnu, who became incarnate. He hence lauds him as the Supreme Being, and not in the human incarnation. He refers disparagingly to the human form in Song 12.

He will grant a boon most precious,—
Faith and love within my breast,
In the hour of death assuring
At his feet eternal rest.

Hindupat, the King, rejoicing
With Mahēśwarī, his Queen,
In his heart hath comprehended
How to see the Great Unseen.

Quoth Umāpati, the poet,
To th' Eternal, the Adored,
God, All-pow'rful, Self-existent,
From pure souls be praise outpoured.

(*He walks round the stage.*) Here is Satyabhāmā's companion Sumukhī.

(*Enter Sumukhī.*)

SUMUKHĪ.—My Lady Satyabhāmā has sent me to enquire whether His Highness would like to see her in private. If so, she will come. (*Addressing Nārada.*) Sir, I see you are a Brāhman. My reverence to you! May I ask if you are Nārada, or an ordinary man.¹

NĀRADA.—My blessing be on your heart's desires. But you suggest that I am a monkey. Your language runs along more than one path.

SUMUKHĪ (*timidly*).—O dear! This is most surprising. Then you are the poet laureate of heaven.²

NĀRADA.—Now you are calling me a monkey of heaven. Every time you open your mouth you must say something with a double meaning. Tell me. Where is the Lord Krishna?

SUMUKHĪ.—He is close by. (*Enter Dharmadāsa,*³ *the gate-porter.*)

DHARMADĀSA.—The Lord Krishna tells me to go and see if Satyabhāmā is coming.

NĀRADA.—Porter! Tell the Lord Krishna that I,—Nārada,—am here.

DHARMADĀSA (*to Krishna*).—Your Majesty, Nārada is waiting at the door.

[¹] The Prakrit words used by Sumukhī are of doubtful meaning. They may also be translated 'May I ask if you are Nārada, or monkey'.

[²] Here again Sumukhī's tongue trips her up. The words also mean 'you are the head monkey of heaven.'

[³] The *Herizmes* names him Dāraka.

KRISHNA.—Show him in at once. What! Nārada kept standing at the door!

DHARMADĀSA.—Your Holiness, be good enough to draw near to His Majesty. (*Exit. Nārada approaches Krishna. Krishna, bowing, with Rukmini, does reverence to him and offers him a seat.*)

NĀRADA.—May your dynasty prosper!

KRISHNA.—Your Holiness, You have been travelling over all the three worlds. Pray tell us what wonderful things you have seen, and where you saw them?

NĀRADA.—What can be more wonderful than Your Majesty's own exploits?

KRISHNA.—There is a most delicious scent coming from somewhere. Have you brought me anything as a present?

NĀRADA.

11. *Verses (Sanskrit).*

What can I give to One, within Whose breast
Sits Lakshmi's self, the giver of all good?
What words of praise will not be trite to thee,
When on Thy lips dwells heav'n-born Eloquence?
When Śiva, Brahmā, and the other Gods
Attend as henchmen at Thy beck and call,
What service is there left for other hands
To render unto an Incarnate God?

(*He sings.*)

12. *Song (Maithili).*

'Tis Thou that dwellest in the heart
Guiding, restraining, Master wise.
Why takest Thou this humble part,
Thus hidden in a human guise? (Refrain.)

Indra in his high abode
Hath on me a flow'r bestowed.
Priceless is it, culled for me
From the Parijāta-tree.
If I lay it at Thy feet,
Offering it in worship meet,
Then I've gained a double grace,—
Paid my devoirs, seen Thy face.

Fain am I, athirst, to sup
 Water from devotion's cup.
 As I drink, from sin set free,
 Nectar doth it seem to me.
 God ! The careworn dost Thou bless,
 Father of the fatherless.
 Endless services we owe
 Merely gratitude to show.
 Wise Umāpati doth say,
 In devotion ever pray,
 To th' Eternal, the Adored,
 From pure souls be love outpoured.
 Hindūpati, on his part,
 Comprehendeth in his heart,
 With Mahēśwarī, his Queen,
 How to see the Great Unseen.

*(Having finished his song, he offers the flower. Krishna accepts it
 and regards it with veneration. All gaze upon it with wonder.)*

BEHIND THE SCENE.

13. Song, introducing Satyabhāmā (Maithilī).

Comes the Lady, Satyabhāmā,
 Royal in her mien and gait,
 Witching in the sweet demeanour
 Of her conjugal estate.

Satyabhāmā, happy-hearted,
 Haughty, too, as Krishna's wife ;
 For she knows she is his darling,
 Precious to him as his life.

Doubtful are we when we see her,—
 Has a moon-gleam taken birth ?
 Has a flash of heav'n-sent lightning
 Come to dwell upon the earth ?

Or, when we her members shapely
 Decked with jewels rare behold,
 Can she be a dainty creeper,
 Blossoming with flow'rs of gold ?

Here Umāpati, the poet,
Of his knowledge speaketh sooth.
Hindūpati, mighty monarch,
With his Queen, discerneth truth.

Enter Satyabhāmā and her companion, Sumukhī.¹

SATYABHĀMĀ.—Sumukhī, dear, would His Majesty really like to see me ?

SUMUKHĪ.—Could I speak anything but the truth before Your Ladyship.

SATYABHĀMĀ (*sings*).

14. *Song (Maithilī).*

Haste, my friend, in joy and gladness.
Come into the garden sweet,
There my Madana Murāri,²
Hero, lover, I would meet.

As the sun, the daytime's jewel,
Glow on Mēru's³ topmost height,
So shine forth the lustrous jewels
Studding his tiara bright.

See his joyous face, enlightened
By the radiance of his eyes.
'Tis as though the moon had risen,
With two lilies for her prize.

See the woodbine garland hanging
White athwart his noble breast,
Like the Ganges' stream reclining
On mount Anjana,⁴ at rest.

[¹] The author has apparently forgotten that Sumukhī is already on the stage. Probably the previous direction for her exit has been accidentally omitted after her last speech.

[²] i.e. Krishna. Madana is the name of the god of love, here applied to Krishna. Mura was a demon slain by Krishna, who is hence called his enemy (*Mura-ari*).

[³] A mountain made of gold and precious stones, round which the sun and planets revolve.

[⁴] The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna mentions two mountains of this name but gives no particulars about them. We might also translate, 'like the Ganges' stream on a mountain of (black) collyrium.'

Precious stones and yellow garments,
On his dark form flashing proud,
Flicker like the summer lightning
Dancing on a newborn cloud.¹

Ah, my Deity entrancing !
Life and wealth, my soul, my all,
These I bring, and meekly lay them
At Thy feet, Thy humble thrall.

Wise Umāpati, the poet,
Doth himself the truth rehearse.
Hindupati knoweth Dēvi,
Mother of the Universe.²

Dear Sumukhī, there is a most delightful scent to-day in the garden.
I'll watch from under this jasmine tree what His Highness is doing in my absence.

KRISHNA.—Nārada, what is the peculiar virtue of this flower ?

NĀRADA.—

15. *Verses (Sanskrit.)*

Whatever form, or scent, or flavour new,
Whatever feeling, known or unexplored.
A man may wish, if he but ask for it,
This wondrous flower instantly bestows.

SATYABHĀMA.—Certainly the flower of the Parijata tree has most wonderful properties. Who else, except the Elder Queen³ will get it ?

KRISHNA (*to Rukminī*).—Lady, pray accept it.

RUKMINĪ (*making a reverence, and taking it*).—Great, indeed, is this favour that has been shown to me.

SATYABHĀMA.—It is quite right that it should be given to the mother of the eldest prince.⁴

SUMUKHĪ.—How is it right ? But Your Ladyship is standing out of sight.⁵

RUKMINĪ (*to her companion*).—Mitrāsēnā, dear, you must make arrangements for a great festival.

[¹] Krishna was by tradition dark-skinned, and wore yellow garments. One of his names was *Pīṭhābara*, 'yellow-clothed'.

[²] See the note to the concluding line of Song No. 8.

[³] That is Rukminī, who, as Queen, was senior to Satyabhāmā, and who was the mother of Pradyumna, the heir-apparent. Satyabhāmā admits Rukminī's higher claim to the flower, but, as we see later on, Sumukhī poisons her mind and fills her with jealousy.

[⁴] I.e. to the mother of Pradyumna, the heir-apparent. See the preceding note.

[⁵] I.e. it is you who are entitled to it, as Krishna's favourite wife; and if he had known that you were here, it is to you he would have given it.

MITRASENA.—Dear Lady, I certainly will, provided Your Ladyship will dance.

RUKMINĪ.—It shall be as my dear companion wishes. (*She dances accordingly, and sings.*)

16. Song (*Maithilī*).

The seed of piety in former lives
To-day has ripened in a harvest rare.
Hari, neglecting all his other wives,
Gives me alone this fruit beyond compare.

For, in my being of some former stage,
Gauri ¹ I worshipped with my heart and will.
Now, in reward, herself doth she engage
To-day my heart's desire to fulfil.

Over the heads of sixteen thousand queens
My head is raised on high by her decree.
Quoth wise Umāpati, salvation's means
Know Hindūpat and fair Mahāswari.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—Sumukhī, dear, there is nothing more to be looked at, and nothing more to be heard. So come back, and let us go home.

SUMUKHĪ.—But you couldn't do that without seeing His Highness first.

KRISHNA.—I wonder how dear Satyabhāmā is passing the time?

SATYABHĀMĀ.—It seems that to-day I am to be content with only hearing myself called 'dear.' (*Approaching Krishna with a voice broken by sobs.*) Hail! Hail! (*At these words her utterance is choked. She pays reverence to Nārada.*)

NĀRADA.—Be thou highly honoured by thy husband.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—That is what I hope for on this very day.

KRISHNA.—Dearest, do sit down on this seat.

SATYABHĀMĀ (*her voice broken*).—My Lord, I have got a headache, so I must go home. (*Exit with her companion.*)

RUKMINĪ.—My Lord, is His Holiness to sanctify this place with his presence without having anything to eat?

KRISHNA.—Quite so. (*Exit Rukminī with Nārada and her companion.*)

[¹] According to the doctrine of metempsychosis, the results of a person's good and bad deeds follow him into future lives. Rukminī can explain her present good fortune only by assuming that in some former life she must have worshipped Gauri, i.e. Dēvī, who now rewards her. Regarding the sixteen hundred wives, see note to song No. 7. It is Rukminī's claim that she is now preferred before all Krishna's other wives that finally angers Satyabhāmā.

KEISHNA (*solus*).—Sṭyabhāmā has quite put me into a fever by the state of mind that she has displayed.

17. *Verses (Sanskrit).*

By her dark trouble darken'd is my breast,
And from her trembling, sore it trembleth too.
Her silence melteth it with eye-born tears,
And by her sighs again 'tis parched dry.
Her faltering voice my heart hath drowned deep,
In a wide sea of passionate tenderness,
Yet, by her absence, as I gaze distraught,
Into a blazing fire she casteth it.

Let me just follow her among the bushes of the grove. (*He walks about.*) I see that she must have gone away altogether. Let me go to her apartments. (*Again walks about.*) Ah! here is the doorway of my darling's house. Here is Sumukhi busy in arranging cooling appliances. I'll ask her. Sumukhi, what is the news about my darling? (*Enter Sumukhī*).

SUMUKHĪ.—As for news, before this it was different; but now Fate¹ has diminished all her tranquillity.

KEISHNA.—The language even of the associates of my darling is also ambiguous. Tell me the particulars.

SUMUKHĪ (*sings*).

18. *Song (Maithilī).*

O Madhava, can I details declare
Of her whose wrath refuses to assuage!
With flashing eye behold th' offended fair
Consume her body in a fire of rage.

She gazes at the mirror in her ring,
Sees her fair face at times, and wrathful cries,
" 'Tis not a face, it is a moon of spring
" The lover's moon, the moon of lovers' lies. "

Anon, forgetful, on her bosom round
Her hand she lays, and cries with sudden start,
" 'Tis not my hand; a lotus have I found,
" Come to awake new love within my heart. "

[¹] The word *devatā*, translated 'fate', by a slight change in pronunciation becomes *dēśa*, which means 'Your Majesty'. Hence, as Krishna remarks, her language is ambiguous.

[²] A name of Krishna.

When her eyes fall upon her wealth of hair,
 With broken heart lamenteth she aloud,
 "Not tresses these,—to tell of my despair,
 "I see before me heaven black with cloud."

Or haply, when she speaks, her voice so sweet
 Recalls to her the kōil's¹ cry in spring
 Of "Hari, Hari",² and in this conceit
 She droops and swoons, her life abandoning.

O Madhava, e'en now on her show ruth.
 No husband kind is cruel to the end.
 That wise Umāpati declareth sooth
 His Queen and Hindupati apprehend.

(*Speaking*) Shall I then inform Her Ladyship of Your Lordship's arrival?

KRISHNA (*in alarm*).—Sumukhī, whatever Her Ladyship commands I am ready to do. (*Exit Sumukhī.*) In the meantime, I'll peep through the window, and look upon my beloved in her condition of wrath. (*He does so. He exhibits signs of agitation.*) Ah! Pity! (*In perplexity.*) She has been struck down by me!

19. *Verses (Sanskrit).*

Upon her brow is tied a snowy band,
 Her stubborn will discards all ornament,
 Parch'd are her rosy lips with panting sighs,
 All-languid sounds her erstwhile silv'ry voice
 Cooling devices gathered round her tell
 Of the hot fever that consumes her frame.

(*Enter Satyabhāmā, as above described, and Sumukhī fanning her.*)

SUMUKHĪ.—My Lady, be consoled.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—What need is there now for more cooling expedients.
 (*She sings.*)

20. *Song (Maithilī).*

Hari won my love and trust, —
 Cast me humbled in the dust.
 'Neath a cloud I shelter sought, —
 Shone the sun with fire fraught.

¹! The Indian cuckoo, *Cuculus indicus*

²! i.e. 'Krishna! Krishna!'

*Banish grieving from thy soul ;
 We must bear what Fate decrees.
 Former births must take their toll,
 Why thus seek death needlessly ? (Refrain.)*

Hath he early love forgot ?
 'Tis his nature. Blame him not.
 Though thou cherish it with care,
 Doth a snake remembrance bear ?

Ne'er again thy love display.
 Flouts it bringeth, lackaday !
 Thousand times in nectar thrown,
 Soft becometh not a stone.

Quoth the wise Umāpati,
 Soon will Hari come to thee.
 Hindūpati, King of kings,
 And his Queen, the poet sings.

Enough of efforts ! My life is too weak for them. *(She sings again.)*

21. *Song (Maithilā).*

Let full moons in legions,
 Giving all delight,
 In the heav'nly regions
 Shine by day and night
 Let full clouds rain water,
 Let, our hearts to please,
 Blow from ev'ry quarter
 Mālay's gentle breeze.

*Friend of mine, what gladness
 Is left for me in life ?
 My lord, in sorry madness,
 Hath flouted me, his wife.
 O'er a world censorious
 The insult they proclaim
 Of the reproach inglorious
 I cannot bear the shame. (Refrain.)*

Let the songs impassioned
 Of kōil and of bee,
 In form of fire fashioned,
 Burn my ears ruthlessly.

Let all unguents scented,
 That cool a fevered frame,
 Consume my form tormented
 In incandescent flame.

Let Madana, ensnaring,
 The god of Love, contrive
 To pierce my heart despairing
 With his arrows five ;
 Still, Friend of mine, what gladness
 Is left for me in life ?
 For Hari, in his madness,
 Hath flouted me, his wife.¹

Now, quoth Umāpati, banish
 Such rankling from thy mind,
 For all thy wrath will vanish,
 When Hari once is kind.
 Long live, in puissance glorious
 ('Tis thus the poet sings),
 And with his Queen, victorious
 Hindupat, King of kings. (*She faints.*)

KRISHNA.—Ah ! The pity ! (*In perplexity.*) She has been struck down by me. Let me approach my darling. (*He goes up to her, signing to her companion to stand back, and gently strokes the soles of her feet.*)

SATYABHĀMĀ (*partly regaining consciousness, and addressing Sumukhi, who, she imagines, is stroking her*).—The touch of your hands is not the same as usual. (*She opens her eyes. Seeing Krishna, she veils her face in dudgeon, and sits up.*)

KRISHNA (*humbly folding his hands*).—Darling, be appeased. Ah ! Disdainful One ! (*He sings.*)

22 & 23. Song (*Maithilī and Sanskrit*)².

In th' east the dawn is shining and the night has passed away,
 The moon has set, and chanticleer proclaims the opening day.
 He loudly cries, " O lotuses, the lilies of the night
 " Have closed their petals ; wake ye up, and open to the light."
 Lady, e'en the myriad stars have vanished into space,
 O, why unopened keep'st thou yet the lotus of thy face ?

[¹] These four lines are not in the original, I have taken them from the refrain and put them here, so as to complete the English verse,

[²] This, and also the two following songs, are each given twice or in Maithilī and once in Sanskrit. The three, together with No. 28, f

24 & 25. *Song (Maithilī and Sanskrit).*

Thy face is a fair lotus, and thine eyes twin lilies be,
 Thy lips are made of roses ¹ and thy nose of sesame. ²
 While thus thy form is compact of tender flow'rs alone,
 O tell me why thy heart is yet a heart of cruel stone.

26 & 27. *Song (Maithilī and Sanskrit).*

So languid is thy body, that on thy bosom fair, [bear.
 Thy bodice seems too heavy for the weight that thou canst
 Too heavy are the bracelets that embrace thy tender arms,
 Too heavy is the garland that conceals thy bosom's charms. [sustain,
 Yet,—strange the contradiction,—whilst thou canst not these
 Thou bearest still a mountain of the cruellest disdain.

28. *Song (Maithilī).*

Sweet, forbear from dwelling upon my great offence,
 And in forgiveness smiling, accept my penitence.
 Let the sunshine of thy mercy clear the darkness of thy pain,
 Let the dawning mark the ending of a night-time of disdain.

Himālaya's fair daughter, great Pārvati, benign,
 Of Thee doth wise Umāpati proclaim the pow'r divine.
 His heart, devoted truly, he layeth at thy feet,
 And, trusting in Thy mercy, pours forth his verses sweet.

29. *Song (Maithilī).*

Disdainful One ! For fault of mine
 Altho' thy heart be sore,
 I crave, thy pard'ning ear incline,
 Nor cherish anger more.

[1] The original has *Madhūri* or *Bandhūka*, i.e., the red flowered *Bandhujīva* or *Pentapetes Phoenicea*.

[2] For the comparison of the lips to the *Bandhūka* flower and of the nose to the sesame flower, compare *Gītāgōvinda* X, 6.

बन्धूकद्युतिबान्धवो ऽयमधरः स्निग्धो मधुकच्छ्वि
 गण्डप्रच्छिन्नकान्तिनीलनलिनश्रीमोचनं लोचनम् ।
 नासाभ्येति तिलप्रसूतपद्मां कुन्दाभदन्ति प्रिये
 प्रायस्स्वस्तुस्वसेवया विजयते विश्वं स पुण्यायुधः ॥

Disdainful One ! Thy brow's a bow
 Each glance a keen-tipped dart.
 Aim them at me with care, that so
 They pierce my erring heart.

Disdainful One ! Thy bosom round
 A mountain is complete.
 Make me a prisoner, to it bound
 By thine arm-fetters sweet.

Disdainful One ! Concede my suit,
 Show thyself kind to me.
 Give me thy jewelled lotus-foot
 My diadem to be.

The wise Umāpat speaketh sooth,
 True love is rarely seen ;
 With Hindūpati, knoweth truth
 Mahēswari his Queen¹.

SATYABHĀMĀ (*making reverence, and rising*) (*Sings*).

30. *Song (Maithilī).*

At that time, and at that place,
 Why didst thou my name disgrace² ?
 Nôw what solace have I ? None.
 O'er the world the news hath run,
 Mādhava, Ah Mādhava.

Now each gossip hath her chance ;
 Laughs the world, and looks askance.
 'Mid my mates discredited
 How can I uplift my head ;
 Mādhava, Ah Mādhava.

Those I laughed at yesterday
 Back to me derision pay.
 Fate to me hath turned malign.
 Dooming me to shame condign,
 Mādhava, Ah Mādhava.

[¹] See the note to the concluding line of Song No. 8.

[²] The taking of Satyabhāmā's name is not mentioned in the play, but is found in the *Harivamsa*. Nārada, when Krishna gave the flower to Rukminī, told her that Satyabhāmā would envy her good fortune. Satyabhāmā became angry because Krishna had allowed this to be said in his presence without remonstrating.

Wise Umāpati declares

Thy goodman will heed thy cares.

Hindūpat, the dread of foes,

With his Queen, true rapture knows.

Madhava, Ah Madhava. *(She faints.)*

KRISHNA *(raising her)*.—Darling ! be consoled.

SATYABHĀMĀ *(reviving)*.—Your Majesty, even your consolations put me to shame.

KRISHNA.—Darling ! be appeased. Tell me plainly how I can calm your heart.

31. Verses *(Sanskrit)*.

When the world suffers from some grievous scourge,

With full compassion's gaze I give relief.

So, now behold thy prostrate suppliant ;

On him one side-glance of compassion cast.

No other conqueror I own, save thee,

Yet, when thou'rt angered, all can conquer me.

SATYABHĀMĀ *(petulantly)*.—*(Sings)*.

32. Song *(Maitihī)*.

O Madhava, regard my case. To me

Bring thou and give the Pārijāta-tree.

Now, quickly sally forth this tree to get,

Or doubtless, else, my sun of life will set.

Thus only can my repute be secured,

And I from laughter and disgrace secured.

The wise Umāpati, in poets' art,

The truth declareth from his kindly heart.

King Hindūpati and his Consort Queen

Of nuptial raptures all the joys have seen.

KRISHNA.—Ho ! Gate-porter ! Dharmadāsa ! Call hither Nārada from Her Ladyship's apartments.

DHARMADĀSA *(behind the scenes)*.—As Your Majesty commands. *(Enter Nārada.)*

NĀRADA.—Let me bid you farewell. Graciously allow me to set forth for Purandara's [¹] city.

KRISHNA.—Will Your Holiness kindly deliver this message to Purandara, as from me.

[¹] Purandara is one of the names of Indra,

33. Verses (Sanskrit).

Indra, the Pārijāta hither send.
 One longing glance let thy nymphs cast on it.
 Lest haply my dread bow should cleave thy breast
 With saffron from thy Śachi's¹ bosom stained.

NĀRADA.—Certainly. (*Exit.*)

KRISHNA.—Dharmadāsa ! The first thing in the morning go to Dhananjaya,² and tell him to arm himself for battle with the King of the Immortals. And,—another message,—tell him to send Subhadra to console my Darling.

DHARMADĀSA (*Behind the scenes*).—As Your Majesty commands.

(*Here the night is supposed to elapse, but the action on the stage is continuous.*)

(*Enter Subhadra.*)

SUBHADRĀ.—Dearest Satyabhāmā, be consoled, His Majesty will take away all your distress.

KRISHNA.—How is it that Nārada is making such delay ?

(*Enter Nārada.*)

NĀRADA.

34. Verses (Sanskrit).

Krishna ! When even Brahmā, Sankara³,
 Are subject to delusion's potent wiles,
 Lord of the World ! for Indra who can hope,
 Blind with the madness of prosperity ?

But Krishna must do him a service by driving away his madness.
 (*Approaching Krishna.*) My Lord Krishna, this is the reply which has been sent by Purandara :—

35. Verses (Sanskrit).

If, from the Pārijāta-tree, of but one leaf
 Be torn so much as shrouds a needle's point,
 So much, O Krishna, give I not to thee
 Without the fierce arbitrament of war.

[¹] Sachi was Indra's spouse. She was the daughter of Pulōman (cf. Song 40).

[²] Dhananjaya is one of the names of Arjuna, the famous hero of the Mahābhārata. He was Krishna's bosom friend, and his cousin ; his mother Prithā being the sister of Krishna's father, Yāsudeva. He was a great warrior ; his chief weapon being the Gandīva bow, given to him by Agni, the god of fire. This bow is referred to in Song No. 37.

He had several wives, amongst whom we may mention Draupadī and Subhadra. Draupadī was the heroine of the Mahābhārata, and was the joint wife of Arjuna and his four brothers. She is referred to by Satyabhāmā later on in the play, shortly after verse No. 41. Subhadra was Krishna's younger sister, and is mentioned above.

[³] One of the names of Śiva.

KRISHNA.—Well, then, Nārada, he must suffer the consequences of his hostility. Behold, I herewith summon mentally the King of Birds¹. Help! Dhananjaya! I sally forth to take by storm the Pārijāta-tree, and also Indra's pride. Darling, farewell!

SATYABHĀMĀ.—Come back successful. But you must, as soon as possible, send a messenger of the joyful news.

KRISHNA.—Nārada here will come and tell you of the success of our exploit.

NĀRADA.—My eye longs to see the combat between my nephews.² (*Excunt Krishna, Dhananjaya, and Nārada for the Rape of the Pārijāta.*)

SATYABHĀMĀ.—Subhadra, dear, I do hope that His Majesty will come back very quickly, and having achieved success.

SUBHADRĀ.—Of course he will.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—(*Sings.*)

36. Song (*Maithilī*).

At first, reposing on a bed of flow'rs,

Delight was ours.

My Lord begrudged a parting e'en of hours.

Without him now my eyes, like clouds, pour rain,

In lonely pain.

When will God grant that we may meet again?

[¹] Each God has his own peculiar *vahana*, or vehicle, which might be translated by 'steed' were it not that it is not a horse. Vishnu-Krishna's vehicle was Garuḍa, a wonderful bird, the chief of the feathered race. He was the brother of Aruṇa, or the Dawn, and the son of Vinatā, as mentioned in Song No. 37. As we shall also see in that song, Indra's vehicle was the mighty elephant, Airāvata.

[²] The nephews are Krishna, Dhananjaya (Arjuna), and Indra. Owing to the system of incarnations and rebirths, the relationships of celestials are complicated, and varying accounts are given. The use of the term 'nephew' (i.e. brother's son) here may be explained as follows :—

One of Krishna's names was Upēndra. This name is variously explained (see Wilson-Hall, *Vishnu-purāṇa*, iv, 318). Here we may take it as meaning 'the younger brother of Indra.' Indra was the son of Kasyapa and Aiti, and a younger son of the same was the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu. As Krishna was also an incarnation of Vishnu, he was only the Dwarf incarnation under another form. He could therefore be counted as the younger brother of Indra. This is confirmed by the fact that Dēvaki, his human mother, was herself an incarnation of Aditi. Nārada and Kasyapa were both sons of Brahṃā (ib. i., 101; iii, 343), and were therefore brothers, both Indra and Krishna being Nārada's nephews.

But Nārada was not only Indra's uncle. Besides being the son of Brahṃā, he was born a second time as a son of Kasyapa, and was therefore also Indra's brother (ib. ii, 18). Indra begot Arjuna (Dhananjaya) on Prithā, the sister of Krishna's father, Vasudēva : so that, in this way, Arjuna was both Nārada's nephew and also Krishna's first cousin (ib. iv, 101, f.),

The grove resoundeth with the kōil's call
 And they forestall
 Love's cruel arrows, when on me they fall.
 O Lady, wise Umāpat states his rede.
 To it give heed,
 Thy Lord's return to raptures new will lead.

Subhadra, dear, my left eye is quivering ¹.

SUBHADRĀ.—Look, dear. Here is Nārada. (*Enter Nārada.*)

NĀRADA.—Lady, my congratulations! The battle has been won by Krishna, and the Pārijāta-tree has been carried off.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—Accept, then, this token of your darning in regard to the Pārijāta. (*She decorates him with a garland.*) Your Holiness, please tell us in a few words how the victory was gained.

NĀRADA.—Aha! Ruthless was the fray amid my nephews².

(*He sings.*)

37. Song (*Maithilī*).

On Airāvata³ mounted, his foes to withstand,
 Came Indra, bejewelled, his bow in his hand.
 And his son brave Jayanta, too, hurried forth then,
 With his chariots and horses, and thousands of men.
 On Airāvata Indra faced Garuḍa's⁴ speed,
 With brother fought brother,⁵ and steed fought with steed.
 To the marvellous spectacle deities came,
 E'en Śiva⁶ and Gaurī, with wonder aflame.
 With a dart from his bow Hari⁷ pierced Indra's breast,
 And Gāṇḍīva's Wielder⁸ Jayanta oppressed.
 Then up Vinatā's son, mighty Garuḍa, flew,
 And Airāvata's tusk with his beak dashed in two.
 With his own lotus-hands Hari tore up the tree,
 And set it on Garuḍa. Victor was he!
 Then the quarrel by Śiva was straightway composed,
 And Murāri⁹ rejoicing came home unopposed.

[¹] A good omen.

[²] See Note 2 on p. 63.

[³] Anelephant, Indra's vehicle. See Note 1, p. 63.

[⁴] Krishna's vehicle. See Note 1, p. 63.

[⁵] Krishna and Indra were brothers. See Note 2, p. 63.

[⁶] Gīṛiṣa, the word used in the text, means 'he who inhabits mountains' and is a name of Śiva.

[⁷] One of the names of Vishnu-Krishna.

[⁸] i.e. Dhananjaya (Arjuna). See Note 2, p. 63.

[⁹] Murāri was one of the names of Krishna. See Note to Song 14.

For the forest of Yavanas ¹ crushing the land,
 There's a fire of vengeance, infuriate, grand.
 There were nine incarnations of Hari before,
 Now the tenth hath revealed itself, right to restore.
 To Hindūpat, monarch, the king of all kings,
 To the scholar heroic, Umāpati sings.

(*Enter Krishna, mounted on Garuḍa and carrying the Pārijāta, and Dhananjaya on horseback.*)

KRISHNA.—Darling, here is the Pārijāta-tree. Deign to accept it.

DHANANJAYA.—Friend, Satyabhāmā, now you are radiantly conspicuous at the head of all honoured ladies. This tree,—

38. Verses (Sanskrit).

That halloweth the ground whereon it stands,—
 The Pārijāta that beheld with faith,
 To every suppliant concedes his prayer,
 And all disease and sorrow banisheth,—
 With all the love o'erflowing from his heart
 Is proffered here to thee by Mādhava.

You should therefore sing something in its honour.

SATYABHĀMĪ.—(*Makes a reverence and stands up. She sings.*)

39. Song (Maithili).

Hail Pārijāta, Royal Tree !
 On thee I feast mine eyes.
 For holy deeds in former births
 Fate now allots a prize.
 Of Heav'n's fair garden thou the boast,
 Withevery grace endued.
 E'en what the Gods desire from thee,
 Thou giv'st with certitude.

When Dēvas and Dānavas ² all combine,
 To do thee service meet,
 How can poor mortals e'er attain
 Thy service to complete ?

[¹] Regarding Harihara Dēva's opposition to the Musalmān conquests and his identification as the tenth incarnation of Vishnu. See Note 1, p. 42.

[²] The Dēvas are the gods and the Dānavas are demons. See Note to Song No. 4 and note to Song No. 5.

Indra, himself, as gardener,
The ground around thee tends.
With water from the Ganges' flood
Śachi¹ assistance lends.

Umāpati, the wise and kind,
As ever, speaketh sooth.
Mahāśwari and Hindūpat,
Know that he telleth truth.

NĀRADA.—Satyabhāmā, do you know that a pious gift offered ² under the shade of the Parijata bears fruit that is inexhaustible. It should therefore be planted in the courtyard of your palace.

KRISHNA.—So let it be. (*They all 'plant it.'*) Dhananjaya, follow me outside, and come back after we have handed over our steeds. (*They ride off accordingly, and return on foot.*)

SATYABHĀMĀ.—Nārada, what should I give as a pious offering?

NĀRADA.—Whatever is most dear to you.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—But what is more dear to me than His Majesty?

KRISHNA.—Darling, I am your chattel, and at your disposal. Give me to a Brāhman. (*Satyabhāmā shows that she is ashamed.*)

NĀRADA.—What cause is there for shame?

40. Verses (Sanskrit).

To me by Gauri was Gīrīśa ³ given.
Pulōman's daughter ⁴ gave Purandara.
And, 'neath the hallowed shade of this fair tree,
Should thy Lord, Krishna, now be given by thee.

SATYABHĀMĀ (*in token of dedication, solemnly taking Kusa, etc. ⁵ in her hands.*).—To-day I, who desire to be able to worship His Majesty's feet, without let or hindrance, from now give His Majesty as a gift to Nārada.

NĀRADA.—Well done! Subhadra, why do you not give Dhananjaya?

[¹] Indra's spouse.

[²] It is to be understood that such a gift must be made to a Brāhman. Nārada was a Brāhman. Every other good deed has happy fruits in this or in some future life, but these fruits are ultimately exhausted. The fruits of this particular good deed are, on the contrary, everlasting.

[³] Gīrīśa, i.e., 'he who inhabits mountains', is one of the names of Śiva. Gauri is his spouse.

[⁴] Purandara is Indra. His spouse, Sachi, was the daughter of Pulōman.

[⁵] A sacred grass. Its use is indispensable in religious observances such as this dedicatory gift. While formally making her gift, Satyabhāmā gives utterance to the wish which the Parijata-tree is to fulfil.

DHANANJAYA.—So be it. I am a chattel at the disposal of Krishna's younger sister.¹

SUBHADRĀ (*ashamed, dedicates and gives Dhananjaya*).

NĀRADA.—Well done! You two, Krishna and Dhananjaya, are now become my bondsmen.

BOTH.—What happier lot could we desire!

NĀRADA (*haughtily*).—What can I make my slaves do?

41. Verses (Sanskrit).

Krishna shall drive the plough on my broad fields.

Dhananjay wield the mattock on my clods.

Or, mounted on their shoulders pickaback,

At ease I'll travel o'er the universe.

Here, in the meantime, massage my feet.

BOTH.—We look upon such a task as an honour conferred upon us.

NĀRADA (*aside*).—Such indeed is the state of affairs. Ah! This is horrible! Or is it simply some joke of the Creator? (*aloud*.) But how am I to fill the bellies of Him who sustaineth the whole universe and of him who is the brother of Wolf-belly? Let be! I must sell them. (*He cries out*.) Slaves for sale! Any buyers?

SUBHADRĀ.—Satyabhāmā, dear, you had better buy His Majesty before Rukmini does so.

SATYABHĀMĀ (*bashfully*).—Here am I. I'll buy him. What is the price? A thousand loads of gold? Or a heap of jewels and precious stones? Or the nine *nidhis*? Or the three worlds?

NĀRADA (*putting his hands over his ears*)².—God forbid!

SATYABHĀMĀ.—Tell me really and truly how much you want, so that I may believe you.

NĀRADA.—Give me a cow.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—I give it. Subhadrā, dear, you also had better buy Dhananjaya before Draupadī³ hears about this.

SUBHADRĀ.—I also give a cow.

NĀRADA.—Both the slaves are set free. Lady Satyabhāmā! Now is your high esteem complete.

SATYABHĀMĀ.—It is through the blessing of Your Holiness.

NĀRADA.—Now what more than this can you desire?

[¹] i. e. his wife Subhadrā. See Note 2, P. 62.

[²] He is horror-struck at the idea of treating Krishna, the Incarnate God, as his slave.

[³] One of Dhananjaya's (Arjuna's) brothers was Bhimasēna, who was nicknamed Vṛkōdara, or Wolf-belly on account of his enormous appetite.

[⁴] These are the nine divine treasures belonging to Kubēra, the god of wealth.

[⁵] This attitude is taken by a man who wishes to impress upon his mind the folly or wickedness of some act, and who determines not to repeat it.

[⁶] The chief wife of Dhananjaya (Arjuna). See Note 2, p. 62.

ALL (*singing in chorus*).

42. *Chorus (Maithilī).*

May the clouds make gifts of water
In the season's timely rain.
May the earth in every quarter,
Be filled with wealth and grain.

May the king, in virtue leading,
His subjects well protect.
May the four castes, Manu¹ heeding,
Each proper task select.

Th' unthwarted study, single,
Be the Vēds of Brahmanhood.
May the wicked ne'er commingle,
With th' assemblies of the good.

May the king, his ears unheeding
From slanderers avert,
May he, when rank conceding,
Show honour to desert.

May Hindūpat, victorious,
Live long, a king of kings.
With whose achievements glorious,
The whole wide welkin rings.

43. *Chorus (Sanskrit).*

May the broad earth bloom heavy with its crops,
In joy and solace may the people rest.
May all the Lords of Earth distribute wealth,
Weighing the merits of recipients.
May pious worthies never be compell'd,
To share with slanderers a dwelling place.
And may the poet's Muse, hallow'd to all,
Wander, by devious ways, throughout the land,
Till she reach e'en the ploughman's humble cot.

CURTAIN.

[¹] The author of The Laws of Manu. In these the proper work of each caste is minutely detailed.

APPENDIX I.

INDEX

Of all the Prakrit words occurring in the Pārijāta-harāṇa.

[The references are to the numbers of the respective songs following the Prakrit prose passage in which the word occurs].

अ (च, after a vowel), 11; cf. च ।

अइअं (अये इदं), 11.

अकुंठिय (अकुण्ठित), 41.

अग्गदो (अग्रतः), 14.

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आमोदो (आमोदः), 15.

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इदं (इदं), 37.

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उण (पुनः), 20, 40.

उप्पसा (उत्पन्ना), 17.

उवआरेहिं (उपचारैः), 20.

ऊणा (ऊना), (P) 18.

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लदन्दरेण (लतान्तरेण), 15.

लोत्रा (लोकाः), 42.

वरं, see परं ।

वा (वा), 11, 42 (ter).

वाणरो (वानरः), 11.

वामं (वामं), 37.

वि (अपि, after a vowel), 17 (bis), 31; cf. अवि, पि ।

वुत्तन्तं (वृत्तान्तं), 37.

वेअणा (वेदना), 17.

स,-सो (सः) 40; सा, 17.

सच्चं (सत्यं), 14, 42.

सच्चभामाए (सत्यभामया), 11; सच्चभामे (सत्यभामे), 34, 42.

सण्हिदिदो ज्जेव (सन्निहित एव), 11.

सद्दो (शब्दः), 17.

संतावं (सन्तापं), 34.

सन्ती (शान्तिः), (?) 18.

समर (समर), 37.

समासेन (समासेन), 37.

समासवेहि (समाम्बुसिद्धि), 20, 34.

सम्यक्तो (सम्याप्तः), 37.

सम्यदं (साम्प्रतं), (?) 18.

सम्भावहि (सम्भावय), 16.

सर्वधा (सर्वथा), 16.

सर्वा (सर्वा), (?) 18.

सहस्रं (सहस्रं), 42.

सहि (सखि), 14, 15, 16 (bis), 17, 22, 34, 36, 37 (bis), 42 (bis).

सिग्धं (शीघ्रं), 36.

सीसे (शीर्षे), 17.

सुणिद्वयं (श्रोतव्यं), 17.

सुणीअदि (श्रूयते), 17.

सुमरदि (स्मरति), 11; सुमरिस्सदि (स्मरिष्यति), 14.

सुसुहि (सुसुखि), 14, 15, 17.

सुवण (सुवर्ण), 42.

सुहदे (सुभद्रे), 36, 37, 42.

सव्व (सैव), (?) 18.

-हरो (-धरः), 36.

होद (भवति), 42.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF SANSKRIT METRES.

Anuṣṭubh; Nos. 11, 34, 35, 40, 41.

Aupacchandāsika; No. 31.

○ ○ - | ○ ○ - | ○ - ○ | -- || ○ ○ - | - ○ ○ | - ○ - | ○ - -.

Bhujāṅga-prayāta; No. 38.

○ - - | ○ - - || ○ - - | ○ - -.

Indravajrā; No. 33.

- - ○ | - - || ○ | ○ - ○ | - -.

Prthvī; No. 23.

○ - ○ | ○ ○ - | ○ - || ○ | ○ ○ - | ○ - - | ○ -.

Sāṅdūlavikrīḍita; Nos. 2, 6, 17, 19, 25, 27.

- - - | ○ ○ - | ○ - ○ | ○ ○ - || - - ○ | - - ○ | -.

Sragdharā; Nos. 3, 43.

- - - | - ○ - | - || ○ ○ | ○ ○ ○ | ○ - || - | ○ - - | ○ - -.

Upajāti (*Upēndravajrā*, *Indravajrā*, *Vaṁśastha*, *Upēndravajrā*); 33.

Upēndravajrā; Nos. 9, 33.

○ - ○ | - - || ○ | ○ - ○ | - -.

Vaṁśastha; No. 33.

○ - ○ | - - || ○ | ○ - ○ | - -.

II.—Major Randfurlic Knox, Dilawar Jang Bahadur : A Memoir.

By S. C. Hill, M.A.

Bishop Heber, visiting Patna in the year 1824,¹ noticed that the Europeans there stationed preferred to bury their deceased friends and relatives in the gardens surrounding their bungalows rather than in the cemetery, so that in most of these gardens there were to be found funeral urns or obelisks. It is therefore not surprising to find that a tomb, bearing the early date of 1764, should be situated on the bank of the river which flows by the town. This tomb, as the inscription tells us, was erected above "the earthly remains of the truly gallant Major Randfurlic Knox."² So striking a monument to the memory of a man who was hardly more than thirty years of age at the time of his death suggests that he was no ordinary person. At the request of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and of Sir William Duke, I have attempted to bring together in the following pages all the information regarding his career that can be collected from historical works and the official records. My most grateful thanks are due to Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E., of the India Office and to Mr. A. I. Ellis of the British Museum for their most kind and valuable assistance in the performance of this task.

I.—EARLY LIFE IN ENGLAND AND MADRAS.

From his Christian name it may be supposed that Randfurlic Knox was connected with that branch of the Knox family³ which left its ancestral home at Ranfurlic near Paisley in Scotland

¹ Bishop Heber's *Journal* under date 22nd August 1824.

² See Appendix I. A copy of the inscription is to be found in Dr. C. R. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Bengal*, No. 869.

³ More particularly with the Knoxes of Prehen (County Londonderry). Of this family Dr. George Knox, Rector of Lifford (County Donegal), married a certain Catherine Nesbitt, daughter of James Nesbitt of Woodhill (County Donegal), and

to settle in Ireland, but as the names of his parents are unknown, the exact nature of the connection cannot be stated. All that is known with certainty is that he was born at Sligo in the year 1730 according to the inscription on his tomb, or in 1734 according to the India Office Embarkation Lists.¹ As he entered Woolwich as a cadet in 1751 and as late as 1761 is referred to by his commanding officer, Major Caillaud, as "a young gentleman",² I incline to the later date of 1734.

At the time of his death, of his relatives there were living a brother, Lieutenant John Knox,³ a sister Lucy married to a Mr. Forester or Forster, an uncle the Rev. George Knox of Dublin, cousins Captain John Knox,⁴ Captain Mitchelburne Knox,⁵ the Rev. Henry Knox (Vicar of Berkley), a daughter of Mr. George Knox and two children of another cousin Thomas Knox, none of whom are named.⁶

Of Knox's boyhood nothing is known, but in all probability, he, like his cousin Mitchelburne, had "had the best education" and "kept the best company" ⁷ that Sligo afforded. Thus equipped for a profession he obtained a nomination as a Gentleman Cadet in the Royal Military College at Woolwich. This Institution was created by Royal Warrant on

died 1795. That he or his father is the uncle George Knox referred to in Major Knox's will is rendered more probable by the fact that when he remitted £1,000 in the year 1763, it was in Bills on the Company made payable to one Arnold Nesbitt. There is no mention of Major Knox in Burke or in the Family Records of the Earl of Ranfurly.

¹ In 1753 he is here entered as *Quality, Ensign; country, Sligo, Ireland; Trade, Gentleman; age, 19.*

² *Ironsides's Journal (Asiatic Annual Register, 1800. Misc. Manceous).* This is really Caillaud's *Narrative of his Campaign in Bengal in 1760.*

³ Lieutenant John Knox of the Marines, *Army List, 1754.*

⁴ Captain John Knox, 46th Regiment of Foot, *Army List, 1764.*

⁵ Of the East India Company Service, previously in Major-General Barrington's (8th) Regiment in which he had served three campaigns in Germany.

⁶ See Last Will and Testament, Appendix II.

⁷ Letter from Thomas Knox to Mr. R. Nugent (M.P. for Bristol) dated 21st August 1756. *Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 32867* of 14. Thomas Knox was at one time one of the Sheriffs of Bristol and a partisan of the Whig party. His business seems to have been largely connected with shipping; privateering *etc., etc.*

the 30th April 1741.¹ At first the Cadets were attached to the different companies of the Artillery and were drilled with them, though otherwise treated as gentlemen and often invited to dinner by the officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. At the same time they received more or less regular instruction, both theoretical and practical, such as was calculated to instruct "raw and inexperienced people" in "the several parts of mathematics necessary to qualify them for the service of the Artillery and the business of the Engineer."² Their pay was sixteenpence a day with thirteenspence as subsistence allowance, a stoppage of threepence a day being made for clothing.³

Captain Duncan tells us that "when in June 1744 the Regiment was inspected by the Duke of Cumberland, a disorderly mob, without officers or even uniforms, drawn up on the right of the line, represented the Cadets of the Royal Artillery Next January the Cadets were no longer a mob; they were no longer unofficered, they were clothed, but they were not in their right mind. It may be said of the Cadets of the olden time that they were veritable sons of Ishmael; their hands were against every man and every man's hand against them. They were the parents of their own legislation; *a priori* law-making was unknown and not a statute was passed that had not been anticipated by the offence it was intended to curb. The Cadets' ingenuity in evading detection was equalled by their talent in inventing new methods of annoyance."

According to Captain Duncan the Cadets were for many years very young, their average age being twelve to fourteen. Of their offences one of the most serious was that of bathing in the Thames, of which they became especially fond as soon as it was forbidden, and of which they could not be cured until "some ingenious authority decided that any Cadet found swimming in

¹ See Buchanan-Dunlop (Colonel W. D. Jones) *Records of the Royal Military Academy, 1741—1892*, pp. 4—7; F. Guggisberg, *The Shop*; Captain Francis Duncan, *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, I, 110.

² Royal Warrant, 30th April 1741.

³ Public Record Office. *Muster Rolls (Artillery)*, 1750—1753.

the Thames should be taken out and carried naked to the Guard Room."

The Cadets, it would seem, were of a more delicate mind than their superiors, who apparently combined the stupidity of the pedant with the brutality of the martinet and so, in dealing with high-spirited boys, were the creators rather than the preventers or reformers of bad habits. Some amusements, such as private theatricals, were allowed the Cadets, but it was not a wise policy to quarter them in lodgings in the town, of which they appear to have had the free run, so that very naturally they were found not infrequently in the taverns. Some letters,¹ by one of their number, Robert Sandham, who joined about the same time as Knox, have been preserved. He describes² his comrades as a "set of young fellows whose most honourable epithet is wild, the generality of them bear the worst of characters, being ever engaged in riots and drunken broils."

Judging from such evidence Guggisberg writes: "the early days (of the Institution) may be described without hesitation as a small hell upon earth." But one is inclined to think that young Sandham was "getting at" his mother when he wrote like this, as he goes on to tell her that his own particular friend was "a middle aged gentleman, that is near 30, of a sober, sedate aspect with more of the clergyman in his appearance than the officer," and soon after acknowledges hampers of ham and fowls wherewith to ingratiate himself with his teachers.

It was however into such a life that Randfurlie Knox entered at about the age of sixteen. His name first appears on the Pay-list for January to March 1749—50, in which he stands 31st out of 47, and it is still to be found on the List October to December 1753. If these lists were drawn up in order of merit Knox's progress in the school was not much to his credit, for even the virtuous Sandham, who was below him in 1751, stood 16th in 1753. It is interesting to find in these lists the names of several men, e.g. Fleming Martin, Martin Yorke and David Blake,

¹ Colonel W. D. Jones, *Records of the Royal Military Academy*.

² *Ibid*, pp. 6-7. Letter to his Mother, dated 30th August 1750.

whom he was to meet again in India. Then, as now, the world was a very small place.

In December 1753 the East India Company, being short of military officers, applied to the authorities at Woolwich for nominations. Sandham tells us that the first chance was given to him, but that he refused the offer because—

“In the first place I should be quite out of the way of preferment in the King’s service, if my friends were willing to do anything for me, and in five or six years’ time which I should be there, a war might break out, and by that means prevent me a fine rise at home; secondly, I should receive no pay till I was on the spot where I was sent, and then be entirely at the mercy of one of the Governors who could hinder me from rising, and even break me without a court-martial if he pleased.”¹

These reasons—which, however, did not prevent Sandham from accepting an Indian appointment later on ²—were considered to justify his refusal, but they did not deter two of his companions, David Blake and Randfurlie Knox, from accepting the offer when it was passed on to them. On the 19th December ³ the Court of Directors considered petitions from these two young men—Blake was 22 and Knox was 19—

“severally setting forth their services in the Royal Train of Artillery, and praying to be entertained in such capacity in the Company’s Forces in the East Indies as the Court shall think fit.”

These petitions were referred to the Committee of Shipping, but as the Records of this Committee, prior to 1813, were all destroyed by some official wiseacre in 1860, it is impossible to say whether Blake and Knox had already seen some active service as the description of the petitions would seem to imply, and as was certainly the case with many of the Woolwich Cadets. The Committee, however, must have reported favourably,

¹ Robert Sandham to his Mother, 19th December 1753.

² Sandham died at Fort St. David, 16th May 1755. *Records of the Bengal Military Academy*, p. 9.

³ *Court Minutes* of this date.

for on the 2nd January 1764 Blake, Knox and one Robert Bannatyne¹ were "entertained as Ensigns for Fort Saint George (i.e., Madras) and to take rank immediately after those that were appointed the 29th November last."

On the 16th January Captain George Meard of the Company's ship *Denham* having declared his ship ready to leave Gravesend, Blake and Knox were called up and sworn, together with Lieutenant William Bishop and Ensign Robert Bannatyne. Bishop went out on another ship, but Blake, Bannatyne (aged 20) and Knox, with 63 privates, went on board the *Denham*.

The log of the *Denham*² begins officially on the 24th November 1753, the date when she hauled out of dock, but, as we have seen, she did not leave Gravesend before the 16th January 1754, and it was nearly a month later before she left the Downs. Delays of this kind in starting possibly account in part for the phenomenal length of some of the old East India voyages. Captain—I do not know what right the Company had to describe its Commanders by this title—Meard must have been a "character." The entries in his log are tantalizing in their brevity. He saw much and said—or wrote—little. Every fresh bird that comes in sight is noted, every shoal of fish, but when on the 7th April the *Denham* crosses the Equator—he calls it the Equinox—he only logs the fact that 59 of the people on board had never crossed it before, and we can only imagine his chuckles as he watched the delight of the sailors in introducing such a large number of novices to Father

¹ Bannatyne was evidently a steady and intelligent young man, for I find that when he was in command at Carangoly in 1757 he used to write to Robert Orme for such books as the *Memoires de M. de Fouquieres* and the *Works of Montecuculi*. (See Orme O. V. 48.) He was killed at Conjeveram, April 1759. (Orme, *History*, III, 471) and Nicolas in his *Memoires of Governor Pigot* (Orme O. V. I., p. 72) writes of this event as follows:—"This is where Major Valentin [i.e. Capt. Bannatyne], highly esteemed by our hero [i.e. Pigot] and the whole army was killed. The regret expressed by everybody at the news of his death, shows how much he was liked, and he must have been a very brave man and a very good officer seeing that even the Governor shed tears at his loss."

² India Office, *Marine Records*, No. 780.

Neptune.¹ He was certainly a good disciplinarian, for his log is full of entries recording the employment he found for his people on idle days in gun and small-arm practice, setting them to pick oakum when he could find no other job for them to do. Outbreaks of scurvy were for a time held in check by "boiled wheat every other morning for breakfast"—and when even this failed "consulted the three first officers concerning our sick people and judge it most proper to put in at the island of Johanna² to get refreshments which may be a means of saving all their lives as well as many more, which, I believe, are beginning to have it."

On the 31st May, accordingly, he landed the sick at Johanna, paying the Prince or King "a barrel of powder and a barrel of pitch as customary for anchorage" and complimenting him with a salute of five guns when he came on board.³ In return he was allowed a supply of fresh water and provided with some live cattle and plantain trees on which to feed them. Of the sick one seaman and three soldiers were so delighted to find themselves on terra firma that they deserted. Captain Meard did not disturb himself about such a trifle. All that he logs on the 6th June, when he was ready to start, is—

"I advanced the Prince's men four Spanish Dollars to bring the people on board which had deserted the ship and in the evening they brought 'em on board . . . put 'em in irons and handcuff'd 'em to prevent their getting ashore again."

With such precautions for their health and security, it is no wonder that when the *Denham* arrived at Madras on the 5th July and had exchanged salutes with the Fort and the Captain, on

¹ Cf. "We yesterday crossed the Line, about eight O'clock in the morning; being Sunday, it was not until this day that, according to immemorial custom, those who had not crossed before, were shaved and ducked. The Captain's passengers were all exempted; the midshipmen and my servant were most mercifully (?) dealt with." Lord Valentia's *Travels*, under date 26th July 1802.

² An island off Madagascar at which ships frequently touched.

³ See Grose : *Voyage to the East Indies*, I., 21.

landing, had been further complimented by a personal salute of nine guns, he could, the next day, enter in his log—

“ Sent sixty-three soldiers and three ensigns with all the Company’s treasure on shore. ”

Sixty-three soldiers and three Ensigns he had taken on board in London and sixty-three soldiers and three Ensigns he put ashore in Madras, and his Surgeon, Geoffrey Jones, was at liberty to present a petition to the Madras Council¹ for “ the usual gratuity of ten shillings *per* man to be paid for his care of them. ”

All this time there is no other reference in his log regarding the three Ensigns. Probably the charge of the sixty-three men, combined with the iron rule of the Captain, sufficed to hold in check any exhibition of wild spirits even on the part of the two ex-Cadets from Woolwich. For these the voyage must have been a dreary experience. From the day the *Denham* left the Downs until they landed in Madras they had not put foot ashore at any single place except Johanna, communicating only by boat with Galle in Ceylon. Nor had they met with any ships except one on the 27th March 1754—more interesting perhaps to us than to Knox, whose cousin Thomas had much to do with ships and ship-ping. This was a slaver—

“ which being near us sent the boat² on board. She’s a Snow, belonging to Liverpool, named the *Blizah*, William Lowe, Commander, has been seven weeks from Cape Mount, has 158 slaves on board and bound to Barbadoes, they have buried nine of the Ship’s Company a few days ago and the negroes have attempted to rise on ’em twice, which obliges ’em to keep ’em in irons when upon deck. ”

This journey to India was the last occasion on which Knox was to set foot on an English ship making the “ round voyage ” and the after career of the *Denham* was to be even shorter than

¹ *Madras Public Proceedings*, 15th July 1754.

² From accounts of voyages about this time it appears that slavers and merchant tramps seldom carried more than one boat and often none. Probably the reason was to prevent desertion in port or premature abandonment of the ship through panic during a fight or in a shipwreck.

his own, for in 1760 she was captured by the French and passed out of British ownership.¹

On the 6th July then Randfurlie Knox landed in the country which was to be all he knew of home for the rest of his life. He was given but a few days in which to recuperate from his long voyage and to enjoy the delights of Madras, for on the 18th July the Madras Select Committee² wrote to Colonel Lawrence:—

“Captain William Lee of the Bombay Establishment and Ensigns David Blake and Randfurlie Knox proceed from hence to morrow for (Fort) Saint David and from thence to Camp.”

There is no mention of the arrival of this little party at Fort Saint David or in Lawrence's camp near Trichinopoly, but if it passed on direct to camp then Knox must have been present at the battle of the Sugar Loaf Rock on the 19th August, in which Lawrence defeated the French under Maissin, and so have had his first experience of Indian warfare under the great commander who had saved Southern India for Britain, but if he was delayed on the road he must have been one of the military called before the Council of Fort Saint David on the day of the fight just mentioned:—

“Agreeable to the direction from the President, the Company's servants, Civil and Military, were called before the Board and the Hon'ble the Court of Directors' letter³ read to them in regard to their morals and manner of living and giving due attendance at Divine Service: the Gentlemen all requested they may be favoured with a Clergyman as it will be a great inducement to them to give a more constant attendance at Church than can now be expected.”

“Agreed to acquaint the Presidency with this their request.”

This letter from Court contains the earliest orders, so far as I know, for the submission of annual official reports on the conduct of the Company's servants.⁴

¹ India Office. *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 44, Nos. 13—15.

² *Madras Select Committee Proceedings* of this date.

³ Court to Madras Council, 23rd January 1754, paragraphs 53—64.

⁴ Court to Madras Council, 23rd January 1754, paragraph 63.

Wherever Knox may have been on this 19th August, his service under Lawrence must have been of brief duration, for, on the 11th October a suspension of arms was agreed to, which on the 11th January 1755 was converted into a Provisional Peace. Lawrence returned to Madras and Colonel Heron, who had recently arrived from England as Major of the Company's Forces on the Coast, took command of the army. On the 7th December¹ David Blake was promoted Ensign, Knox still holding only brevet rank.

In February 1755 Heron was ordered to march southwards to recover the rich Provinces of Madura and Tinnevely for the Nawab Muhammad Ali. Instead of devoting his attention to the restoration of order he spent his time in extracting presents from the petty chiefs, and, being ordered to return to Fort St. David, very narrowly escaped a serious disaster on his march to Trichinopoly, where he arrived on the 6th June. It is probable that Knox took part in this expedition: his friend William Jennings certainly did, for a route plan of Heron's march to Madura and a plan of that town, both prepared by Jennings and dated 1755, are now in the British Museum.²

On the 16th June Lawrence, having recommended the formation of two new Companies out of the recently arrived European recruits, Knox and Bannatyne were promoted Ensigns, Knox being appointed to one of the old Companies,³ but to which of these is not stated. As the only official Returns in which his Company is mentioned show him in the Grenadier Company, presumably that is the Company to which he was appointed.

I may mention here that at this time the Company's European Force was not divided into regiments or even into battalions, but consisted of a number of independent companies, the Councils having no power to grant any rank higher than that of Captain. A little later they acquired this power, but for the

¹ Select Committee Proceedings, 7th December 1754.

² King's Library CXV, Nos. 84, 87.

³ *Madras Public Proceedings*, 16th June 1755.

nonce the whole European Infantry Force at any Presidency,¹ or any part of it employed on any particular occasion, was designated the *battalion*, without any regard to the number of companies concerned. Ignorance of this fact has led military historians into claiming the early exploits of the European forces for the so-called First Battalions. It is, however, clear that there could be no First Battalion until a second was formed. It is also fairly certain that when the division of the existing companies into two Battalions² was made the oldest companies were not confined to either of these Battalions,³ and so earlier battle honours might be claimed with as much right by the Second as by the First Battalion. To a minor extent this reasoning will apply to later battalions, which, in almost every case, were formed on drafts of both officers and men from corps already existing. This is, however, a difficult subject, and all that is necessary to note is that Knox in being promoted Ensign became an officer, not of any particular battalion, but of *The Battalion*, i.e. of the European Infantry, as opposed to the Artillery, Engineers or Sepoys.

There is no official mention of Knox during the year 1756, nor was there any fighting of much importance in Madras. Probably he spent the early part of the year at Arcot with the Grenadiers under the command of Captain William Lee. This Company was transferred in June to Captain William Pye who arrived at Arcot on the 3rd of that month.⁴

¹ As late as 15th September 1763, in Adams' *General Orders* (B. M. 6049), I find an entry "Lieut. Morgan is appointed Quartermaster-General to the Honourable Company's battalion." So also see, for Bombay *Three Years' Gleanings* (*East India United Service Journal*, February 1838, page 108), the only account I have met with of the early history of the Bombay Army.

² The division into Battalions in Bengal was not really made until 1756 for the Europeans; see *Broom's*, page 524.

³ Lieutenant G. Cardew (*Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army*, page 8) says "at the same time he [i.e. Clive] turned his attention to the increase of the Military Force of Bengal and to this end he enlisted men for a second regular battalion of sepoys and formed the corps on drafts from the old battalion."

⁴ *Madras Military Councils*, 31st May and 10th June 1756.

II.—FIRST YEARS IN BENGAL.

On the 15th July the news of the capture of Cossimbazar by Siraj-ud-daula fell like a thunderbolt amidst the quiet deliberations of the Madras Council.¹ Already alarmed by previous rumours, they had on the 14th already ordered Major Killpatrick with a small detachment² to embark for Bengal. He started on the 21st July, reached Hijili at the mouth of the Hugli River on the 27th³ and on the 2nd August arrived at Fulta, where, though his force was too small for attack, it gave temporary security to the band of refugees who represented practically all that remained of the British Settlements in Bengal.

As the news brought to Madras grew and darkened, Clive was summoned from Fort Saint David, of which Settlement he was now Chief, and, after a certain amount of discussion, it was determined to send a strong force to Bengal under the command of Admiral Watson, Clive commanding the land forces.

According to a journal,⁴ kept by one of Clive's relatives the military employed on this expedition consisted of—

King's Troops	...	...	276
Company's	...	...	616
Sepoys and Lascars	...	...	1,808

The Company's Troops consisted of a Train of Artillery, about 100 strong, and five companies of Foot of about the same strength commanded by Captains Pye (Grenadiers), Maskelyne, Gaupp, Campbell and Callender.

From an entry in the *Journal* just mentioned it appears that the Grenadiers and Artillery were embarked upon the *King's*

¹ Orme's *History*, II, 84.

² It seems impossible to ascertain the names of the officers. In the *Select Committee Consultations* for the 14th July, they are given as Captain Lin, Captain-Lieutenant Godwin, Lieutenant Erdman and Ensigns Vonga and Elaction. In the *Public Consultations* for the same dates they are given as Lieutenants Dugald Campbell, Samuel and Sampson, Ensigns Ogilvie and Stephen Smith and Lieutenant John Paschond of the Train.

³ Log of the *Delaware* (India Office, Marine Records, No. 322).

⁴ Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, III, 80.

ships *Salisbury*¹ and *Bridgewater*,² and as the log of the latter shows that she took on board

“Three officers and ninety-two of the Company’s Train,” a number corresponding almost exactly to the total number of Europeans, (i.e., 96) which, according to the *Journal*, she carried altogether. The inference is that the Grenadiers were carried on board the *Salisbury*.

The fleet started on the 16th October, and, owing to unfavourable winds, the leading ships did not reach Fulta until the 15th December. The *Salisbury*, though not so unlucky as the *Marlborough*, which was forced to return to Madras, had a miserable passage. She sprang a leak and was saved from sinking only by the exertions of carpenters sent from the Admiral’s ship, for at one time the water was rising in the hold at the rate of eleven inches in ten minutes. Then she ran out of water and the crew had to be put on short allowance. At last, on the 13th December she came into Balasore Roads and took in “water and greens” from the *Grampus* Pilot Sloop, and the Chief of the Balasore Factory sent thirteen bullocks on board as a present from the East India Company. With such assistance she arrived at Hijili on the 21st—Killpatrick’s detachment had taken only a week from Madras to Hijili—and on the 22nd the Grenadiers were sent up to Fulta in a couple of sloops.

On the 27th December the British began their advance up the river. Though the Grenadiers were landed,³ they were not engaged in Clive’s fight with Manickchand, but apparently they were on shore when Clive appeared before Calcutta, which had already been occupied by Coote, on the 2nd January 1757.

On the 4th January an expedition was sent against Hugli under Major Killpatrick. In this Pye and his Grenadiers⁴ certainly took part. It was successful and returned to Calcutta on the 19th, the force joining Clive’s army, which was entrenched

¹ *Public Record Office*, Captains’ Logs, No. 4332 and Masters’ Logs, No. 1015.

² *Public Record Office*, Captains’ Logs, No. 794.

³ See Hill’s *Bengal in 1756-57*, III, 33.

⁴ See Hill’s *Bengal in 1756-57*, III, 35.

at Chitpur, north of Calcutta, to protect the city against Siraj-ud-daula who, incensed at the attack on and destruction of Hugli, was marching down with a large army. On the night of the 5-6th February, Clive raided the Nawab's camp and passed right through it, effecting so much damage and slaughter that the Nawab was only too pleased to make peace, compensating the Company for all its losses and restoring its privileges.

In the battle of Chitpur amongst the officers killed was Captain Pye.¹ Apparently he was succeeded by Captain Lin as Captain of the Grenadier Company, and on the 7th February,² Knox was promoted Lieutenant in the same Company.

According to Broome,³ Knox was, a little before this, appointed to the command of a battalion of sepoys, clothed, drilled and disciplined in European fashion, which Clive had raised immediately after the re-capture of Calcutta. Broome does not profess to speak with certainty, and in fact the whole matter seems to be hopelessly obscure. Colonel Wilson⁴ points out that in the Returns of the Bengal Army, dated the 22nd February and the 3rd August 1757, there is no mention of native battalions or regiments, and in the Muster Roll of the 7th April the sepoys both of Madras (1,402 native officers and men) and of Bengal (564 native officers and men) are returned by companies designated by the names of the Subadars, which was the usual practice whilst the companies were independent.

From such evidence it would appear that as the term *battalion* was used very loosely for an indefinite number of companies of Europeans, so, as soon as the Bengal Sepoys began to receive European training, the term *battalion* was given to any number

¹ Coote in his Journal says that almost a whole platoon of the Company's grenadiers were blown up by a fire-rocket (See Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, III, 44). In this fight Ensign Martin York, a fellow Cadet of Knox's at Woolwich, distinguished himself by saving a gun. (*Ibid.* 45.)

² 8th February, according to the List of Promotions in Orme, *India X*, page 2832. A Return, dated 7th April 1757 (Wilson's *Madras Army*, I, 371) shows Knox in the Grenadier Company under Captain Lin.

³ *History of the Bengal Army*, pages 92 and 132.

⁴ *Madras Army*, I, 96.

of companies which happened to be raised for such training at the same time or place, or to be collected together for any particular service.¹ For some time longer they had no European officers permanently attached to them, just as the Madras Sepoys had no permanent European officers until the year 1764.² If this is correct Knox's connection with First Battalion was purely accidental.

Similarly Broome's supposition that the Indian Sepoys owed their uniform to Clive appears a doubtful one, for the "Madras Public Proceedings" of the 28th April 1756 (when Clive was not in Madras) show that it was Mr. Pigot who suggested that if the sepoy could be persuaded to wear a uniform of Europe cloth "it would serve at once to give them a more martial appearance and take off a considerable quantity of woollen goods and that they had in great measure consented."

The Madras Council accepted this proposal, and on the 16th May 1757 the Bengal Council also agreed when Major Killpatrick proposed to clothe the Bengal Sepoys in the same way as Madras Sepoys. This being so it would appear that the Indian Sepoy owed his uniform, as the English soldier is said to owe his scarlet, to the fact of Government having a quantity of cloth lying unused on its hands.

¹ How roughly the term "Battalion" was used is seen by the fact that in a *Return of the two battalions under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel Clive, 15th June 1757* (Orme, *India* XIII, page 3616), the Europeans are divided—

1st Battalion—

King's Troops	...	...	9 officers.	215 men.
Bengal Troops	...	...	24 "	200 "
Train	...	...	9 "	94 "

2nd Battalion—

Madras Troops	...	...	26 officers.	272 men.
Bombay Troops	...	...	9 "	145 "
Train	...	...	8 "	96 "

² See Letter from Captain A. Preston to Colonel Lawrence (Madras Military Councils, 7th December 1763) in which he complains that the Sepoy Battalions had no regular officers, and that the European officers, of whom not all were fit for the duty, had to take their turns of duty with them, a task which therefore fell on the best officers and, in spite of special allowances, was much disliked.

To return to Knox: In a list of "Promotions of Madras officers in Bengal from the 15th March to the 31st July 1757"¹, I find that Lieutenant Randfurlie Knox was appointed Quartermaster. The appointment is not dated, but it shows that he had attracted the favourable notice of Clive. In what particular way he did so I do not know. He must have served at the capture of Chandernagore from the French, for a "Return of troops at Chandernagore dated the 12th June 1757"² shows him as the senior Lieutenant of the Grenadier Company commanded by Captain Lin. That he served at Plassey may be said to be certain, for there is in the India Office a printed plan of the battle, as well as a rough manuscript ground plan both of which bear his name. From the former was prepared a plan of the battle, also in the India Office, corrected and referenced in Orme's handwriting and bearing a note to the effect that it was the best plan of Plassey that he had been able to procure.³ Orme gives no plan in his *History*. It looks as if he at first intended to use that prepared by Knox, but being not wholly satisfied and being, owing to the death of Clive, unable to verify his conclusions, he deliberately refrained from inserting any map. Possibly it was his preparation of this plan that brought Knox to Clive's notice. It is also possible that in the battle he was in temporary command of the Madras Grenadier Company, for though Captain Lin was in command on the 12th June he was not present at Clive's celebrated Council of War. Lin certainly was not killed in the

¹ Orme, *India* X, page 2522.

² Orme, *India* XIII, pages 3614—3615.

³ A rough copy of this plan with the same references was printed in the *London Magazine* for 1760, and a slightly more ornamental one in the *Memoirs of the Revolution in Bengal*, published in 1760 anonymously but ascribed to William Watts. The plan in the *London Magazine* is accompanied by an account of the battle, said to be by an officer who was present, who says that he is sending a sketch of the field of battle to his correspondent. If the plan published was the plan sent, the account must be by Randfurlie Knox. A copy of this account exists amongst the Orme manuscripts (Orme O. V. 32, pp. 25-28), where it is accompanied by a sketch. Both account and sketch have been reproduced in my *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II., pp. 433, 434, but this latter is not Knox's sketch.

N.B.—The printed plan in the India Office bears the Clive Arms, and so, I presume, was published with his permission.

fight, but in a *Return of Troops on the Expedition to Murshidabad, dated the 3rd August*, he is entered as dead.¹ The supposition is that he was ill, that Knox commanded the Company, and, as he was too junior to get his company, his good conduct was recognized by this special appointment as Quarter-master. As Knox is entered amongst the officers at Cossimbazar in a *Return of all the Troops in Bengal, dated the 26th June*,² it is evident that he accompanied Clive to Murshidabad, and without doubt he must have received his share of the Donation made by the new Nawāb Mir Jafar to the army, but I can find no other official mention of his name until, in December 1758,³ the Council wrote home, saying that in consequence of the resignation of several of their officers in disgust at Clive's promotion of Captain John Govin, of the Bombay Establishment, to a Majority, they had reduced the number of European Companies from eighteen to fourteen,⁴ but had promoted certain officers, including Knox, to Captaincies, with effect from the 1st September 1758.

About the same time Clive determined on "that noble step of sending Colonel Forde to Masulipatam".⁵

It is not easy to determine the exact position held by Knox in Forde's army. According to Broome he commanded the 1st Battalion of Bengal Native Infantry, Captain Maclean commanding the 2nd, and the Madras Sepoys being commanded by Native Commandants. In the battle of Condore it is said that Knox commanded the right wing, which was composed of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry and half of the Madras Sepoys, and in a letter dated the 16th June 1758 Forde told Clive that the signal for the assault on Masulipatam was given by Captain Knox, who had been ordered to make a false attack

"with his battalion of sepoys".⁶

¹ Captain Lin died in June 1757 (I. O. Home Misc. 90, p. 16) but whether before or after Plassey I do not know.

² Orme, India XIII., 13637-9.

³ Council to Court, 31st December 1758, paras. 130, 137.

⁴ It will be observed that there is no mention of European Battalion, at this date, in spite of the large number of companies.

⁵ Court to Council Bengal, 1st April 1760, paragraph 13^o.

⁶ Orme, O. V. 292, p. 78.

On the other hand there exists an account of his own services by one Timma Naig, a Madras Native Officer, in which he says :—

“Afterwards Colonel Forde with two battalions of Sepoys, four hundred Europeans and Captain Knox’s Battalion, proceeded by sea to Vizagapatam and marched towards Masulipatam.”¹

There is nothing in this account to show of what Captain Knox’s Battalion consisted. Was it the Madras Sepoys, or was it a mixed body of Europeans and Sepoys? That he was officially in command of a company of Europeans is absolutely certain, for in a *List of military and artillery entertained and received from 1st October to the 6th November 1758*² the names of recruits for Captain Knox’s Company are all names of Europeans. The conclusion I come to is that Knox was nominally present as being in command of his company of Europeans, but that Forde selected him and Maclean as the two officers best suited to handle the Sepoys, and divided the whole of the latter between them.³ It must be remembered that Forde was very badly supported by his second-in-command, Captain Callender, whom it was necessary to keep under his own eye in order to prevent his spreading discouragement amongst the officers and men, whilst the appointment of a junior Captain like Knox to the unpopular post of Commandant of sepoy⁴ could excite no jealousy, though it provided Forde with a capably commanded force for detached duty.⁵

¹ *The Old Sepoy Officer*, English Historical Review, 1918, p. 507.

² Orme, India XIII., p. 8660.

³ In a *Return of the Troops sent on command under Colonel Forde, 21st September 1758* (Orme, India XIII, 8640) two captains are entered as serving with the Sepoys, but no Subalterns, which shows the temporary nature of the attachment of the former officers to the Sepoy corps.

⁴ See *Broome*, page 430-1, regarding the unfitness of many European officers for command of sepoy.

⁵ e.g. in the pursuit of the French after the battle of Condore to Rajahmundry, where by a rapid march of 40 miles in about the same number of hours he cut off a few stragglers and seized a quantity of booty, and again in the seizure of the French Factory at Narsipur, which the enemy evacuated on his approach.

At the battle of Condore (8th December 1758) the final decision was due to the gallantry of the sepoys on the right wing of Forde's army. This good behaviour Orme ascribes partly to the example set them by their English comrades and partly to "the spirit of their own commander, Captain Knox".¹

Four years later Forde wrote that one of the chief of Knox's good qualities was that the sepoys

"are inspired by unusual confidence when he is at their head".²

Possibly this confidence was due not merely to Knox's gallantry but to the fact that he was never wounded and so appeared to be the bearer of a charmed life. However it was caused, it made it an easy matter for Forde to find recruits, and he wrote to Clive: "If I had money and arms I could get men (sepoys) enough, but not so good as my own, but, at least, as good as any in the country"³ and, further, when the army, which had arrived before Masulipatam on the 6th March 1759, found itself short of stores and provisions and its pay heavily in arrears, and yet called upon to besiege a strongly fortified place held by a garrison whose numbers exceeded its own, it was the Europeans and not the Sepoys who mutinied.

Forde managed to quell this outbreak, but the state of affairs grew so bad that he must either storm the place at once or retire. Apparently only a single attack⁴ was possible, thus adding very greatly to the risk of what seemed at the best but a mad adventure, when Captain Yorke's native servant, who knew the country, informed him that it was possible to ford the marsh which protected a good portion of the walls. Yorke had been a fellow Cadet of Knox at Woolwich, and asked his assistance in testing the truth of his servant's story. The two officers,

¹ Orme, *History* III., 1781.

² Forde to Mr. Secretary James, 7th March 1762. India Office, *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 44, page 91a.

³ Forde to Clive, 25th January 1759, *Orme O. V.* 292, p. 40.

⁴ Forde's native allies were, it is true, ordered to make a diversion along the causeway but this can hardly be taken into account.

with a number of sepoy, dressed¹ to look like coolies, actually crossed the marsh by night without the enemy perceiving them. This being reported to Forde, he ordered Knox with his sepoy to make a false attack across the marsh in order to divert attention from the main assault. Though he was unable to force an entrance, Knox's diversion called off such a number of the enemy that the work of the Europeans was greatly facilitated, and on the morning of the 8th April 1750 Masulipatam was in British hands.

The delay in distributing prize-money and the fact that their pay was in arrears at last exhausted the patience of the sepoy. On the 2nd July they mutinied, but the outbreak was speedily quelled, Forde blowing two of the ringleaders from the guns. Apparently the mutineers were Madras and not Bengal Sepoy.²

All danger from the French being now disposed of, both Bengal and Madras demanded the services of Forde and his soldiers. He preferred to obey Clive, and so, whilst sending the Madras sepoy to their own Presidency, he ordered the remainder of his army to return to Bengal by land under the command of Captain Fischer, Captain Maclean commanding all the sepoy. He himself, taking Captain Knox with him, returned by sea, in the *Leopard Snow*, and arrived in Calcutta in November.

III—THE DUTCH AND PATNA CAMPAIGNS.

Forde had left Masulipatam in a very bad state of health, but neither this nor the fact that the Court of Directors, instead of confirming him in the Bengal Command, had dismissed him from their service, prevented him from responding at once to

¹ "Properly clad to the skin, in order to resemble black men naked." Orme's *History* III., 1484.

² Forde to Council Madras, 3rd July 1759. (Madras Public Council, 12th July 1759) "This is the second mutiny I have quelled, occasioned by the want of money. I can do no more than represent these things to you, and if you do not think proper to relieve my necessities, let the consequence lie at your door."

Clive's request that he should take command of the few troops that were in Bengal to resist a sudden attack by the Dutch, a large force of whom had arrived in the Hugli and were preparing to advance to the Dutch Settlement at Chinsura. Knox's services were at the same time requisitioned, and he was sent with the larger part of the troops available ¹ to garrison the forts at Charnock and Tannah,² the loss of which would have cut off Calcutta from the sea. But the Dutch fleet very cleverly managed to evade the fire of the forts, and though it was itself attacked and destroyed on the 24th November, it had managed to land the troops the preceding day, whereupon Knox was ordered to join Forde as quickly as possible. This he did on the 24th, finding that Forde had already repulsed a sally of the garrison of Chinsura though he had not been able to prevent the newly arrived Dutch troops from effecting a junction with their countrymen. Both sides were eager for a decision, and the next day the Dutch were so completely defeated at Biderra (i.e., Bhadreswar) that they willingly submitted to any terms that the Bengal Council chose to demand.

In February 1760 Clive left Bengal for England, making over the command of the army to Major John Caillaud, Mr. Holwell holding the Governorship until the arrival of Mr. Vansittart.

At this time the Shāhzādā³ was threatening Bengal from the north, whilst further south the western provinces of Birbhum, Burdwan and Midnapur, with their turbulent petty chiefs, were intriguing with the Shāhzādā and the Marathas at Cuttack. Caillaud had already in December been sent up to Murshidabad to assist the Nawab Mir Jāfar and I presume Knox went with

¹ J. H. Gross (*Voyage to the East Indies*, II, 370) says Clive had in all only 240 Foot, 80 Artillery and 1,200 Sepoys, exclusive of Militia.

² Charnock Battery was apparently on the left and Tannah on the right bank of the Hugli.

³ i.e. Ali Gauhar, afterwards known as Shah Alam. He assumed the title of Emperor on the 25th December 1759, but as in the histories of this time he is generally spoken of as the Shāhzādā, I use that title throughout.

him, for the Military Returns¹ show that Caillaud had a company of Grenadiers with him, though another company of Grenadiers² under Captain Hart was in garrison at Calcutta. On the 18th January Caillaud and the Nawāb marched towards Patna, but they did not arrive there until the Governor, Rāmārāyan, had been badly beaten at Masimpur³ on the 9th February by the Shāhzādā, an English detachment serving with him being nearly annihilated. On Caillaud's approach, however, the Shāhzādā, who was now besieging Patna, moved forward to meet him, and on the 22nd February was defeated at Sirpur, but the action was indecisive as the young Nawāb Miran would not use his cavalry for pursuit and, in fact, for some days devoted himself to nothing but his own pleasures. When he condescended to join Caillaud and march towards the Shāhzādā's army, they found that the enemy had given them the slip and were advancing by forced marches towards Bengal to join the Marathas at Burdwan, in which direction the Nawāb Mir Jafar was also moving. The Shāhzādā arrived in the vicinity of the Nawāb about the 1st April, and as the latter was supported only by a weak British detachment, might have easily defeated him, but he delayed until the arrival of Caillaud who had marched in hot pursuit. It was now the Nawāb's opportunity for attack, but nothing that Caillaud could say would persuade him to do so, and on the 10th the Shāhzādā began his retreat towards Patna which he hoped to capture before the British could return to its assistance.

The Nawāb had always feared this move, and, at his request, Caillaud had written on the 3rd April to Governor Holwell, suggesting the dispatch of a detachment at once to Patna.

¹ See Bengal Public Consultations, 31st January 1760, and a return dated 24th January 1760 (Orme XIII., 3656.)

² As Clive had amalgamated the Bombay and Madras troops with the Bengal troops only in 1753, I think it likely that there were at least two Grenadier Companies, though the companies had not yet been combined in battalion.

³ Broome, page 232.

In this connexion he wrote :—

“ If you please to consent to the march of this detachment, I will order it accordingly and must beg leave to recommend for the command of it Captain Knox. Be assured, Gentlemen, that it is from a perfect knowledge of his merit and good qualities that I take this liberty. His zeal for the service and his abilities as an officer are well known to me and are such as, upon trial, I hope will convince you that he is worthy of this charge and trust. Captain Knox, having some private business of consequence to him, set out this afternoon with my leave for Calcutta. If you are pleased to agree with my request of his having the command, he may receive his instructions from you on the spot.”¹

Caillaud asked that Knox might be sent back with the Council's reply as quickly as possible, in order that the party might be dispatched within six days, but it was not until five days after the retreat of the Shāhzādā that Caillaud took him to pay his farewell respects to the two Nawābs in an interview to which we shall have occasion to refer later on.

Council having appointed Knox to command the party sent to succour Patna, he set out on the 16th April, with 200 picked Europeans, Ensign Wilson's Battalion of Sepoys² and two guns. The utmost dispatch was necessary. The direct route across country was too little known to be safely risked. Along the southern bank of the Ganges he might be intercepted by the Shāhzādā's troops, on the northern by those of the Governor of Purneah, one Kadm Husain Khān, who having earned his Governorship by servile flattery of Mir Jāfar, had now made overtures to the Shāhzādā. Accordingly Knox marched first to Rāj-mahal, then along the southern bank of the Ganges to Bhāgal-pur, where, having passed beyond the reach of Kadm Husain, he crossed the river and marched along the north bank to Hajipur

¹ *Orme, India*, XII. 309d.

² That Knox did not take the First Battalion of Bengal Sepoys is shown by the fact that Caillaud notes in his Journal on the 22nd April, i. e., a week after Knox's departure, the arrival of Captain Maclean with two battalions of sepoy's from the Deccan (*Orme, India* VI. 136g—141g).

opposite to Patna. His orders were, ¹ if Patna had fallen, to make his way to the English Factory, and, in company with Mr. Amyatt, the Chief, to fall back upon Monghyr which he was to hold until the arrival of Caillaud.

The length of this march is given as 300 miles, ² and it was made in the intense heat of the Indian April, the roads were mere tracks enveloped in clouds of dust, the wide sandy banks of the Ganges had to be crossed twice, yet Knox, marching every yard of the way on foot ³ to prevent any grumbling on the part of his men, carried his party through in less than thirteen days.

His arrival on the evening of the 28th April was timely. Two assaults had been repulsed with difficulty and chiefly owing to the gallantry of Dr. William Fullerton and an Indian officer, Shitāb Rāi, the only man amongst Rāmṇārāyan's forces who seemed much affected by the disgrace of his defeat at Masimpur and who was longing "to retrieve his honour". ⁴

Knox's arrival ⁵ being seen from the Factory, Mr. Amyatt immediately sent across wine and other refreshments, advising Knox to give his troops some rest, ⁶ but this advice did not suit the feelings of so active an officer and Knox immediately requested that boats should be sent to carry his men over the river.

¹ Caillaud to Council, 8th May 1760. *Orme, India*, XII., 3121.

² "Captain Knox pursued his route to Patna, which he compassed (three hundred miles) in thirteen days; a surprising effort, considering the intense heat of the season, and that he crossed the Ganges twice in his march." *A Narrative of what happened in Bengal in 1760. (Asiatic Annual Register, 1800, Miscellaneous.)*

³ *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 349.

⁴ *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 350.

⁵ According to the *Narrative* he had with him only a flying column and the main body of his troops arrived only the next day.

⁶ "From Rāmṇārāyan's house I went with Dr. Fullerton to Mir Abdullah's and from hence to Mr. Amyatt's, where I found Captain Knox, who was an acquaintance of mine, and there I learned that he had set out from Burdwan with five companies of Talingas, and one company of European English, which detachment having performed in thirteen days a march of full nineteen stages, was overcome with fatigue". Ghulam Husain *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 352.

"In the evening Captain Knox embarked with his detachment and, with colours flying and drums beating, he landed at the western gate, from whence he marched with a military look and a resolute countenance through the markets and the high street as far as the Castle, ¹ to the great comfort of the citizens who, on beholding the English march through their city, gave up their apprehensions about an escalade and about an assault, and said openly that now the English were within their walls, the enemy would not dare to come to attack again. As soon as night came on, Captain Knox, with two other officers and a guide, got out of the city, and, having approached unperceived close to the enemy's quarters, he viewed carefully the outside of the walls and the enemy's encampment, with the roads leading to it, as well as the situation of the ground, and then returned within, without having been discovered. The next day, about noon-day, a time when Kamghar Khan (the Emperor's chief commander) had just eaten his meal and laid down his clothes to take his usual nap, the English were already in his camp, and whilst his men, accustomed to the Indian habit of taking their afternoon nap likewise, had retired to some shady place for the purpose, or were busy in preparing their victuals or in some other avocation, the Captain made suddenly his appearance with a small number of men and made a discharge of musketry unexpectedly. On the first fire the troops in the entrenchment turned about and fled in the utmost consternation, leaving Kamghar Khan to shift for himself. This general, surrounded by the English forces, thought himself undone. He had all the pains in the world to make his escape, and it was without turban, clothes or slippers. The Captain, having taken away some of the enemy's colours, then flying on the entrenchment with some other things that happened to be in his way, returned in triumph. After such an adventure Kamghar Khan had no stomach for tarrying any more in the suburbs of the city. He decamped immediately and pitched his tents in the plain and at a distance from the houses, for fear of being surprised in the

¹ At the north-east angle of the Town.

night time.¹ In a few days more he found his place untenable, and, quitting his post, repaired to Gayaramrampur.”²

Holwell was so well pleased with this exploit, which resulted in the Shāhzādā's retirement from Patna, that he wrote to Major Caillaud :—

“The success of Captain Knox justifies and does honour to your recommendation and our appointment, and gives quite a new aspect to the late desperate state of affairs in the Province of Bihar where I think, the force under Captain Knox, if continued at Patna will, with the assistance of Rāmārāyan, be amply sufficient to preserve the tranquillity of the country and safety of Patna during that period, as also to take the field, when the season permits, to quell, or rather prevent, any commotions which may be attempted the next year against the Subah's Government.”³

But an immediate danger was pressing. Kadm Husain of Purnea had determined to join the Shāhzādā, and early in June he arrived at Hajipur, opposite to Patna, where he found Knox, who had been ordered by Caillaud to intercept him, if possible, with such forces as he could collect. Rāmārāyan, hearing of Captain Knox's intention, had begged Mr. Amyatt to detain him in Patna to protect the city from the Shāhzādā, and was with difficulty persuaded that there was no danger to apprehend from one who was fully occupied with the pleasures of hunting and with watching nautches,⁴ and further informed that his duty was, after providing for the defence of the walls, to send all available troops to the Captain's assistance. It is not surprising therefore that the officers whom Rāmārāyan ordered to march, only pretended to obey, thinking that they were being sent to

¹ Night attacks were looked upon as treacherous by Indian soldiers. So Kāsim Ali wrote to Major Adams, 9th September 1763 :—

“Exult not upon the success which you have gained merely by treachery and night attacks.” *Broome*, 387, cf. “The manner of the Turks is not to fight by night, inasmuch that come out of their tents they dare not.” *Embassage of the Patriarch Don Bernunders*, 1565. *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, VII., 325.

² *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 352-353.

³ Holwell to Caillaud, 24th May 1760. Holwell, *India Tracts*, p. 65.

⁴ *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 357.

certain death because he wished to get rid of them. Such reflections did not however influence the gallant Shitāb Rāi, who had in his own employ two or three hundred horse and foot—

“that had proved very active in the defence of Patna. Mr. Amyatt and the Captain proposed to him to be of the party. Shitāb Rāi, who wished no better, accepted the offer, and without further delay or preparation, he joined Captain Knox.”¹

On the 15th June, at Bīrpur,² the two forces were in contact. Captain Knox

“finding the enemy so near, came in the dark to Shitāb Rāi’s quarters and proposed to surprise them in the dead of night. ‘Our people,’ said he, ‘are in very small numbers and I am afraid lest, on seeing the multitudes of the enemy, they take fright and lose their senses. I propose therefore to fall on the enemy by night; for I reckon either that we shall defeat or disperse them or that we shall destroy his ammunition and spike his artillery as well as seize his money. In either case, we shall disable the enemy effectually from doing anything.’ Shitāb Rāi answered ‘that he had no will of his own, that he agreed in his scheme and would follow him whithersoever he would lead the way, being entirely at his command’. ‘Then,’ replied the Captain, ‘take your meal, go to sleep, and let your people do the same, as we must be up by the middle of the night.’ Shitāb Rāi did as he was bid and he was up at midnight when the Captain sent for him. The officer left one company of Talingas [i.e., sepoys] for the guard of his tents, and marched with the rest, under the guidance of an *harcara* or guide, who the preceding day had viewed the road up to the enemy’s camp and had come back again. By a particular ill-luck the night proved so dark that the man lost his way and they had much marched already, when the captain, approaching one of Shitāb Rāi’s men, who had his matchlock lighted, he found at his watch that it would be daylight within two hours. He observed ‘that this was the time when they ought to have

¹ *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 358.

² The site of the battle was opposite Jafar Khan’s Garden, which lay two miles east of Patna on the south bank of the Ganges.

been within the enemy's camp; that it was now too late to fall upon them by surprise, and that there remained no better party than to return to camp.' Shitab Rai assented and they returned to camp. But hardly had they laid down their arms and washed their hands and faces, when Kadm Husain's vanguard made its appearance at daybreak. The Captain, being the first man up, got his men under arms and sent word to Shitab Rai to do the same. The latter armed himself, got his men ready and joined the English, resolved to share their fate. As soon as Kadm Husain Khan saw the English out of their camp, he sent a body of troops, who plundered it thoroughly and killed or wounded some men that had been left in it, as well as some others that were coming to join the Captain from the city..... Meanwhile Kadm Husain's troops, having divided into several bodies, attacked the English on all sides. The latter stood their ground undauntedly, firing their cannon with steadiness and precision, their officers standing over them and directing their fire, with the utmost coolness and intrepidity. Shitab Rai was doing the same on his side; he was animating his men to do their duty, and whenever the enemy attempted to approach too near, they were constantly repulsed by Shitab Rai's advancing on them, or by [his] being occasionally assisted by some cannon shot directed from the English line against those that pressed upon him. The engagement was maintained on both sides in this manner as late as twelve o'clock: at this time Mir Afzyl, General to the enemy's troops, received orders from his master to form the whole army into two bodies and to attack at once on both sides. But as they had already observed that in this manner they had lost an infinity of horses by the English cannon-balls, they all alighted and marched up on foot: and now the cannon ceasing on both sides the engagement went on with musket firing only."¹

Meanwhile the friends of the English were waiting anxiously in the city. Too far off to see what was actually happening, some of them were misled by the arrival of fugitives from the

¹ *Seir Mutaqarin* II, 358-360.

camp into thinking that Captain Knox had been defeated ; others judging from their incoherent statements said that these men knew nothing about the actual battle and declared that the continued firing showed that the English were at least holding their own. It was not until the evening that a messenger arrived to inform Mr. Amyatt that all was well and the enemy in full flight. Such news appeared to be too good to be true and even when Captain Knox and Shitāb Rāi themselves came in "covered with dust and sweat"¹ most people thought from their appearance that they were fugitives and not victors.

"The Captain then gave some detail of the battle and paid the greatest encomiums to Shitāb Rāi's zeal, activity and valour. He exclaimed several times 'This is a real Nawāb ; I never saw such a Nawāb in my life' ".²

Caillaud's official account of this engagement is slightly amplified in his *Narrative*,³ from which I may quote as follows :—

"Kadam Husain . . . approached very near the place (almost opposite Patna) where Captain Knox lay. Sensible that his junction with the Prince depended on his passing this body, because he was certain that the least delay would bring Colonel Caillaud⁴ (who kept boats with him, and his troops ready to cross at a moment's warning) upon his rear ; he determined to attack Captain Knox who being a young gentleman⁵ of remarkable gallantry and eminent for his military services, and as ardent on his part to come to an action, on the 16th of June a very warm one ensued.

¹*Seir Mulaqherin*, II., 361.

²*Ibid.* The friendship between Knox and Shitāb Rāi was broken only by death. The *Catalogue of Persian Records at Calcutta* includes one from Shitāb Rāi, dated 25th January 1764. Knox died on the 28th.

³*A Narrative of what happened in Bengal in 1760 (Asiatic Annual Register, 1800, Miscellaneous).*

⁴Caillaud's brevet as Colonel in the East Indies reached India in August 1760. (*Bengal Public Consultations, 25th August.*)

⁵The expression 'young gentleman' is worth notice, as it explains Caillaud's great emphasis on Knox's good qualities whenever he recommended him for a post of responsibility to men like the Governor and Members of Council, who would certainly know that he was young, but who might not know his ability.

"Captain Knox, with only two hundred Europeans, one battalion of sepoy, five field-pieces and about three hundred horse, maintained himself for six hours, opposed to an army of twelve thousand men, with thirty pieces of cannon; he was surrounded the whole time, but discovering the apparent superiority of the enemy, who were never before imagined to be so numerous, he possessed himself of a very strong and advantageous post and making an excellent disposition of his men, he in the end compelled the enemy to leave the field, with the loss of eight pieces of cannon, three elephants and between three and four hundred men killed on the spot. The horse had once very nigh broke in upon him, but by the bravery of his own grenadiers¹ were beat off, and he lost no more than fifteen or sixteen men. By this repulse Kadm Husain Khan, stopt in his progress towards the Prince, was obliged now to take a contrary road, and fled northward into the district of Bettiah."

About a week after Caillaud joined Knox. According to the *Narrative*,² Knox was now relieved of the duty of pursuing Kadm Husain and sent back to Patna, but in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee,³ Caillaud says they continued the pursuit together. The chase was a vain one. Caillaud's force was composed almost entirely of infantry and Kadm Husain's of cavalry. Yet he caught him up and brought him to action, but Miran would not use his horsemen and the fugitive escaped with all his treasure, much to the disappointment of Governor Holwell.⁴

In Caillaud's Journal⁵ under the date of the 30th June, there occurs an entry which illustrates one side of his character:—

"Ombooh to Muchnow 6 coss. This part of the country is unusually agreeable and pleasing, more like a well disposed

¹ The Grenadiers must have been the Europeans he brought with him from Burdwan.

² So also *Broom's*, page 302.

³ Select Committee, 1772 (page 159).

⁴ "We may say, very truly, that we have not gained much by this wild-geese campaign. The Prince and his friends have gained less, except we toss them a drubbing or two into their scale. Knox is a brave fellow, and I daresay the Major [i.e., Caillaud] will finish Kadm Husain." Holwell to Amyatt. July 1716. *India Tracts*, page 85.

⁵ *Orme India*, VI.

garden or park than an open country. At Lowhar is a pagoda by the side of a wide and beautiful lake in the depth of a large grove which surrounds it. A noted and principal residence of that tribe of religionists called Facquiers.¹ The place from its recluse situation and awful appearance seems calculated for the retirement of religion and a sedentary life."

To impressionable Irishmen, like Knox and Caillaud, the sudden death of Miran on the 3rd July, the anniversary of the day on which by his orders his cousin Sirāj-ud-daula had been murdered, must have presented a terrible appropriateness. Still more would it have done so had they known that at the same moment, though 200 leagues away, two poor helpless women,² victims of his cruelty, were calling down the vengeance of God upon his head:—

"O God Almighty! We are both sinners and culprits, but we have committed no sin against Miran. On the contrary he owes to us everything in the world, nor have we seen any better return from him than this unjust order for putting us to death. We hope therefore that after our death Thou wilt send Thy lightning to crush his guilty head and to exact from him a full revenge on our own account and that of our children."³

This dreadful event put an end to the pursuit of Kadm Husain and Caillaud and Knox returned to Patna, where they arrived on the 24th July.

Before passing further I may mention that Miran had promised Captain Knox a present of twenty thousand rupees in recognition of his services in defeating Kadm Husain at Birpur. He had to invoke the intervention of Governor Vansittart before payment was made by Mir Kāsim the supplanter of Mir Jāfar.⁴

¹ At this period swarms of these faqirs roamed over India. Ghulam Husain Khan says (*Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 349) that native princes often used them as messengers, their sanctity protecting them from interference. Large bodies of them sometimes acted in a semi-military capacity. See *Broome* 441, 443.

² Ghasita and Amina Begams, daughters of Alivardi Khan. *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 369.

³ *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 370.

⁴ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Nos. 916, 917.

On the 27th July Mr. Vansittart took over the Governorship from Mr. Holwell, and almost immediately the friction between the Nawāb Mir Jāfar and the Bengal Council began to assume a critical aspect. Caillaud was summoned to Calcutta, and on the 26th August he wrote to Vansittart:—

“I shall leave Knox here in command, and though I imagine he will have nothing to do until I return, yet I am easy if he should, for he wants neither skill nor judgment in his profession, nor could I wish a better man in his place.”¹

On the 1st September Caillaud set out for Calcutta, and then, apparently, accompanied Vansittart to Murshidābad, for on the 27th September the Council issued instructions to Vansittart and himself, by which he was ordered to remain at Murshidābad, Knox being left in command at Patna in conjunction with Mr. Amyatt, but if Caillaud found it necessary to go up to Patna Major Yorke was to command at Murshidābad in his absence. On the 24th October Mir Jāfar was forced to retire to Calcutta and Mir Kāsim was proclaimed Nawāb in his place.

In December Caillaud went up to Patna, amongst other reasons, to introduce Major Carnac as their Commander-in-Chief to the army.² On the 3rd Mr. Amyatt was recalled to Calcutta, Mr. McGwire replacing him as Chief of the Factory. On the 31st Caillaud, leaving Carnac in command at Patna, went down to Calcutta *en route* for Madras, he having been appointed to the military command of that Presidency, Colonel Coote taking that of Bengal.

Colonel Coote, however, did not arrive in Patna until the 4th May, and in the meantime the Shāhzādā had resumed his attack upon Bihar. Carnac advanced to meet him and completely defeated him at Suan on the 15th January 1761. In the Prince's service was a Frenchman, Monsieur Jean Law³ who with a small body of his countrymen, had, ever since the battle of Plassey, led a roving life in Upper India, striving to raise a party which might

¹ Orme, *India*, XII., page 3172.

² Orme, *India*, XII., 3174.

³ Jean Law *Mémoire de l'Empire Mogol*, pages 464—7.

assist the French if ever they should attempt to recover their old Establishments in Bengal. At Suan he first found his little force exposed, without support, in a very advanced position, then, when forced to fall back, altogether deserted. There was no choice left him but to surrender. Even this he refused to do without the full honours of war. Carnac and Knox, summoned to the spot where the gallant Frenchman and his few surviving comrades had made their last stand, willingly complied with his demands—conduct which earned from the native historian Ghulam Husain the following encomium on our nation :—

“It must be acknowledged to the honour of these strangers that as their conduct in war and in battle is worthy of admiration, so, on the other hand, nothing is more modest and more becoming than their behaviour to an enemy, whether in the heat of action or in the pride of success and victory. These people seem to act entirely according to the rules observed by our ancient Commanders and our men of genius.”¹

IV.—MIDNAPUR.

In consequence of his defeat at Suan, the Shāhzādā made terms with the English, who were ready to acknowledge him as Emperor, and made a state entry into Patna, but Knox did not stay to take any part in this interesting ceremony.

On the 17th January 1761 Major Carnac wrote to the Bengal Select Committee describing his victory, and in this letter he says :—

“I was fortunate in having so good a second as Captain Knox, and wish I could have kept him longer with the army, but as he now looks on the fighting part of the campaign as being over, he has pressed me so strongly for leave to resign that I could not refuse; indeed so violent is his longing to return to his native country that it amounts to a disease and it would be a degree of cruelty to detain him.”²

¹ *Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 403.

² *Bengal Select Committee Proceedings*, 28th January 1761.

So Knox at last left his grenadiers.¹ That he was not in command of the First Native Infantry during the preceding campaign, as is supposed by Broome, is shown by the fact that in a *Bill for the off-reckonings of the Military in service near Patna in 1761*² one of the European companies is designated *Captain Knox's Company*, and the Sepoy Battalions are enumerated as those of—

1st Battalion Captain Blake.
 2nd " " Tabby.³
 3rd " " Lang.
 4th " Lieut Grant.³

Knox must have followed Major Carnac's letter very closely to Calcutta,⁴ for on the 9th February he put in the following petition to Council:—

"Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

"As the present tranquillity of affairs gives me an opportunity of returning to my native country, I take the liberty to request your permission to resign the service, and that you'll please to order me a passage on board the *Latham*, and as I hope my conduct has always met with your approbation beg you'll honour me with a certificate⁵ which will greatly oblige, etc., etc.,

"Randfurlie Knox,

"Calcutta, 9th February 1761."

¹ Possibly he was succeeded by Alexander Champion, for in Adams' *General Orders*, under date 9th December 1763, I find:—"Captain Nollkins is appointed to command the Hon'ble Company's grenadiers in the room of Captain Champion."

² *Bengal Public Consultations*, 18th April 1763.

³ In a return of the Company's Troops on the Bengal Establishment, 21st January 1762 (Ninth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, page 508) Captain Tabby is entered as commanding the 2nd Battalion of Sepoys and Captain Grant the 4th.

⁴ Here he met his friend the historian Ghulam Husain Khan, who says (*Seir Mutaqherin*, II., 413) "After a stay of two or three days at Murshidabad I arrived safe at Calcutta, where I went to visit Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Gray and Captain Knox, whom I frequented assiduously, and from whom I learned from time to time all the news of Azimabad [*i.e.*, Patna]."

⁵ The certificate was necessary in case he should wish to return to India in the Company's service.

To this the Governor and Council replied on the 11th February :—

“ We have received your letter dated the 9th instant, and although we should be very glad of the continuance of your services yet as we are sensible that you have deferred for some time your intended return to Europe on account of the situation of the Public Affairs, which heretofore more particularly required your assistance, we cannot now refuse our consent when the great success of our arms in all parts of India gives us room to hope for a course of tranquillity.

“ Nor can we omit taking the same opportunity of returning you thanks for the long and useful services, which, by your zeal, bravery and good conduct you have rendered to the Company, and we shall not fail to do you justice in representing the same to the Hon’ble Court of Directors. Enclosed you will receive a certificate with an order to Captain Moffat to accommodate you on board the *Latham*, etc., etc.

Your loving friends, etc., etc.

I do not know what were Knox’s reasons for wishing to go home at this particular time, but whatever they were, this letter seems to have removed them, for on the 16th Knox replied, asking permission to withdraw his resignation, he having on the 14th started for Midnapur.

One of the conditions of the agreement between Mir Kāsim and the Council was the cession of the Provinces of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to the Company.¹ Of these Provinces Midnapur was especially a dangerous gift, being constantly threatened by the Marathas under their leader Sheobhat at Cuttack and in a constant state of disturbance owing to the turbulence of the local zamindars. On the 18th December 1760 Mr. John Johnstone,² an old acquaintance of Knox, was sent by the Council

¹ See *Broome*, page 310.

² John Johnstone served for a time in the Artillery joining Clive’s force in the march on Calcutta in 1756. He was present and was wounded at Condore in 1758, though then serving in a civil capacity.

"To enquire into the nature of the government and products of that province lately granted to the Company."¹

His study of the province was evidently pursued under difficulties, for on the 26th January he wrote to the Governor:—

"Hon'ble Sir,—Surrounded by a numerous army, without a friend to help us, you may guess the fate of this party without a speedy relief by Major Yorke or [Lieutenant] White."

This letter must have arrived in Calcutta about the same time as Knox, the very man whom the Council would be likely to choose for handling such a situation, and who would be willing to accept it as giving him at once a separate command and the chance of coming to the rescue of an old friend. No doubt he was consulted privately, for on the 13th February Council wrote to Mr. Johnstone:—

"We purpose to send Captain Knox with a small addition of Europeans and sepoys to command the whole under you" (the military were always placed under the orders of Civil Chiefs at this time) "and we hope you will then be able to reduce all the zamindars to their proper state of dependence."

Knox, as I have said, started on the 14th. He carried with him letters to all the friendly zamindars to render every assistance possible to Captain Knox, *Dilawar Jang Bahadur*,² the latter title, no doubt, being one bestowed upon him at the same time as the present of twenty thousand rupees by the Nawab Miran in the name of his father Mir Jāfar.

Johnstone was relieved from his awkward position by Lieutenant White before Knox's arrival, so the latter set about his task of reducing the refractory zamindars with such zeal and success that on the 7th March the Council was able to write to the Court of Directors:—

"Midnapore Province being now free from troubles by the retreat of the Marathas to Cuttack and a good force being kept

¹ *Bengal Public Consultations*, 18th December 1760.

² Meaning 'very brave in war,' or as the inscription on his tomb has it "truly gallant." See also *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Nos. 923, 925.

there under the command of Captain Knox, we imagine the investment formerly provided at Balasore may for the future be carried on with equal convenience and more security at Midnapur."

And so efficient did Knox show himself in his character as Warden of the Marches that in December the Bengal Select Committee wrote that the Marathas from Cuttack were expected not

"to enter Bengal by the Midnapur road, where Captain Knox is posted, but come by the back of the hills to the Pachet Pass and from thence make incursions where they may find the country least guarded."¹

In August² of this year Major Carnac returned to Calcutta with the army, which was now distributed throughout Bengal. Knox's headquarters were at Jaleswar and he had under his orders three companies of European Infantry, the 6th Battalion of Sepoys and the 2nd Troop of Mughal Horse.

His purely military duties were not sufficient to exhaust Knox's energies and he devoted much time to making a survey of his Province. I do not know whether any of the results of his work still survive, but Caraccioli says they included "a vast tract of unknown territories" and that he gave his plans to Governor Vansittart,³ who forwarded them to the Court of Directors.

In the British Museum⁴ there are two maps of Bengal prepared from material supplied by Mr. Vansittart, and in a list of 94 maps and plans—none of which can now be identified—given by Vansittart to the historian Robert Orme, there is one entitled *Knox's Roads in the Midnapur Province*.⁵ Other of these plans, such as those of Monghyr, Gheriah, Udayanala and

¹ *Bengal Select Committee Proceedings*, December 1761. The Marathas had had the impudence to demand the payment of *chauth* by the Company. See *Select Committee Proceedings*, 27th September 1761.

² *Broome* 340.

³ *Life of Clive*, I., 337.

⁴ Maps in the King's Library, 2 Tab. 115 (30), (31).

⁵ *Orme O. V.*, 134, pp. 89—93.

Masulipatam, the makers of which are not named, may well have been obtained from, if not actually prepared by, Knox.

In this work of survey Knox was greatly assisted by a young officer James Nicholl to whom by will he left all his mathematical instruments. Of this officer Caraccioli says :—

“ Mr. Nicholl went as far as Balasore, and when this officer commanded a detachment of sepoy^s at Birkul,¹ towards the end of the year 1762, to prevent the French ships that were in the Bay from being supplied with wood, water and provisions from the towns and villages in the Pipli River, he surveyed the mouth of it, according to Major Knox’s directions who reposed a great confidence in his zeal and assiduity.”

His desire to visit his native country must have suggested to Knox the necessity of making some pecuniary provision for his future, and it appears from his will² that he took advantage—as at this time every officer of the Company, Civil or Military, was fully entitled to do—of his position to trade in both salt and opium,

That Knox had good reason to supplement his resources by trade is shown by the fact that at this very moment the Council (always under pressure from England to economize and to cut down special allowances) proposed to reduce the *Double Batta* enjoyed by the Military since the time of Mir Jafar and now looked upon as their unquestionable right. This proposal drew from the officers the following very temperate remonstrance³ signed by 39 of their number, Knox, as senior Captain in the Province, being the first to append his name.

“ Hon’ble Sir and Sirs,—

“ It being currently reported that there is a proposal to be laid before your Board for reducing the *Batta* of the Military Officers of this Establishment, we beg leave to represent to you

¹ W. H. Carey (*The Good Old Days of John Company*, I., 169), says that from 1780—1785, Birkul was considered the Brighton of Calcutta and was a considerable station with many European bungalows, of which only one, built by Warren Hastings, remained in 1823.

² See Appendix II.

³ See *Bengal Public Consultations*, 23rd September 1761.

how impossible it will be for an Officer to live in a manner suitable to his station if that should take place. House-rent and the prices of all sorts of provisions are so greatly increased within these few years, while our allowance in garrison remain the same as formerly, that it is only with the assistance of what little an Officer can save out of his full *Batta* in the field that he is enabled to subsist decently the rest of the year in garrison and fit himself out for the next campaign, and how little it is that can be saved in the field will readily appear when the great expenses an Officer is there liable to are considered, to say nothing of the losses he often meets with by the death of horses and the desertion or interception of coolies with his baggage, for which no allowance is made.

"It may be urged that the Officers on the Coast (i.e. Madras) subsist on less *Batta*. It is true they do, but not without much difficulty as we are all assured; though most kinds of provisions are much cheaper there than with us; their campaigns are never at such a distance from one settlement or other, either English or Foreign, as to oblige them to carry so large a stock of necessaries with them as an Officer here is under the necessity of doing, when an army is generally three or four hundred miles from Calcutta, the only place from whence we can be supply'd, Patna, Cossimbazar and the other subordinates affording little or nothing. Being thus obliged to carry so much baggage makes the expense of cooly hire run very high, and, for the same reason, the supplies that are sent to camp from the different Settlements on the Coast not bear so exorbitant a price as they do here, nor will the charges of carriage be so great.

"But allowing that an Officer, by the means of great frugality and denying himself the comforts of life, may in a long course of years have it in his power to lay by a little money, perhaps to maintain a family or to enable him to revisit his native country, for which too he must pay an extravagant price e'er he can get a passage, it would be very hard entirely to deprive him of that hope, as this reduction of *Batta* would inevitably do; there

being no half-pay allowance nor any other provision made (as there is in His Majesty's service) for those who may be rendered incapable of serving themselves or their country by old age, loss of limbs or other accidents which a soldier is always liable to. In India our rank is inferior to that of the King's Officers and in Europe we have no military rank at all. ¹

"When these things are taken into due consideration, we have that confidence in your justice as will not permit us to suspect that you will so far underrate the service of your Military Officers as to think of reducing their allowances, when they have already so greatly the disadvantages (in point of interest) of every other branch of the Company's Servants, that nothing but a zeal for the Service and a regard for their profession can be supposed to retain them in it.

"We are" etc., etc.,

"Randfurlie Knox and 38 others."

"Calcutta, 21st September 1761."

Such a petition speaks for itself, and after considering a statement prepared by the senior captains present in Calcutta, explaining Captain Knox's mention of extraordinary expenses in the field, the Council, on the 25th September, resolved :—

"Notwithstanding our great desire to make so great a saving for the Company as would be done by reducing the one-half of the Officers' *Batta*, yet having maturely considered every article of the above estimate we can find nothing in them more than seems necessary to subsist the gentlemen in the field, therefore it is resolved that the *Batta* be continued on the present footing."

Captains Champion and Bradbridge had estimated that the extra monthly expense on field service was for a Captain rather

¹ The Commissions granted by the King to the Company's Officers were for the East Indies only. The necessity for them in the Indies is well shown as without them the highest Company's Officers were in certain respects, e.g. the holding of courts-martial inferior to one who might be Commander-in-Chief of a Presidency. See letter from P. Godfrey to Mr. Robert Wood, dated India House, 11th April 1759 (India Office Home, Misc. 95, page 119).

more than three hundred rupees, his *Batta* amounting to about six hundred. He could therefore with economy save about three hundred rupees a month when in the field, wherewith to supplement his garrison pay of only one hundred and twenty rupees¹ per month, provided that he had previously managed to pay the original cost of the necessary horses, palanquins, etc., etc., and had suffered no accidental losses during the campaign, which was rarely the case with any officer. Subalterns were in an even worse position. The fact that the Court of Directors, contrary to the advice of the Indian Councils, insisted² ultimately on the reduction of *Batta* led quite naturally to the great mutiny of the Bengal Officers in 1766.

The uncertainty of what might happen in the future will explain why Knox, though successful in the present instance, was apprehensive of further troubles and why he should now write to his old friends in England to ascertain if they could help him.

On the 17th March 1762 the Court of Directors considered the following letter³ :—

“To Mr. Robert James, Secretary to the Court of Directors,
“ Johnstown, near Maynooth,

“ 7th March 1762.

“ Sir,

“ Although it may be looked on as an act of presumption in me to offer an opinion to your Hon'ble Board, yet in justice to Captain Knox, with whose merit I am thoroughly acquainted, I run the risque of being thought impertinent rather than [remain] silent on this occasion.

“ By a letter I received from him I find he is piqued and talks of returning to Europe in case my representations in his favour do not meet with success, therefore, in justice to him as well as regard for the interest of the Settlement and good of the Service, I shall take the liberty of saying something in his behalf, which

¹ *Bengal Public Consultations*, 9th March 1761.

² Court to Bengal Councils, 19th March 1763 (see *Brooms* 553) and 1st June 1764 (*Ibid* 555). Council took no action until the end of 1765.

³ India Office, *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. XLIV, page 94 (a).

I am ain will be seconded by all who have any personal knowledge of the military affairs of India for some time past.

"Had I a command in India, Captain Knox is the man of all my acquaintance I would choose for my second ; his known gallant behaviour on all occasions, his activity in executing all orders, his humanity,¹ and I will say his strength of constitution, qualify him for the service of that country better than any officer I know ; another very great qualification is his being respected and esteemed by the country powers and particularly by our own sepoys, who are inspired by unusual confidence when he is at their head.² I would therefore recommend it to the Hon'ble Court of Directors to retain him in their service by appointing him Major,³ which will be doing an act of justice very conducive, I hope, to their own interests as well as [a] proper reward for an officer of approved merit, who has distinguished himself in their service. You will oblige me by laying this before the Gentlemen in the Direction, who, I hope, will excuse this manner of addressing them, being unacquainted with the orders of the Board.

"I am etc., etc.,

"Francis Forde."

The Court referred Forde's letter to the Committee of Correspondence, who apparently filed it.⁴

The fact was the Court was in a quandary as to how it should deal with the grievances of its subordinate Officers in India. Ordinary discipline required that all applications and complaints

¹ In the *Seir Mutagherin* particular mention is made of Knox's care of the enemy wounded after his victory at Birpur, and almost immediately after his appointment as commander of the sepoys by Major Adams, one of his first actions was to secure proper medical treatment for the men, who, apparently, had been neglected by the Army Surgeons. (*Adams' General Orders*, B. M. 2049, under date 29th July 1763.)

² These are not the terms one would use of a mere battalion commander.

³ The same request seems to have been made by Clive. "He [i.e. Clive] was also very anxious to obtain a majority for Captain Knox, who, independent of his services under him, had on several late occasions [i.e. the relief of Patna and defeat of Kadm Hussein] established a reputation for skill and gallantry superior to any one of his standing in India." *Malcolm : Life of Clive*, II., 201.

⁴ Court Minutes, 17th March 1762.

should be submitted through official superiors and the presidential councils, ordinary common-sense made it clear that everything that was so submitted to the Court would reach it in a form which would preclude the applicant or complainant from receiving any satisfaction. Accordingly, as no such thing as furlough to England then existed, officers, both civil and military, wrote home to their friends, who had influence with the Directors or, in the last resort, resigned their posts and came home, where they besieged the Court with their clamours. Where their friends, like Forde, had little influence, their applications were simply shelved. The Court now tried to get rid of the officers who had resigned in order to claim redress in person. Towards the end of 1761 the Directors wrote to Bengal as follows :—

“Officers throwing up their commissions in order for their coming to England to make their application to us for redress of grievances, either real or imaginary, and to be re-admitted into the service, is the occasion of infinite difficulty and trouble, and therefore must as much as possible be prevented, in order to which we direct that if any officer apprehends he is aggrieved he must lay his case before you for your determination, which is to be the result of a candid and impartial enquiry,¹ but if there should be anything therein of such nature as cannot be determined by you, such case in all its circumstances must be represented and referred to our decision, in the meantime he must continue in the service, if you think proper, or at least stay in India until our directions can be sent thereon for if he comes to England we shall look upon his resignation as an effectual bar against his being employed again. You are to give Notice of these Directions from time to time to all our officers that they may know what they are to trust to.”²

In other words all access to the unjust judge was to be barred against the importunate widow, and it was, perhaps, just as well

¹ These words imply an uneasy consciousness on the part of the Court that grievances of officers did not always receive fair consideration by the local authorities.

² Court to Bengal, 23rd December 1761, para. 46.

that Knox did not come home to press his claims at a time when the Court was in such a frame of mind.

Sometimes, however, the Court received requests of a more pleasing nature than the complaints above referred to, and such was one which does equal honour to both the writer and to Randfurlie Knox. It is as follows :—

“London, 3rd November 1762.

“Hon’ble Sirs,

“Being informed by Mr. Secretary James that there is some doubt in respect to my rank and Captain Knox’s, now in Bengal I give up my pretensions in his favour, intreating that my Commission may bare [*sic*] date the following day after Captain Knox’s.

“I am etc., etc.,

“W. Jennings”.¹

Jennings had been a fellow Cadet of Knox at Woolwich, had probably served with him in Madras and had certainly fought under Clive at Chitpur, Chandernagore and Plassey.²

Whilst in England Knox was thus loyally supported by his friends, he was himself in India called upon to stand by his old friend and commander Colonel Caillaud.³ It will be remembered that before he started for the relief of Patna he was taken by Caillaud to pay his farewell respects to the two Nawābs. A story went home to the Court of Directors that, at this interview, Caillaud had signed a paper offering a reward for the assassination of the Shāhzādā. In October 1761 the Court wrote⁴ to the Bengal Council as follows :—

“It is strongly reported that Colonel Caillaud with the Chuta Nawāb⁵ signed a paper offering a reward of Rs. 50,000,

¹ India Office *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. XLIV., No. 295.

² Jennings’ generosity will be better appreciated when one remembers that as a Captain-Lieutenant he was present at Clive’s Council of War in 1757 (See *First Report of the Select Committee*, page 153) when Knox was only a Lieutenant and therefore not present.

³ Most of the papers in this case were printed in the *First Report of the Select Committee*, 1772-1773. Others will be found in *Orme, India*, XII.

⁴ Court Minutes, 7th October 1761, and Court Letter to Bengal, 30th September, with P.S., 5th October 1761.

⁵ Mir Miran, son of Mir Jafar.

or some such sum, to several black persons to assassinate the Shāhzādā. It is further reported that this paper was carried to Mr. Amyatt, the then Chief of Patna, for him to sign, which he refused as a most infamous measure: it is also added that this very paper is in the hands of a Seid in Bengal."

The most searching enquiry was ordered.

On the receipt of these instructions the Bengal Council took immediate action,¹ both Knox and Lushington (Caillaud's interpreter) being called upon for formal depositions. Lushington, who it will be remembered is credited² with having affixed the signature of Admiral Watson to the fictitious treaty by which Omichand was deceived, declared that he had forgotten all details of the interview and that he had not acted as interpreter. Knox's memory was better and as his deposition clears up the whole transaction I quote the record in full.

"By virtue of a commission directed to me from His Majesty's Justices of the Town of Calcutta, I summoned Captain Randfurlie Knox before me, who answered upon oath to the following interrogatories sent me by the Honourable President and Council of Fort William:—

"Q.—Whether you know anything of a design of getting the Shāhzādā assassinated? or the signing and sealing a paper for that purpose? by whom the said design was set on foot and who was consulted upon it and made privy to it? what was the purport of the paper, by whom was it written and in what language? when and where it was written and in whose presence? to whom it was delivered, and, in general, any other circumstance you may know touching the matter in question?

"A.—I remember that on or about the 14th April 1760, the Nawab and the English army lying near Burdwan, I was carried [about 5 o'clock] by Colonel Caillaud to take leave of the old and young Nawābs [i.e., Mir Jāfar and Miran] in consequence of being ordered with a detachment for the relief of

¹ *Bengal Public Consultations*, 13th May 1762.

² *First Report of the Select Committee*, 1772, Clive's and Watson's evidence, page 149.

Patna, that some time after my arrival [the visit lasted about two hours] in the old Nawāb's tent, all the attendants were ordered to retire. There remained only the old and young Nawābs, Colonel Caillaud, Mr. Lushington and myself. The young Nawāb then introduced a letter wrote [on white paper or, according to Mr. Amyatt, on goldbeater's skin] in Persian from a man of consequence in the Prince's army (whose name¹ I cannot recollect, but to the best of my remembrance he was Bakshi² to Kamgar Khan). In this letter was a proposal to cut off the Shāhzādā, and would execute it for the sum of a lakh of rupees, and as he did not propose the sum's being delivered to him till he had performed his promise he desired that a bond might be sent him sealed by the old and young Nawābs, and as he was doubtful of their performing their agreement though they had given it under their hands,³ he desired that it might likewise be signed by the English commanding officer. On this being explained to Colonel Caillaud by Mr. Lushington, he at first did not seem to approve of it, but the Nawāb at that time being very doubtful of the English friendship, and as it was not certain whether that was really a letter wrote by Kamgar Khan's Bakshi or one wrote by the Nawāb himself to try whether the English were in his interest or not,⁴ Colonel Caillaud ordered Mr. Lushington to put his seal to it, saying if it does us no good it can do us no harm. I then took my leave of both the Nawābs and proceeded with the detachment under my command to Patna. On my arrival there I found the place besieged by the Shāhzādā. Some days before the siege was raised this paper was brought by Kamgar Khan's Bakshi to Shitāb Rāi (the King's Diwan) who was then in Patna, who showed it to Mr. Amyatt with a proposal for him

¹ Khandi Rao.

² i. e., Paymaster.

³ Exactly in the same way Omichand insisted on having the signatures of Watson and Clive to the Bengal Council's Treaty with Mir Jafar.

⁴ So when Sheobhat, the Mārathā, wrote in 1757, to ask for our alliance with the British, the latter thought the letter was a forgery by Sirāj-ud-daula to test their fidelity to their agreement with him. Clive sent on the letter to Sirāj-ud-daula as a proof that the British could have no secret dealings with his enemies.

to sign it,¹ and informed him as that agreement was made in the Province of Bengal and they were in Bihar, if Kamgar Khan's Bakshi should perform his agreement he was doubtful whether the Nawābs and Colonel Caillaud would stand by theirs, which was his reason for desiring Mr. Amyatt to put his seal to it. To the best of my knowledge Mr. Amyatt never did put his seal to it and I do not know what became of the paper afterwards.

"Randfurlie Knox.

"Sworn before me the 17th day of June 1762 at Shahpur,

"John Burdett."

The Council, in order to complete the enquiry, summoned Lushington and Knox to Calcutta, and on the 7th October examined them in person and, apparently, in the presence of Colonel Caillaud. Meanwhile Lushington had put in a letter in which, whilst still professing to have forgotten all details, he said that Captain Knox did not, at that time, know sufficient of the language to act as interpreter in a conversation of such importance and therefore he must himself have conducted the interview. Under examination he declared that he was ready to accept the accounts given by Colonel Caillaud and Captain Knox as absolutely correct. One point however remained to be cleared up; namely, how did Captain Knox come to know the reasons which moved Caillaud to perform an action which he evidently disliked when first proposed to him. This elicited from Knox the one point which he had ignored in his deposition, namely, that he had hotly protested against dealing with such a fine young fellow as the Shāhzādā in such a treacherous way, and had only ceased his objections when Caillaud had laughingly explained that the whole thing was a trick of the Nawāb to test the fidelity of his allies, or, if not a trick, that the smallness of the reward asked for showed that the offer came from a man who either had

¹ Amyatt in a letter to Council, dated 23rd May 1762, says it was brought to him as a pretext for an advance of money to Khandi Rao. He does not say he was asked to sign it, but probably, when he refused the advance, he was asked if he would confirm it by his signature.

not the power or had not the intention to perform his promise. Under any circumstances, said Caillaud, the Shāhzādā ran less risk by this plot than Knox was about to run in his expedition to Patna.

One cannot help thinking that Knox's instinct was a better guide for a man of honour than Caillaud's quick wits, but Caillaud was one of those too clever men who like to fight craft with craft and deceit with deceit,¹ and his action in this instance would have placed him in a very serious position had he been able to produce no better evidence than that of the forgetful and absent-minded Lushington. What justification there was for his conduct lay entirely in the fact that he was called upon for an instant decision and that he really did not know what was going on behind his back except that the Governor (Mr. Holwell) and the Nawāb were both carrying on secret negotiations with the Shāhzādā, his own task being as he supposed at all costs to keep the Nawāb in good humour.

The Bengal Council, having now full knowledge of the affair and appreciating the difficulties with which Caillaud had had to contend, reported to the Court that he had acted with the best intentions. On the 1st June 1763 the Court resolved that Colonel Caillaud was wholly innocent in intention and that his action

"proceeded from the particular circumstances of affairs at that time, his zeal for the Company's service, the suddenness of the occasion, and a thorough conviction that it was an artifice of the Nawāb to try the sincerity of the Company's attachment to him and that no ill-consequences would follow therefrom to the Shāhzādā."

Caillaud was in England at the time, and on the 9th July 1763 Mr. Ellis wrote from the War Office to inform Mr. Dorrien that His Majesty had been pleased to grant Colonel Caillaud a Commission as Brigadier-General in the East Indies.²

¹ In 1755 Caillaud wrote to Orme:—"My dear Mr. Orme, our rigid northern notions of justice will make us at last the dupes and fools of the more pliant politics of these southern climates."—Orme O. V., 293, p. 59.

² India Office, *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. XLV, No. 157.

V.—THE LAST CAMPAIGN.

Though we have no record of Knox's work in Midnapur, it was probably sufficiently exciting, what with the care of his troops, the turbulence of the zamindars, the predatory habits of his Marathā neighbours, the survey of outlying districts and the tricks of native traders and agents. Under the constant burden, even the delightful breezes of the coast, which made the fever-stricken inhabitants of Calcutta look upon Balasore and such places as sanitarium, were insufficient to keep him in good health. So, when the friction between the Council and the Nawāb Mir Kasim grew so great as to threaten a rupture, Knox was in no fit state to take the field. This did not however deter him from doing so.

The danger of immediate hostilities was so great that on the 18th June 1763 the Council agreed—

“In order to form a front for the protection of the Company's *aurangs* and lands, to secure their investments and revenues in the best manner possible and to endeavour to collect what we can from the other Provinces to answer the expences of the war, that our troops be immediately prepared for taking post according to the following disposition—

“Captain Knox with his detachment in the Province of Birbhum,

“A detachment of 200 of the Company's sepoys in the Provinces of Nadiya and Krishnagar,

“The body of the army from Ghyrettee at Cossimbazar and to possess themselves of the city of Murshidabad.

“That in this disposition the troops shall march as nearly as possible in a line so as to be able to support each other, and the whole act under the order of Major Adams,

“The distance of Captain Knox's present station at Jaleshwar being considerable, agreed that whilst the other preparations are making he be directed to march to Midnapur, and there wait with his party in readiness for moving until he shall receive our further orders, leaving behind him one company

of sepoy and two or three gunners to defend the post at Jaleswar.”

These orders were sent to Mr. Burdett (at Midnapur) to forward to Captain Knox, whom he was to assist in every way with money and all other necessities.

On the 23rd June a letter was received from Mr. Johnstone, saying that it appeared the Nawab would attack Burdwan so Knox was ordered to proceed thither from Midnapur immediately. He seemed to have at last something like an independent command in an actual campaign, but on the 8th July Major Carnac was sent to take command, thus superseding him for a second time. It was however only an apparent supersession, for the danger of an attack upon Burdwan having disappeared, Carnac, who had arrived in Burdwan on the 14th and reported that he had found everything belonging to the Artillery and the Detachment absolutely complete, was ordered to join the main army under Adams. Carnac and Knox therefore proceeded towards Murshidabad,¹ joining Adams on the 27th, when Adams appointed Knox Quarter-Master General² to the whole force. His friend William Jennings commanded the Artillery and his protégé James Nicholl was made Adjutant of Sepoys. Mir Jāfar had again been proclaimed Nawāb.³

On the 2nd August Adams inflicted a severe defeat on the Nawāb's forces at Gheriah. His official report⁴ of his victory has not been preserved, but in it he ascribed his success very largely to the gallantry of Major Carnac and Captains Knox and Winwood. In reply to his letter of the 3rd August Council wrote requesting him “to accept our sincere acknow-

¹ Carnac says that “he effected this junction with the utmost difficulty on account of the floods.” *Third Report of the Select Committee*, p. 303.

² *Broome* 376, who probably based the statement on Caraccioli (I. 329) but Knox was really commandant of all the Sepoys.

³ 25th July 1763.

⁴ This is merely summarized in the Bengal Public Consultation of the 8th August 1763. Long letters to Lord Egremont are to be found in the *London Gazette* but are incomplete. Complete copies exist in the India Office *Miscellaneous Letters Received*.

ledgements and return our thanks to Major Carnac for the share he had in that day's success, to Captains Knox and Winwood for their exerting themselves so gallantly in their particular stations and to the officers and troops in general for their persevering bravery."

In another letter of the 3rd August,¹ signed by both Adams and Carnac, the former reported that he had appointed Captain Knox to be Commandant of the whole corps of Sepoys² and requested that the rank of Major should be attached to this appointment. Whereupon the Council—

"Unanimously agreed as well in consequence of the recommendation from the Major as in consideration of the services, merit and abilities of Captain Knox, that he be appointed a Major on this Establishment and have a Commission granted him accordingly, to bear rank from the 2nd August."

The appointment of Commandant for the Corps of Sepoys seems to suggest that trouble had arisen in this body, no doubt owing to want of experience on the part of the subalterns in command, for almost immediately after Knox's appointment Lieutenant William Smith was court-martialled for discharging sepoy without and contrary to Major Knox's orders, and sentenced "to be reprimanded by the Commander-in-Chief before Major Knox."³

The story of Major Adams' campaign has been told too often to need repetition here. His *General Order Book* and Lieutenant William Grant's *Journal* make frequent allusion to the activity and zeal of Major Knox, but I shall limit myself to a few of the more interesting incidents. After their defeat at Gheriah, the Nawāb's army retired to the fortified lines of Udayanala, a few

¹ *Bengal Public Consultations*, 11th August 1763.

² This appointment appears in Adams' *General Orders* (B. M. 6049) under date 27th July 1763, i. e., immediately after his arrival. In his letter to Court of the 27th April 1764 [*Malcolm, Life of Clive*, II. 307] Clive wrote:—"Your Sepoys are already commanded by Major Knox, whose merits I could wish to have rewarded with a Lieutenant Colonel's Commission."

³ Major Adams' *General Orders*, Brit. Mus. Addl. M.S.S. 6049-50.

miles south of Rajmahal. These were reconnoitred on the 12th and 13th August and plans made of the defences by Lieutenant Grant in company with Major Knox,¹ and probably it was these plans which Mr. Vansittart afterwards sent to Robert Orme, though as the makers of the existing plans are not always named they cannot be identified. On the 5th September the lines were carried by storm, Captain Broadbrook, commanding the 1st Native Infantry, being killed in the attack. On the 12th September the Council promoted Lieutenant Primrose Galliez to command the Battalion, which for many years was known by his name. This leads me to suppose that he was the first commanding officer *permanently* attached to it.²

On the 27th September Knox presided over a court-martial which is worth mentioning only as an apparent moral reversal—possibly suggested by himself—of a verdict which military etiquette forced him to pronounce: Lieutenant William Filewood of the Artillery was charged with writing an insolent letter to Major Carnac, and was ordered to apologize. He then demanded that Major Carnac should explain publicly a statement which he had made not only at the court-martial but on several other occasions, to the effect that Lieutenant Filewood could expect no further promotion in the Company's service. A Court of Enquiry being granted, Major Carnac somewhat brutally stated that the chief reason for his statement was Lieutenant Filewood's marriage to a lady of decidedly notorious character. The Court, presided over by Captain Long³ however, thought

¹ Major Grant's *Journal*, Orme O. V., 4.

² Broome (p. 385) says "the gallant Captain Broadbrook, who had so long commanded the 1st Battalion of Sepoys." He was certainly in command on the 1st January 1762 (*Broome* XXX and *Ninth Report from Committee of Secrecy* p. 508, but as certainly Blake was in command, January 1761 (*Bengal Public Consultations*, 18th April 1763; List of Off. Reckonings of Troops at Patna in 1763) so that he must have been placed in command some time in 1761, and had therefore served in this capacity for about two years only.

³ 8th Regiment.

that Carnac was ungenerous to a young man who had been undoubtedly entrapped by a designing woman, and begged

"leave to represent it to Major Adams that it is their opinion that, notwithstanding Lieutenant Filewood's marriage, he may be a man of strict honour and a good officer." ¹

Whether this affair led to any unfriendly relations between Knox and Carnac I cannot say. Carnac, as we see by his correspondence with Council, was a man of violent temper and a bitter tongue, and only a little later we find Knox unwilling to remain in Patna if Major Carnac was to have the command. It is amusing to find that in his will ² Knox bequeathed to Carnac a gold watch which he had borrowed and failed to return.

From Udayanala ³ the British army advanced to Monghyr. The siege of this place, Knox being in command of the operations, ⁴ began on the 6th October. On the 7th the Governor offered to capitulate and Knox was ordered to cease firing, but when the next morning he sent in to demand surrender the sepoys in the garrison refused to allow the Governor to carry out his promise unless they were permitted to go with their arms where they pleased. ⁵ Knox refusing to grant any conditions, they detained some of his messengers and, sending back the others, suddenly opened fire on our men, who, not expecting any "such salute were not under cover." Luckily no harm was done. Firing was resumed and a breach having been made, on the night of the 10th the garrison agreed to surrender at discretion. The next day the British marched in.

¹ Major Adams' *General Orders* under date 27th September 1763 etseq.

² See Appendix II.

³ N. W. Hodge's *Views in India*, No. 14, is a view of a mosque near Rajmahal the enclosure of which, he says, provided shelter for the whole European portion of Major Adams' Army after the storming of the Lines at Udayanala. Hodges also gives a view of the Bridge, which was the only means of retreat to the beaten party. From this it is easy to understand why they suffered so severely.

⁴ Adams' *General Orders*, 6th October 1763.

⁵ Such terms were invariably demanded and insisted by Rājputs, e.g., when Lawrence and Clive received the surrender of the Pagola at Srirangam in 1752., *Orme, History*, I., 244.

Carnac ¹ was now ordered to return to Birbhum and to take command of the troops in that Province. The army proceeded to Patna. Here they arrived on the 28th and Knox again took charge of the operations. As he knew the place well he recommended that the attack should be made on the north-east angle in which the castle or fort was situated, possibly, I think, for the double reason ² that if this were taken the town could not possibly offer further resistance and that an attack at this point would obviate all the dangers of street-fighting and the certain destruction of property accompanied by loss of life to many harmless persons.

Patna was stormed on the 6th November, and on the 13th the army moved westward in pursuit of Kasim Ali, but when on the 5th December they reached the Karamnassa River which forms the boundary of Bihar, they found that he had taken refuge with his army and treasure ³ in the Province of Oudh. The pursuit was therefore discontinued. As the British knew but little of the country between the river and Bengal, Knox recommended that Lieutenant Nicholl ⁴ should be sent to survey the roads between the Karamnassa and Calcutta. He started on the 8th, but though Caraccioli says ⁵

“He executed his commission to the great satisfaction of his commanding officers and the manifest advantage of the military service”

I have not been able to find any traces of his work, nor is his name mentioned by Rennell ⁶ in his acknowledgements of the surveys made before his time.

¹ Broome (p. 389) says he was sent to Birbhum on the 19th September. But he was present at the Court-Martial on the 22nd. Adams' *General Orders* show that he was ordered on the 19th to hold himself in readiness to go, so, probably, he started only in October (See Bengal *Public Consultations*, 10th October 1763 p. 589).

² Caraccioli, *Life of Clive*, I., 323, gives another reason, namely, that the houses of the suburbs approached very close to the castle and so gave cover to the attacking party.

³ Valued at between 2 and 3 millions. See evidence of Colonel Munro before the Select Committee (1773, p. 41).

⁴ Broome, 403.

⁵ *Life of Clive*, I., 337.

⁶ Nor does Rennell mention any of the work of Major Knox, which possibly though practical was not scientifically accurate.

During the siege of Patna proposals were made in Council, regarding the management of the Sepoys which created much dissatisfaction amongst their European officers. Adams and Knox protested especially

(1) against any change in the pay of Subadars and Sepoys without some other form of compensation;

(2) against the Sepoys being paid by Paymasters,

"as it is unknown in any service, is therefore a reflection upon the officers who command the battalions, and robs them of the greatest influence they have over their people; that the commanding officers having got notice of this intended regulation have desired, in case it should take place, to be permitted to take their posts in the European Battalion."¹

On the 4th November Major Adams had informed the Council that the bad state of his health would not permit of his staying with the army, and that, if he found Kasim Ali unwilling to fight, he should leave the command with Knox and come to Calcutta. He evidently informed Knox of his intention and of the probability that the Council would send up Major Carnac to take his place, for on the 10th Knox wrote to ask for the command at Burdwan if he were to be superseded again. His letter was considered in Council on the 25th and a soothing reply sent to the effect—

"That we have directed Major Carnac to march and reinforce the army with all the Company's troops under his command, and that this being the case, there will not remain any separate body in the field and we therefore doubt not that he will cheerfully remain with the army, and let us have a continuance of the benefit of those services which have always merited our satisfaction and approbation, and of which Major Adams has spoken with the highest praise throughout their victorious campaign, nor have we, on our part, failed to do him the same justice to the Court of Directors."

¹This appears to be further proof that the permanent attachment of European officers to Sepoy Battalions was of only very recent date.

It is difficult to see what other course, consistent with the rules of the Service, the Council could have taken, but to a man suffering from long illness and recent excessive toil and exposure, this disappointment must have been very galling, and Knox evidently determined to resign and go home, for in the lists of Bills¹ drawn on the Company in London I find two, each for £500, drawn by Major Knox on the 24th November 1763 in favour of Arnold Nesbitt and Company,² correspondents of his cousin Thomas Knox of Bristol. There is no trace of his having remitted money at any earlier date.

Carnac seems to have been in no hurry to take up his command at Patna and wrote on the 5th December to the Council asking permission to pay a visit to Calcutta on his way. This was refused by the Council on the ground that "Major Knox is much indisposed," a consideration that did not in the least accelerate Major Carnac's movements.

Knox meanwhile had much to trouble him. The border was in a disturbed state and needed careful watching. On the other hand the Nawāb, Mir Jāfar, had to be humoured. On the 22nd December—

"Major Knox received intelligence that a small party of horse who were returning from Kasim's camp intended crossing the river to go down to Bengal, without asking for a *dustuck* (i.e., a pass) either from him or the Nawāb. He therefore determined to seize them in the morning as they crossed the river, in order to deter other useless vagabonds from coming into the country, and accordingly ordered the Mughals³ to march out

¹ List of Bills drawn upon the Company in *Bengal Public Consultations*, 28th November and 19th December 1763.

² Also agents for Knox's friend Mr. William McGuire. See Bengal Letter to Court, 12th November 1761, paragraph 102. It seems odd that Knox, who was a soldier, should recommend an agent to McGuire who was a Civilian, but the fact that Nesbitt and Company were correspondents of his cousin Thomas Knox, shows that this was the case. Dr. Rogers (*Genealogical Memoirs of John Knox*) mentions various marriages between the Knoxes of Frehen and people bearing the name of Nesbitt.

³ i. e. Native Cavalry. See *Broome*, 430, 4: "The Moghuls who are the only good horsemen in the country."

at three in the morning, who laid hold of about forty horses, one elephant and one camel, and brought them in. The Major as he had acquainted the Nawāb of his intentions and indeed seized them by his particular desire, sent a message to the Nawāb to know if he would have them, who replied he only wanted the elephant and one horse, which he said was seized as he was going to water, which by the by we know to be a falsity. They were however sent to him. He immediately sent for three more horses, and before they were pitched on by the messenger, he sent for seventeen more, and within half an hour for twenty, alleging that they belonged to him, on which the Major sent another message to him to know why he did not claim them at first, or why he did not take them all when offered to him, to which he replied that if he had understood that they were really intended for him, he would have accepted of them. I should not have been so prolix in relating this affair, which is not worth mentioning but to show the meanness and pitiful behaviour of the greatest of the Mussulmans.”¹

Mir Jāfar, once noted as a gallant and generous soldier, was, as we know, now in his dotage, but this made matters no easier for Knox. The proximity of the army to Oudh and the fact that there were many foreigners in Mir Kasim’s army who could communicate with their fellow-countrymen in British service caused many desertions, for the men had not yet received any part of the donation which Mir Jāfar had promised to pay, one-half on the capture of Monghyr and the remainder on the capture of Patna. More than a month had elapsed since the latter event and the soldiers, seeing constant evidence of Mir Jāfar’s meanness, thought that he intended to defraud them. Of those who deserted for this or other reasons three were recaptured and placed under guard,² but Knox had no power to try them and his indisposition caused an application to Major Adams for the necessary authority to be postponed. Ultimately they escaped without any punishment, a fact which

¹ Major Grant’s *Journal*, *Orme O. V.*, 4.

² Gilbert Harper’s *Journal*, *Orme O. V.*, 219, page 13.

encouraged others to similar behaviour, and which may be considered one of the chief reasons of the subsequent mutiny of the whole body of foreigners.

By the end of December ¹ Knox became so ill that on the 2nd January 1764 ² he was forced to go into Patna for treatment, leaving the army under the command of his old friend William Jennings. There, in spite of the attentions of Doctors William Fullerton and Thomas Anderson, he rapidly became worse, and, having executed his will on the 22nd January 1764, he passed away on the 28th.

Imperfect and fragmentary as are the records of those few incidents in his career of which I have been able to find any trace, it is of deep interest to notice how they show evidence of this young soldier's possession of all those qualities or tendencies which are united in the Indian ideal of a *Burra Sahib*, or 'Great Gentleman'.³ Of such a man it is required that—

He should be noble in form and bearing. Ghulam Hussain notes his manly bearing when he entered Patna and put courage into the hearts of the despairing citizens. Forde mentions his strong physique and constitution.

He should have the habit and the power of command. According to Broome, Clive picked him out to command his first Battalion of Sepoys, Forde and Adams certainly selected him for any difficult and tact-requiring post.

He must be a soldier, indefatigable in his duties and the study of his profession, brave, skilful and fortunate in battle, but merciful to the conquered and abhorring deceit and treachery even towards an enemy. His survey work, undertaken on his own initiative, shows his attention to all branches of his

On the 29th December Knox wrote to the Council that illness would compel him to go into Patna (*Bengal Public Consultations*, 16th January 1764), but as Captain Jennings wrote on the 27th December as in command of the army on that date, he must have made over his active duties to Captain Jennings sometime before.

² Caraccioli, *Life of Clive*, I., page 346.

³ See the Abbé Dubois' (*Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Chapter VI.) description of the perfect Kshatriya.

profession, ¹ his skill and courage were matters of common talk, he was fortunate in being always victorious and in never being wounded. Ghulām Hussain mentions his care of the wounded enemy after Birpur. ² Forde says one of his good qualities was his humanity. From Adams' *General Orders* we find that almost his first act as Commandant was to insist upon the English surgeons attending to the wounded sepoys. His abhorrence of treachery is evidenced in the Caillaud-Shāhzādā episode.

He must be loyal and generous to friends and comrades. The same episode shows his loyalty to Caillaud, and his share in the Remonstrance to Council against the reduction of Batta shows his solidarity with his comrades.

He must be magnificent in dress and mode of life, openhanded to the poor and to his dependants, also a patron or friend of learned men. That Knox was all this is shown by the terms of his will. I have alluded to his friendship with the historian Ghulām Hussain Khan. ³

He must be ambitious of honour, power and wealth, claiming these as his right, yet self-controlled and modest in his demeanour, of polished manners and knowing well how to carry himself in his relations with every one with whom he came in contact, whatever their rank or station. That he was legitimately ambitious is shown by his whole career. His self-control and excellent manners explain Forde's statement of his acceptability with the native chiefs and gentry. His remembrance in his will of even the menial servants who attended him in his last illness shows that he ignored no one, however humble they might be.

Such being the case, it is evident that Randfurlie Knox was one of those who, had life been spared and opportunity offered, must have risen to high distinction.

¹ "He was undoubtedly one of the best field officers the Company ever had and few are so eminent in all the branches of the military profession."—Caraccioli *Life of Clive*, I., 346.

² *Seir Mutaghgerin*, II., 362.

³ Author of the *Seir Mutaghgerin*.

The news of his death was announced by Governor Vansittart, who was one of his executors, in the Council Meeting of the 13th February 1764, and is recorded without any comment, but how severely his loss was felt, especially as coming so soon after the death of Major Adams, is shown in the Council's letter¹ to the Court of Directors :—

"We are sorry we are obliged at the same time (as we inform you of the death of Major Adams) to advise you of the loss of a very brave and good officer in Major Knox, who died at Patna the 28th of last month. He had long laboured in a bad state of health, which however there is the greatest reason to believe was brought on by the constant vigilance and fatigue to which he subjected himself in executing the duties of his station.² He may therefore justly be said to have sacrificed his life in a service to which he was always a credit, and by the members of which, as well civil as military, he is now universally lamented."

The regret of his personal friends seems to have found expression in the erection of the tomb³ to which I have referred at the beginning of this Memoir. For this they chose a suitable site on the high bank of the Ganges. Behind it lies the town which he saved from sack by the Shāhzādā's army. Before it, across the wide river, is the village of Birpur where with about 1,200 men he defeated an army of twelve thousand.

It is pathetic to find that at the very time when Knox was seized with his fatal illness, his cousin Mitchelbourne Knox was applying to the Court of Directors for service, and giving as his reason :—

"That your memorialist having the greatest regard for his cousin Randfurlie Knox of your service, is desirous of serving under him,"⁴

¹ Council to Court, 20th February 1764, paragraph 18.

² "Major Knox, who was sick at the beginning of the campaign, with an unexampled zeal and fortitude, had gone through all the toils and fatigues of the field, in a torrid climate without once going into sick quarters." Caraccioli, *Life of Clive*, I., 338.

³ I have not been able to ascertain the date of the erection or the names of the persons who caused it to be erected.

⁴ Court minutes, 30th November 1763.

and that, at last, the Court of Directors, on the recommendation of Clive, were considering the advisability of promoting him to the rank of Colonel. In their letter of the 1st June 1764, the Court informed the Bengal Council that at their intercession

“His Majesty has been further most graciously pleased to grant the following brevets, viz. to Majors Thomas Adams and John Carnac to take rank as Brigadier Generals, to Majors Richard Smith, Randfurlie Knox and Sir Robert Barker to take rank as Colonels, all which brevets are for the East Indies only.”

Apparently it took some time to settle up Major Knox's affairs, for though probate of his will was granted on the 3rd July 1764 the final Inventories were not submitted to the Mayor's Court until some time in 1766. The total value of his Estate amounted, apparently to Rs. 2,67,100, which at that time would be equivalent to about £30,000. In his will (see Appendix II) it will be seen that he forgot none of his relatives or friends and none, even the meanest, of his dependants.

¹ Paragraphs 35 and 36.

APPENDIX I.

INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF MAJOR RANDFURLIE KNOX. ¹

Here Lays Deposited the Earthly Remains
Of the truly Gallant Major Randfurlic Knox
Who after Having
Lived
Many Years in the Military Service
Of the Hon^{ble} United East India Company
Universally Esteem'd and Belov'd
Died
On the 28th day of January 1764 Aged 34 Years
As Universally Lamented
Reader
Whatever the Principles of thy Religion may be
Form thy Life after his Example
So shall the Pious Tear never be wanting to be shed
To thine as to His
Memory

¹ Communicated to me by Mr. V. H. Jackson, Principal of the Patna College.

APPENDIX II.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MAJOR RANDFURLIE KNOX.¹

"In the name of God Amen ; I Randfurlie Knox, Major in the Hon'ble East India Company's Service, being in perfect mind and memory do make this my Last Will and Testament, revoking and making void all former Wills made by me.

"Imprimis I desire that all my debts of whatever kind may be justly and duly paid, after which I do dispose of the remainder of my Estate in Manner following :—

"Item, I bequeath to my Cousin Captain John Knox the remaining six hundred pounds of one thousand I sent to England this season, and to his Brother, Henry Knox, Vicar of Berkly, the like sum, and one other six hundred pounds I desire may be divided amongst my poor relations not mentioned in my will at the discretion of the Reverend Mr. George Knox of Dublin, my Brother Lieutenant John Knox and my Brother-in-law Mr. Forester.

"Item, I bequeath to my Cousin Mitchellburne Knox, Brother to the said John and Henry, two hundred pounds. I likewise leave the Daughter of the aforesaid Reverend Mr. George Knox the sum of two hundred pounds.

"Item I bequeath to Major John Carnac the gold repeating watch he now has of mine in his possession.

"Item, I give to Mr. Richard Barwell² my Chariot and largest pair of horses and to Captain John Stables my large gray horse.

"Item, I bequeath to Lieutenant John Grant of His Majesty's 84th Regiment my diamond ring and to Mr. Bryan Scottney all my plate, he paying for the making of all that I have put into the silversmith's hands since my arrival in Patna.

¹ Mayor's Court (Bengal) Records, India Office.

² The hero of the "bring more curricles" story (See H. F. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*) (1882 Ed., [p. 135] and the story is true ; Barwell's passion for display must have already been known to his friends,

"Item, I bequeath to Dr. William Fullarton one thousand rupees to buy him a ring and Dr. Thomas Anderson five hundred rupees for the same purpose.

The remainder of my Fortune I desire may be disposed in manner following, one-fourth to my Brother Lieutenant John Knox, one-fourth to my Sister Lucy Forester, and the other two-fourths I desire may be divided between the two children of the late Thomas Knox, Esq., of Bristol.

"In order to the fulfilling of this my Last Will and Testament, I do hereby appoint the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esq., Ralph Leycester, Esq., and Mr. Bryan Scottney my Executors for transacting my affairs in India, my Uncle ¹ the Reverend Mr. George Knox of Dublin, my Brother Lieutenant John Knox and my brother-in-law Mr.Forester my Executors in Europe, leaving to them the sole management of this my Last Will and Testament, signed and sealed with my own hand this 22nd day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven [hundred] and sixty-four.

Randfurlie Knox (L.S.)

Done in presence of us at Patna, where no stamp paper is to be had

Francis Hare.

Charles Blomer.

¹ Dr. Richard Pococke in his *Irish Tour* in 1752, p. 76, says that whilst he was at Sligo he visited a Mr. Knox, his sister Mrs. Stewart of Horsehead and a Mr. Mitchelburne Knox. According to Burke's *Landed Gentry of Ireland*, Frederick Stewart of Horsehead (High Sheriff in 1742) married, in 1780, Mary, eldest daughter of George Knox of Prehen. This definitely connects the Knoxes of Sligo with those of Prehen, but as the Mr. Knox mentioned by the Bishop had a farm near Sligo, it is hardly likely that he was the Rev. George Knox of Dublin. If he was not, then we have four Knoxes, children of George Knox of Prehen :—

- (1) Mr. Knox of Sligo,
- (2) Mr. Mitchelburne Knox of Sligo,
- (3) Rev. George Knox of Dublin,
- (4) Mary Stewart,

but which of the first two was the father of Major Randfurlie Knox is uncertain.

Codicil, 27th January 1764.

"It is Major Knox's desire that a girl named Champa now kept by him should have one thousand rupees, likewise he leaves to Mr. Nicholls his mathematical instruments and to Mr. James Crawford Volunteer at Camp one of his Turkey horses, to Perkins and Joe his two servants each 300 rupees, to Sidoo at Jaleshwar 500, to Fizoo, Bauchur and Jendie each 100 rupees, to the two bearers who have attended him in his illness each 100 rupees in presence of us—

Randfurlie Knox (L. S.)

Bryan Scottney.

W. Fullarton.

Charles Blomer.

"It is Major Knox's further desire that Mr. Thomas Anderson receive the sum of five hundred rupees besides what is left him in his Will.

J. Fullarton.

W. Fullarton.

Chas. Blomer.

"It is Major Knox's further desire that if the Governor and Council should obtain a present from the Nawāb, that it may be divided amongst my [sic] poor relations at the discretion of Lord Mount Charles, the Reverend George Knox of Dublin, his brother Lieutenant John Knox and his Brother-in-law Mr. Forester, and Major Knox further desires that Lord Mount Charles may be one of his Executors in Europe. Major Knox also bequeaths to Mr. Bryan Scottney his Gold Hooker together with all the Gold Mohurs paid by him to the Goldsmith since his arrival at Patna and what are at present in his possession this 27th January 1764.

R. Knox. (L. S.)

Signed and sealed in presence of

Stanlake Batson.

Charles Blomer.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—A Note on the Nāek Caste.

By T. S. Macpherson, M.A., I.C.S.

The main village of Mārḥā in thana Husainābād in the district of Palāman is owned and chiefly inhabited by Nāeks. The men of the caste are tall and well-made and of a decidedly Aryan build and countenance. The women, who are similarly endowed and often fair in colouring, not infrequently become *tawāifs*, and are in much request in great houses for dancing and cognate purposes. The men of the caste are Hindus (unless they elect to become Musalmans), but of the women such as lead a chaste life at home as married women remain Hindus, while those who adopt the "profession" become Muhammadans. The latter do not, however, cease to live with their Hindu relations—the only restriction upon them is that they must not enter the kitchen of the Hindu portion of the family. Sons born in wedlock give their father's name in court; but Suambar Nāek, son of a prostitute, when asked his father's name, gives the name of his mother Rahat Bibi, but is nevertheless a Hindu Nāek. The men of the caste, like Brāhmans, Kāhārs and Orāons in the district, affect the title "Rām". They are mainly agriculturists, but some pursue the caste-calling and are dancers or musicians, either exclusively or in combination with agriculture.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, held on the 24th February 1917 at the Council Chamber of Government House, Patna.

His Honour Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., President,
in the Chair.

1. The Annual Report * of the Council, printed copies of which were distributed among members, was taken as read.

2. His Honour the President then delivered his address.†

3. On His Honour the President inviting members present to make any observations they might wish to make, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasād Shāstri, M.A., C.I.E., spoke as follows :—

“After the luminous address by His Honour Sir Edward Gait on the work of the Research Society, past and present, and on the hopeful and bright prospect of its work in future and specially after the proposal of the publication of the original diary of Buchanan Hamilton, I rise to give the Society a piece of information which may be exceedingly interesting to them,—the information, I mean, of a Sanskrit Gazetteer of India prepared 300 years ago in this very City of Patna. The Scholar who compiled it was Pandit Jaganmohan. He acted under the patronage of a Chauhan Jāgirdār of the Moghal Empire who held four Parganās round Patna, and whose name was Vijjala Bhupati. In the preamble he speaks of the description of 18 countries from the sea in the East to Benares in the West. He gives descriptions of men and things,

* Printed at page 168 *post*.

† Printed at page 1 *ante*.

manners and customs, trade, commerce, produce, and manufactures, and, in fact, all these matters which are appropriate in a Gazetteer. One curious custom mentioned in the work, which remains in my memory, is of embracing the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh Gayā by Hindus going on pilgrimage to Gayā. The Bihār and Orissā Research Society is earnestly requested to take an interest in this informing work which is peculiarly their own, having been compiled in their own Capital. No edition of this extensive work is possible at present, as the only complete copy (in six big bundles) is written in such a scribbling hand that my attempts to read it critically have failed. I have, however, got fragments of another copy from which much information of a very interesting nature may be picked up."

4. Principal V. H. Jackson, M.A., proposed that rule 4 of the Society's rules be amended so as to raise the number of Vice-Patrons from five to seven. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., seconded the proposal, which was unanimously carried.

5. The Hon'ble Mahārāja Bahādur Sir Rameswar Singh, G.C.I.E., of Dārbbhāngā, proposed that the Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir Edward Chamier, Kt., be elected a Vice-Patron of the Society. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S., seconded the proposal, which was carried *nem. com.*

6. Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasād Shāstri, M.A., C.I.E., proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was carried by acclamation. In proposing the vote of thanks the Pandit said :—"It is now my pleasant duty to move a vote of thanks to Sir Edward Gait, the President of the Society, for his brilliant address this evening. From the day Sir Edward set his foot in India, he is studying the History and the Anthropology of this great country with earnestness, and enthusiasm, and his contributions in these subjects are numerous and valuable. The idea of a Research Society for this province is entirely his own and he is still the life and soul of this Society and he is infusing flesh and blood into it. If Bihār and Orissā ever become great in research and modern scholarship they will have to be grateful to him and to him alone. With

these words I beg to move a vote of thanks which I hope will be passed with acclamation."

7. The following articles of antiquarian interest were exhibited :—

- (1) Four Copper-plate land-grants from the Sōnpur State.
- (2) Seven Copper-plate grants from the Dhenkanal State.
- (3) Four Copper-plate land-grants from the Baud State.
- (4) Four Copper axes found in the Mayurbhañj State.
- (5) Seven Copper axe-heads found in the Palāmau District.
- (6) Seventeen Copper bar-celts found in the Palāmau District.
- (7) Seven Copper axe-heads found in the Mānbhum District.
- (8) Four Copper axe-heads found in the Rānchi District.
- (9) One Copper axe-head found in the Singhbhum District.
- (10) Ten Bronze articles found in the Rānchi District.
- (11) Three bronze articles found in the Mānbhum District.
- (12) One bronze musical instrument (two pieces) found in the Mānbhum District.
- (13) One box of ancient potsherds found in the Rānchi District.
- (14) Ancient stone beads found in the Rānchi and Mānbhum Districts.
- (15) Two Jaina foot-prints.

These were
already ex-
hibited at the
first annual
meeting.

II.—Annual Report of the Council for the Year 1916.

The results of the year under review have been fairly satisfactory. There has been a substantial addition to the number of our members; the Journal has been regularly issued; some old coins and valuable objects of archæological, ethnological and historical interest, such as copper-plate grants, implements of the Copper Age and ancient copper vessels, have been added to our collection; and a number of valuable books have been presented to our Library by Government.

MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members is now 319, as compared with 237 last year. In addition to these we have eight Honorary Members on our rolls. There are now four Life-members, one having been added during the past year. The Council would gladly welcome a larger number of Life-members. Although the increase in the total membership is encouraging, we cannot avoid a sense of disappointment that the names of many enlightened zamindars, members of the medical and legal professions and officers of the Civil, Judicial and Educational services are not yet to be found on the roll of the Society.

PUBLICATIONS.

During the year, four issues of the Journal have been published; and it is a matter for gratification that the Journal appears to be attracting increasing attention on the part of various learned persons and Societies outside our Province.

The Society has recently undertaken to publish those portions of Dr. Francis Buchanan's Journal that relates to the Bihār districts. This valuable, but hitherto unpublished, Journal was kept by Dr. Buchanan when making his survey of Eastern

India in the early years of the nineteenth century. Principal Jackson of the Patnā College has kindly undertaken to edit the first volume dealing with the modern districts of Patnā and Gayā written in the years 1811-12 with notes and references, where essential, to any important passages of Dr. Buchanan's "report". Government have generously undertaken to bear the expense of the publication. Steps are also being taken to prepare catalogues of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts in the possession of private persons in the Tihūt and Orissā Divisions.

MEETINGS.

During the year there were six meetings of the Council for the transaction of the ordinary business of the Society, and one ordinary meeting of the Society, at which Dr. D. B. Spooner read a most interesting paper on 'Temple Types in Tihūt' illustrated by lantern slides.

MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

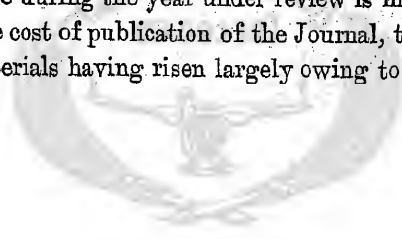
As a temporary home for a Museum and Library, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to allow us the use of four rooms in the chambers attached to the Patna High Court, and steps are being taken to fit up the rooms for the purpose, and to arrange for the supervision of the Library and Museum. The Mahārājā of Sonpur has been kind enough to present to the Society four copper-plate grants of historical interest that were found buried in his State. He has also generously presented to the Society half-tone reprints on art paper of the copper-plate charters for the Journal. It is hoped and expected that other enlightened gentlemen in the Province will come forward to help the work of the Society in the way the Mahārājā of Sonpur has been doing.

COIN CABINET.

A copy of the Report of the Bihār and Orissā Provincial Coin Committee created by the Local Government in 1915 is appended to this report. A considerable portion of the coins in the Cabinet was supplied by the Society.

FINANCES.

From the abstract statement of accounts appended to this report it will be seen that there has been a marked improvement in the collection of subscriptions, the total received on this account being Rs. 1,586 as compared with Rs. 477-8-0 in the previous year. In addition to subscriptions, we have realized Rs. 51-6-0 by the sale of copies of the Journal. A large number of subscriptions are still outstanding, but it is expected that the system now adopted of issuing postcard notices of the amounts due will have the effect of ensuring more punctual payment in future. We owe it to the munificent donation of Rs. 5,000 made by Raja Kamaleshwari Prasad Singh of Monghyr, to whom our best thanks have been conveyed, that the financial position of the Society is so much better now than it was in the previous year. The increase in the expenditure during the year under review is mainly due to the increase in the cost of publication of the Journal, the price of paper and other materials having risen largely owing to the war.



THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Abstract of Account for 1916 (January to December 31st).

INCOME,		EXPENDITURE.	
	Rs. as. p.		Rs. as. p.
(1) Government grant for Ethno-graphic Research ...	3,000 0 0	(1) Secretary's Allowance ...	2,750 0 0
(2) Government grant for Journal ...	2,000 0 0	(2) Treasurer's Assistant ...	105 0 0
(3) Government grant for Journal (additional) ...	500 0 0	(3) Office expenditure ...	355 7 0
(4) Government grant for Museum ...	45 11 0	(4) Postage ...	92 5 8
(5) Government grant for Buchanan Hamilton's Journal ...	250 0 0	(5) Commission to Bank (including price of cheque book) in 1915 ...	5 6 0
(6) Subscriptions from Members	1,286 0 0	(6) Stationery ...	112 1 6
(7) Ditto Life Members ...	300 0 0	(7) Despatcher, Government Press ...	20 0 0
(8) Sale of Copies of Journal	51 6 0	(8) Government Press for Printing ...	2,526 9 6
(9) Donation ...	5,000 0 0	(9) Lantern Lecture ...	44 12 0
	12,483 1 0	(10) Museum ...	49 4 0
Balance in hand from last year ...	962 15 0	(11) Library ...	42 0 0
			6,102 13 6
		Balance in hand ...	7,293 2 6
Total ...	13,396 0 0	Total ...	13,396 0 0

S. SINHA,

*Treasurer,**Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

REPORT OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA COIN COMMITTEE FOR THE PERIOD ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1916.

The Bihar and Orissā Provincial Coin Committee was created by the Local Government in 1915 (vide letter No. 11319-F., Finance Department, dated Ranchi, 30th August 1915). The Government of India was pleased to give the Bihar and Orissā Coin Cabinet the thirteenth place in the list of institutions to which coins found as treasure-trove are to be supplied (vide letter No. 33, Education Department, dated Simla, 10th September, 1915). During the financial year 1915-16, the Local Government granted Rs. 150 to the Coin Committee, the major portion of which amount has been spent in buying a fire-proof safe for the storage of the coins.

2. During the period from 30th August, 1915, to 31st December, 1916, the Committee have received 280 coins (including one medal and one token), from the following sources :—

The United Provinces Government	...	197	Coins.
„ Bombay Government	...	4	
„ Bengal Government	...	2	
„ Bihar and Orissa Government and private donors in the province	...	77	
		<hr/>	
		280	

Among these—

5	are gold.
151	„ silver.
52	„ copper.
1	is lead.
50	are billon.
21	„ bronze.
<hr/>	
Total	... 280

3. None of the coins secured is unique or even rare. We have acquired none belonging to the Indo-Greek, Scythian, or imperial Gupta series. With the exception of a few punch-marked copper coins, all our acquisitions are of a later period than A.D. 600. But the Delhi Muhammadan dynasties, especially the

Tughlaq, Sur and imperial Mughal families, are fairly well represented in our Cabinet.

4. The following is a detailed report on the acquisitions made in this Province :—

- (a) Eighteen copper coins of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, found near *Getelsudh* in the *Ranchi District*.
- (b) Seventeen silver coins of Sultan Sher Shah and his descendants, found at *Id*, Angara Police Station, *Ranchi District*.
- (c) Six silver coins of Shah Alam II, found in the new Government House compound, New Capital, *Bankipur*.
- (d) One gold and twenty-four silver coins, all presented by the Rajah of Dhenkanal State in Orissa, and mostly found at *Bhim Nagari Garh* in *Dhenkanal State*, consisting of—
 - (i) Nine coins of “ Pathan ” Sultans of Delhi.
 - (ii) One coin of “ Pathan ” Sultans of Bengal.
 - (iii) One coin of Bangsh Nawabs of Farrukhabad.
 - (iv) Two coins of Nawabs of Lucknow.
 - (v) Eight coins of Mughal Emperors of Delhi.
 - (vi) One coin of Ahom King Shiva Sinha, 1744 A.D.
 - (vii) One coin of Raghava-para-tapa Sahi of Urrhha.
 - (viii) Two coins issued by the East India Company.
- (e) One Venetian ducat and one gold *Ramatanki* or alleged gold coin of the mythical Rama Chandra, from His Honour Sir Edward Gait.
- (f) Presented by the Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings from purchases made at Rajgir in the Patna District :—one punch-marked copper coin and eight small thin square coins (seven being of copper and one of bronze) bearing the figure of an elephant on one face and that of a tree with three branches on the other.

BANKIPUR :
The 8th January, 1917. }

JADUNATH SARKAR,
Honorary Secretary,
Bihar and Orissa Coin Committee.

ADDENDUM.

In January, 1917, two gold coins were received by the Cabinet, both found in the province. These are :—

- (i) a gold coin of the Seythian King Huviska, found in the Ranchi District and presented by Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, and
- (ii) a very small gold coin, found in the Kalahandi Feudatory State of Orissa and presented by Mr. Cobden-Ramsay.

JADUNATH SARKAR,

The 12th January, 1917.

Honorary Secretary.



III.—Minutes of a Meeting of the Council held on Sunday, the 26th November, 1916, at the Commissioner's house at Bankipore.

PRESENT.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S.,
Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
2. Nawab Shams-ul-'Ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam.
3. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., F.R.S.
4. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.
5. Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

(1) The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

(2) It was resolved that the question of amending rule 4 by increasing the number of Vice-Patrons so as to enable the Society to elect the Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir Edward Chamier as a Vice-Patron be put before the next meeting of the Society.

(3) Resolved that the Council accept, with regret, the resignation tendered by Dr. Spooner of his office as Secretary of Archæology.

Resolved that the thanks of the Council be conveyed to him for the assistance he has rendered to them in the past.

Resolved that Mr. V. H. Jackson be asked whether he would be willing to undertake the office.

(4) Pending applications for membership were considered and 1 Honorary member and 17 Ordinary members were duly elected.

HONORARY MEMBER.

1. Dr. F. W. Thomas, Librarian of the India Office Library,
White Hall, London.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

1. John Leslie, Esq., Doranda, P. O. Ranchi Secretariat.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Avl., Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., F. R. Hist. S., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, 1, Moore's Gardens, Cathedral, Madras, S. W.
3. Khan Bahadur Saiyid Zahir-ud-din, Vice-Chairman, District Board, Patna.
4. A. L. Inglis, Esq., I.C.S., Additional District Magistrate, Patna.
5. E. H. L. Seppings, Esq., Personal Assistant to the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Post Box No. 84, Rangoon.
6. Khitindra Nath Tagore, Esq., B.A., 6-1, Dwarka Nath Tagore's Lane, Jorasanko, Calcutta.
7. The Hon'ble Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan Singh, of Amawan, Gaya.
8. R. Subba Rao, Esq., B.A., Senior History Assistant, Macraurin High School, Temple Street, Coconada (Madras).
9. H. H. Panda, Esq., B.A., Secretary, Oriya Samaj, P. O. Aska, District Ganjam.
10. Mr. B. N. Misra, Bar-at-Law, Cuttack.
11. Maulavi Saiyid Abul Aas, Zamindar and Honorary Magistrate, Patna.
12. Mr. Saiyid Abu Nasr Muhammad Umar, B.A., Formerly Government Scholar, Patna.
13. Babu Pares Nath Ghosh, B.A., B.T., Deputy Inspector of Schools, Chaibassa.
14. Babu Mansaram Hazra, B.A., B.T., Sub-Inspector of Schools, Chaibassa.
15. Babu Jagadish Chandra Sen Gupta, Head Master, Chaibassa Zilla School.
16. Babu Kalika Prasad, B.A., B.T., Officiating Deputy Inspector of Schools, Hazaribagh.

17. Maulavi Alidad Khan, L.T., Head Master of the Jagannathpur Middle English School, Jagannathpur, District Singhbhum.

(5) Resolved that the proposal to appoint Pandit Biswanath Rath Kabyatirtha to search for, and make a Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts be accepted, and that Mahamahopādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasād Shāstri be approached to kindly assist the Pandit with his advice and to examine the first few sections of the catalogue with a view to seeing that the work is being done on suitable lines.

Resolved that the Director of Public Instruction be addressed with a request that the services of the Pandit be placed at the disposal of the Society by the Education Department for a period of six months in the first instance, on the same terms as in the cases of Khān Sahib Abdul Muqtadir and Dr. Aziz-ud-din, who were deputed to the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur.

Resolved that the charges on account of travelling allowance and stationery, etc., be met from the donation made by Raja Kamaleshwari Prasād Singh of Monghyr.

Resolved that Mahamahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Shāstri be asked to recommend a suitable Pandit for searching for, and cataloguing, Sanskrit manuscripts in Bihar.

(6) Considered the Hon'ble the President's note, dated the 21st November 1916, on the subject of utilizing a couple of rooms in the building erected for the use of the members of the Bar in the compound of the Patna High Court for use as a library for the Society and for the storage of records.

Resolved that the recommendation be accepted.

Resolved that it will be necessary to appoint a clerk on a pay not exceeding Rs. 25 and a darwan on a pay not exceeding Rs. 8, the details to be worked out in communication with Mr. S. Sinha, Honorary Treasurer.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

June 1917.

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VOL. III.]

[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES.

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By Rai Bahadur Professor Joges Chandra Ray, M.A.

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(d) <i>Balku</i> (other bark fibres)	23
(ii) Seed fibres—Cotton	28
iii) Wool and hair	29
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I.—INTRODUCTION.

CONSIDERABLE confusion exists regarding the raw materials used in textile industry in ancient India. There are two difficulties in the way of correct identification. One is that the names of the materials and of the stuff made of them occur without specific description, and the other is that many of the names have changed their old meaning and some have been applied to denote entirely different things. For instance, in his *Dictionary of the Commercial Products of India*, Sir George Watt writes under Linen :—"While the classic records of India certainly do make mention of *Atasī*, *Umā*, *Kshumā*, etc., etc., no account, either of the oil-seed or of the fibre, is such as to remove all possible doubt that linseed and flax were undoubtedly indicated, but it can be said that greater certainty prevails regarding the oil than the fibre. * * * Whether *Kshumā* originally denoted linen or silk, or *rhea*, or *Calotropis*, or some such fibre, but not necessarily linen, seems a doubtful question. Most commentators have, however, accepted the name *Kshumā* as linen, and often with an atmosphere of such assurance as to convey the impression that there was no doubt, and could be no doubt, as to its determination. But if that view be correct, it is, to say the least of it, curious that to-day the only use of the plant, known to the people of India, is as a source of linseed and linseed oil, not of fibre (*Kshumā*) or garments of the same. In fact, it is the all but universal belief that the linseed plant will not yield fibre of sufficient merit to repay the expense of its separation and purification. Are we to suppose, then, that since classic times a complete revolution has in India taken place, and that cultivation as a source of oil-seed is comparatively modern—a consequence possibly of the Muhammadan conquest of India, if not of European commerce? Or, is the other explanation more acceptable, namely, that the passages above indicated [Manu and Kālidāsa] refer to an entirely different plant (possibly cotton) or denote experience obtained and opinions held prior to the invasion of India, and, therefore, prior to any knowledge of the plant as a source of oil?"

Similar uncertainty exists with regard to some other raw materials, as, for instance, San hemp and Cannabis hemp, true silk and wild silk. My purpose is to clear the atmosphere of uncertainty and to trace the origin of the confusion which surrounded the names in course of time.

My attention was drawn to the question by a remarkable paper read by Mahamahopādhyāya Hara-Prasād Śāstri, M.A., C.I.E., at the Burdwan Literary Conference of Bengal held last year. He remarked that fabrics of vegetable fibre used to be manufactured in ancient times, and that the best *dukūla* cloth, famous in Indian classics, used to be made only in Bengal. He based his assertions on the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya, but did not attempt to determine the plant, nor to remove the erroneous impression of modern writers regarding *kshumā*. He also said that the manufacture of silk originated in Bengal independently of China, which is believed to have been the earliest home of silk industry in the world. I do not agree with the learned Śāstri in his opinion regarding the raw materials; though there is no question as to Bengal's claim to the manufacture of linen and a fine white silk some three centuries before the Christian era.

II.—SANSKRIT AND PALI SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

A writer who bases his assertions on Sanskrit literature has often to perform the double function of finding out the references, and of assigning some approximate date to the authors without which a chronological statement cannot be made, and possible confusion avoided. I shall therefore briefly indicate some of the important sources of my information and their approximate dates. As evidence regarding the textile materials has to be largely drawn from the *Artha-śāstra*, it is well to say a few words regarding this remarkable work. It is a book on polity written by Kauṭilya, otherwise known as Chanakya. He was the celebrated minister of Chandra-gupta, and was named Kauṭilya because of his Machiavellian policy of state-craft as was evidenced by his subverting the Nanda dynasty and placing Chandra-gupta on the throne of Magadha

in the fourth century B. C. I believe that the work was a manual based on a much larger work written by Chāṇakya. The larger and original work is possibly lost. But this does not make the manual later. In the published *Artha-śāstra* itself there is evidence of its antiquity. There is a chapter on "The measures of time and space" in which the calendar in use at the time is given. We find therein the ancient calendar of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*, counting 366 days in the year, the five-year cycle of the sun and moon, etc. There is no division of time into the week and no mention of the *Rāśi* system. In another chapter we have the division of a half lunar month into pent-nights, a method which ceased to be current on the introduction of the week-division. From the chapter referred to above, giving the maximum length of day and night, it is seen that the place of the composition of the work was somewhere about the 25th parallel of latitude, say, Northern India.

The *Artha-Śāstra* is, however, difficult to understand fully. The language is archaic, and exceedingly condensed so as to become fit for use as a handy manual. When I began the study of textiles I was not aware of an English translation by the editor, Mr. R. Sham Śāstri, B.A. The translation gives a general idea of the topics dealt with, and does not profess to examine the details critically. The editor has placed us under obligation by publishing the rare work, and will, it is hoped, correct the numerous errors in the determination of plants and economic products in a revised edition.

The other work relating to state-craft is the *Sukra-nīti*, or the polity by Śukra, often named Śukrāchārya. This does not enter into the details of the industries (*kalā*) enumerated, and is therefore of not much help in the present paper. There was a *Sukra-nīti* in olden times. The work we now find is probably based on the original and appears to have been recast about the tenth or twelfth century A. D. (see Appendix.)

The *Brhat-saṃhitā* by Varāha is an encyclopædia in character, dealing, as it does, with a hundred topics from the

selection of a tooth-brush to that of a bride Varāha compiled the work at Ujjayini early in the sixth century A. D. from older works.

The medical work of Suśruta has been assigned a date not later than the fourth century A. D. But a critical examination of the enumeration of the seasons and the corresponding months will reveal the fact that if the current edition is old enough, its original was much older, at least as old as the *Artha-śāstra*. In the chapter on the seasonal variations are given two lists of seasons and months, of which the first is older than the Christian era, and the second later. There is no reason in a medical work for naming seasons and months which are not true at the time of composition. The first list shows the time of its original form, and the second that of its later revision. Then, again, in the Notes on Pāṇini by Kātyāyana which are dated the third century B. C., there occurs a word derived from Suśruta. The fact proves that Suśruta had been famous before the time.

The code of Manu is a valuable authority. Bühler thinks that *Manu smṛiti* such as we know it existed in the second century A. D., and places the work between that date and the second century B. C. He is of opinion that it is a re-cast of an older work which belonged to the *Sūtra* period of Sanskrit literature, which extended to three or four centuries B. C. The posterior limit is, however, unknown. To the same period belong the *Grihya Sūtras*. Earlier still are the *Śrauta Sūtras*. All these may be put down roughly between the tenth and fifth century B. C. It will be found that the references to textile materials in the *Sūtra* works are such as could not have been made in later times. They had the sanctity of age and the hall-mark of hallowed names, and it was impossible for any later editor to alter the texts. Pāṇini, the grammarian of about the same period, does not help us much in the present enquiry.

The date of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* has been a vexed question with Sanskrit scholars. While the original texts of the epics were undoubtedly very old, they underwent alteration and interpolation which brought the epics down to the fifth or

third century B. C. The Indian tradition recognizing the poet of the *Rāmāyana* as the first in time overlooks the interpolations, such as the horoscopes of Rāma and his brothers, which do not, however, make the entire epic as modern as they imply. The internal astronomical evidence found in the *Mahābhārata* places the work before the fifth century B. C. Whatever the interpolations may have been, we have no reason to suppose that the mention of the textile fabrics was any way changed. The *Rāmāyana* seems to have been composed in the Punjab, while the *Mahābhārata* somewhere to the east of the province. I have not been able to examine the voluminous *Mahābhārata* for my present purpose, and the few references quoted in my paper are to be treated more as confirmatory than independent evidence.

Equally voluminous are the *Purāṇas*, the dates of which are still more difficult to determine than those of the epics. Of the *Purāṇas* the *Agni Purāṇ* (fifth—ninth century A. D.) confirms Manu in the matter of washing clothes. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ* furnishes among others a remarkable statement regarding an incombustible cloth apparently much prized in ancient times. It was a wearing apparel which could be purified by fire. I have not found any reference to this kind of fabric in any other work. In the *Mahābhārata* there is mention of dresses which were *a-māna*, meaning clean and bright, and also of *kāñchana*, meaning embroidered with gold. I give the explanation of *agni-śuchi vāsa* of the *Chandī Māhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ* for what it is worth. I shall, however, draw the reader's attention to the remarkable conception of the *Māhātmya*, describing how the valiant Asuras were killed in successive battles by a lady with her women soldiers fighting on behalf of the Suras. I take the Asuras, as many do, to have been Assyrians, among whom there were Kālakā and Kālakeyā troops (Chap. 80). The latter are taken to have been the Chaldeans with whom the Indo-Aryans were acquainted. It is well known that the ancient Egyptian priests used to value incombustible fabrics made of asbestos. There is, therefore, no inherent improbability in the explanation. Along with the Chaldean soldiers of Śumbha, the Asura king, there

were others recruited from various non-Āryan tribes, such as Kambu, Kotivīrya, Dhūmra, and Mūra. They probably inhabited the wild tracts beyond the India of former times. If we treat the account as a piece of chronicle, and I do not know why we should not, we can understand how the Asura king got the incombustible dress. It is difficult to assign a date to the *Purāṇ*. But I think it will not be wrong to consider the work, as we know it now, to have been composed some two or three centuries after the Christian era. Since it mentions the *Rāśīs* (Chap. 58), it could not have been much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. By the time it was composed the great festival of Durgā Pujā had been introduced.

Dictionaries are the most important works of reference in every language. Many of the Sanskrit dictionaries are Thesauri of Sanskrit words. Names of things related to one another in meaning are placed together permitting a check of wrong interpretation which might arise were the words arranged in a mere alphabetical order. Of these the best known is the *Amara-kosha*, or the vocabulary by Amara. It has been assigned to the fourth century A. D. But an examination of the astronomical terms given in this will show that its original was older, probably as old as the beginning of the Christian era.¹ The earliest commentary so far published is one by Kshīrasvāmi who, according to the editor, Mr. K. J. Oka of Bombay, was a native of Central India, and belonged to the eleventh century A. D. This commentary is of special value to us, inasmuch as it quotes the *Artha-śāstra* by Kauṭilya, and thus settles many a point misunderstood by later commentators. The commentary by Sarvānanda, who was a Bengali and flourished in the twelfth century, is equally valuable, since he consulted ten earlier commentaries when he wrote his own. The other dictionaries referred to are later than the tenth century A. D. Of these that by Medini is comparatively modern. He

¹ Sarvānanda in his commentary quotes *Bṛiddha Amara-kosha*, proving the existence of an earlier edition in the twelfth century A. D.

was probably a native of Bengal or Orissa, and flourished about the fourteenth century.

I am indebted to the Pali scholar, Pandit Bidhu-Śekhar Śāstrī, for references found in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. There are reasons for placing this valuable Pali text in the fourth century B. C. The same scholar furnished me with the information contained in the commentary by Buddha-ghosha.

The Vedic Index of Names by Professors Macdonell and Keith has also been laid under contribution. It covers an extensive field of Vedic literature dating from at least 2,000 to 1,000 B. C. Sāyana, the celebrated commentator of the Vedas, was, however, comparatively modern. He lived in Southern India in the latter half of the fourteenth century A. D.

It would have been well if we could determine not only the dates of the authorities, but also their homes. For, it will be found that the confusion as to the identification of the textile materials arose from the fact that they were not obtainable in all parts of India. The authorities were thus led to interpret names by things with which they happened to be familiar. It is a common error everywhere, and many a Sanskrit name has been twisted by Europeans to denote different products. A fabric goes by its name, and there are few purchasers who have the patience or the knowledge requisite for its determination. A few additional references are given in the Appendix.

III.—CLASSIFICATION OF TEXTILE FABRICS IN SANSKRIT.

Sanskrit dictionaries classify all textile fabrics into four classes, according to origin; namely, (1) *bālka*, made of vegetable fibres derived from *balka*, the bark; (2) *phāla*, made of hairs derived from *phala*, the fruit; (3) *kaūṣeya*, made of fibres derived from *kośa*, the cocoon; and (4) *rāṇkava*, made of hairs derived from *raṅku*, a kind of deer. The latter class is also known as *lomaja*, made of animal hairs. The four sources are the bark and fruit of plants, silkworm and hair of animals.

The *Bālka*, *Phāla*, *Kauśeya*, and *Rāṅkava* are generic terms, of which the first two are vegetable, and the last two animal in origin. There are various words to denote various kinds of cloth, fine and coarse, from the coverings of beds and musical instruments and the coarse fabrics, suited for canopy and screens to fine garments, such as *dukūla* and *tasar*.

I shall divide the subject into six sections, viz.—(i) bark fibres, (ii) seed fibres, (iii) wool and hair, (iv) silk, (v) mineral fibre, and (vi) textile industry, including weaving, washing, dyeing and perfuming of cloth. It will be often difficult to keep the sections separate, references to many of, and, sometimes to all, the textiles being found together. For instance, Suśruta mentions the following cloths for use as bandages (Chap. 18), viz., *kshauma* (linen), *kārpāsa* (cotton), *āvika* (woollen), *dukūla* (fine linen), *kauśeya* (*tasar* or wild silk), *patroṇa* (fine white silk), *chīna-paṭṭa* (Chinese silk), leather, and the inner bark of trees. Similarly, in the Vinaya piṭaka (Mahāvagga 8. 3. 1) of about the fourth century B. C., a list of the fabrics known at the time is given in Pāli. These are *khoma* (*kshauma*—linen), *kappāsikā* (*kārpāsikā*—cotton), *koseyya* (*kauśweya*—wild silk), *kambala* (*kāmbala*—*rāṅkava*, woollen), *Sāṇa* (*śāṇa*—of San hemp), and *bhaṅgā* (*bhāṅga*—of Cannabis hemp). The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ (Chap. 15) mentions the following:—*Patroṇa*, *kauśeya*, *aṁśuka* (fine silk), *dukūla*, *ajāvika* (of hair and wool), *kshauma*, *kārpāsika*, and *bālka* (of minor bast fibres). I shall take these statements as the basis for the following discussion:—

(i)—BARK FIBRES.

(a) *Atasī* (Linum usitatissimum), *kshumā* and *kshauma*.

Of the bark fibres fit for weaving into cloths *kshauma* was by far the most important in ancient times. The Amara-kosha cites *kshauma* as an example of bark-made fabrics. The word is derived from *kshumā*, which is one of the three names for flax. The vernacular names current now in many parts of India are

atasī, and its corruptions, such as *alsi* in Hindi. But *kshumā* appears to have been as current in ancient times, especially in its adjective form, *kshauma*. The etymological meaning of *kshumā* is that which makes a sound when ripe, probably in contradistinction to the cotton plant. The ripe and dry capsule of the flax plant makes a sound when shaken. *Kshumā* is the same as *umā* in meaning and derivation. The root meaning of *atasī* is that which is not easily worn out, and evidently refers to the durability of linen. Linseed is nowadays called *masinā*, a corruption of the Sanskrit word *masrinā*, smooth, because linseed is smooth. One of the peculiarities of Sanskrit names is that every one denotes some well-known property or mark of distinction.

That the word *kshumā* denoted flax is also evident from the present use. Sir George Watt has enumerated the various vernacular names for linseed, one of which is *kshumā*. Another name is *kattan*, an Arabic corruption of the Sanskrit *kartana*. The English word, cotton, is derived from the same Arabic *kattan*. The Sanskrit word *kartana* means spinning, and also that which is spun. The name *kattan* could not have been applied to flax, unless its fibre was spun into yarn.

In the Artha-śāstra there are many references to *kshumā* and other textiles of vegetable origin. In the Chapter on the Superintendent of Forest Economic Products (*kupyādhyakṣa*), the forest plants are classified according to their economic uses; viz.—(1) timber trees, e.g., teak; (2) bamboos; (3) twiners for basket work, e.g., rattan cane; (4) trees yielding useful leaves, e.g., Palmyra palm; (5) plants yielding dyes, e.g., *kuśumbha*, *palāśa*, and *kuñkuma*; (6) medicinal plants; (7) plants from which ropes can be made, e.g., *munja* grass and *balbaja*; and (8) fibre-yielding plants. In the last category are mentioned the following as examples:—*mālātī*, *mūrvā*, *arka*, *śaṇa*, *gavedhūkā*, *atasī*, etc. There is, therefore, no room for doubt that *atasī* was a recognized fibre plant in

India about the fourth century B. C. Further, *atasī* and *śaṇa* (*Crotalaria juncea*) were not the same plant.²

That *atasī* was also a field-crop about the fourth century B.C., is evident from the Chapter on Royal Farms (*Śītādhyakṣha*). The Superintendent is instructed to collect in time the seeds of cereals, green vegetables, and of *kṣauma* and cotton plant. He is directed to sow seeds of paddy, sesame, etc., before the rains; *muga* (*Phaseolus*) and legumes in the rains; and *kuṣumbha* (*Carthamus*), *māsūra* (*Lens*), *kuḷattha* (*Dolichos*), barley, wheat, pea, *atasī*, and rape after the rains, or in their proper seasons. The crops are further divided into three classes according to the amount of labour and water required to raise them. Thus, we are told that the summer crops require the largest amount of water, the autumn less, and the winter crops the least. *Atasī* was and is regarded as a winter crop, now known as a *Rabi* crop, while *śaṇa* is not.

In his *Bṛihat-samhitā*, Varāha (sixth century A. D.) tells us to make a forecast of the *atasī* crop by observing the amount of

² It may be interesting to note the fibre-yielding plants. The list in the text is not exhaustive. *Malatī* is the Sanskrit name for *Jasminum grandiflorum*. It is commonly called *Jati* (Sansk.) and *Chameli* (Hindi). In Bengali and Oriyā, *malatī* denotes a different plant (*Echites caryophyllata*, Roxb.), and I was at first surprised to find this mentioned. For it does not yield any fibre. At present *Jasminum grandiflorum* is valued for its fragrant flower from which the celebrated *Chameli atar* or oil is extracted. I extracted its fibre and found that it resembled jute fibre. I was equally perplexed to find *dūrva* in the list in the place of *mūrva* I have adopted. *Cynodon dactylon* is universally known as *dūrva*. Its fibre cannot be easily extracted, and the plant should rather have been mentioned among twiners than among fibrous plants. Its cellulose may be well used for paper-making, but is unsuitable for textiles. I suspected a misprint for *mūrva* (*Sansevieria roxburghiana*), the Bow-string Hemp, and my surmise is now proved to be correct by the English translation of the *Artha-sāstra*, recording in the foot-note that the commentary reads *mūrva* and not *dūrva*. The next name is *gavedhuka*. It denotes *Coix*, and is corrupted into *Gargar* or *Gargari* in Bengali and Oriyā. Its fibre is strong, and consists mainly of cellulose with slight lignin. But the plant being a monocotyledon, simple retting will not separate the fibre. *Aṛka* = *Calotropis gigantea*, *sana* = *Crotalaria juncea*, and *atasī* are well known. It is, however, worth noting that *gavedhuka*, *sana*, and *atasī* used to be collected in their wild forms, evidently from the outskirts of forests.

flowering of the *vetasa* plant (*Calamus*). This shows that *atasī* used to be cultivated on a large scale, and the produce was a commercial commodity. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purān* (Chap. 15) also mentions *atasī* as one of the field-crops, such as wheat and pulses, barley and rape.

Both linseed and flax fibre were used. Linseed oil has been in use since remote ages. For instance, in the *Artha-śāstra* the Superintendent of the Royal Store-room is informed that *atasī* (linseed) yields oil $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of its weight ³. In the list of oil-yielding seeds *Sūśruta* (Chap. 45) mentions *kṣhauma* and *śaṇa* separately, implying that these were not the same. He enumerates the oils, heading the list with the oil of sesamum and castor seed. Then he gives a list of other oil seeds, such as *nimba* (*Melia*), *atasī* (linseed), *kusumbha* (safflower), *mūlaka* (radish), etc. and describes their general properties on the human system. "Of these" (*tesu*, in the text) the author specifies special properties of *kṣhauma*, rapeseed, and others. Here *kṣhauma* cannot denote *śaṇa* for the simple reason that *atasī* and *śaṇa* are separately mentioned in the general list. In the next chapter we find mention of certain effects produced when *atasī* seeds are eaten. In another (Chap. 36) linseed is mentioned for use in poultices. Along with it are mentioned the fruits of *śaṇa* and other plants showing that *atasī* and *śaṇa* were regarded as different. These passages clearly prove that the impression of the Kabirājas of Bengal who take *atasī* as *śaṇa*, and *kṣhauma*

³ The information regarding the sources of oil is interesting. These are classified into (1) ghee, (2) oils, (3) fat from flesh, and (4) suet from bones. Of the vegetable oils,

Atasi (linseed) yields . . . $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of oil.

{ *Nimba* (*Melia azadirachta*),
Kusumra (*Schleicheria trifuga*),
Kapīṭṭha (*Peronia elephantum*),
etc. $\frac{1}{4}$ th part.

{ *Tila* (*Sesamum*),
Kusumbha (*Carthamus*),
Madhuka (*Bassia*),
Ingudi (*Balanites*) $\frac{1}{4}$ th part.

The same classification is found in Sanskrit medical works, though a very large number of oil-seeds is mentioned.

as silk is altogether erroneous. *Kshauma* is a vegetable product, but it is not *śaṇa*.

Linseed is used as a weight in weighing gems. Śukrāchārya prescribes 20 seeds as equal to one *Ruti* except in the case of pearls (20 seeds weighing from 1.42 to 1.45 grains). The *kshumā* of Śukrāchārya is now known by the name, *Viśvā*. Varāha uses linseed as an ingredient of a strong and durable cement (*rajra-lepa*) for plastering walls.

But the most important use to which the plant was put in ancient times was in the fibre for weaving into *kshauma* cloth. *Kshauma* was the name for linen, *dukūla* for the finest, and *atta* for the coarsest. Once it is admitted that flax fibre and linen were known in ancient India, numerous references will be found in old Sanskrit works. Thus we read in the code of Manu (Chap. 2) that the lower garment of the Brāhman student should be made of *śaṇa*, that of the Kshatriya of linen (*kshauma*), and that of the Vaiśya of sheep's wool. The commentator, Kullūka (fifteenth century A.D.) explains *kshauma* as a cloth made of the *ataśī* fibre. So is also the injunction given in the Pāraskara and Gobhila Grihya Sūtras. There cannot be any doubt as to these injunctions having been literally followed. In Orissā even now a Brāhman boy at the time of initiation has to put on a cloth woven of *śaṇa* fibre (*chhāṇapaṭa-kariā*). It is a short coarse piece woven and sold by fishermen for the purpose. Indeed, the fishermen caste in Orissā was the sole cultivator of *śaṇa*. The custom is undoubtedly a relic of the ancient times. As the Kshatriya caste is merged into the Śūdra in Bengal and Orissā, we have no means of observing the initiation ceremony in which a *kshauma* or its substitute would have been necessary.

We have already seen that Suśruta mentions *kshauma* as one of the stuffs which may be used for bandages. Unless it was a common article he would not have named it. In Pāli, *kshauma* was corrupted into *khoma*, because, I fancy, the word and the article denoted by it were very current at the

time. From the list quoted on page 9 we see that *khoma* was neither *śaṇa*, nor *bhaṅgā* (Cannabis), nor *kauseya* (wild silk).

In the Rāmāyana (Bāla, 77) the queens of Daśaratha were clothed in *kshauma* when they welcomed Sitā, the newly-married bride of Rama, to their home. On the occasion of the marriage, the father of Sitā gave, among other presents, *kambalā* (woollen) and *kshauma*, and also a large number of ordinary cloths. *Kshauma* was either regarded specially fit to be worn on festive occasions or so finely woven that it was a fit raiment for queens. Bharata put on a pair of *kshauma* (the lower and the upper garments) of which the upper was yellow, when he went out to meet his brother Rāma in the forest (Ajodhyā, 99). Rāvana, the King of Ceylon, used to sleep with yellowish *kshauma* on (Sundara, 10). At his death he was clothed with *kshauma*, placed on a golden palankin, and carried to the cremation ground. (Lankā, 113.) That *kshauma*, especially the best kind, was valued in ancient days, is also evident from the Mahābhārata (Sabhā, 27), in which we are told that Arjuna brought away valuable *kshauma* cloth from his conquest of Uttara Kuru beyond the Himalayas on the west. Kālidāsa (fifth century A. D.) speaks of yellowish *kshauma*, evidently as a costly apparel for ladies (Śakuntalā 4. 4). It was woven so fine that an ornament worn round the person could be seen through the garment (Raghu, 10. 4).

But *dukūla* was the usual name for the finest *kshauma*. The Amara-kosha tells us that *kshauma* is *dukūla*. Kshīrasvāmī, the old commentator, explains that *dukūla* is woven of *atasī* thread⁴. As *dukūla* was a variety of *kshauma*

⁴ Sarvānanda (twelfth century) repeats the origin and gives the word *malla* as the vernacular name for the stuff. From *malla* we have now what is called *mul-mul* or *mull*,—muslin. Various commentators derive the word *dukūla* variously. Kshīrasvāmī says that it is so called because it is *extracted* (from *kshuma*). Sarvānanda maintains that because it makes a sound when worn, others suppose that because it does not readily fit the body, it being stiff.

Bharata (eighteenth century) explains *dukūla* by saying that it is so called as it keeps the body warm. He has given the modern name *kūlāki* for *dukūla*. The mendicants of the North-West Provinces call their maties *kūlāki*. But these are made not of flax, but probably of Cannabis fibre. (See page 22.)

it does not find a place in the Pali list, nor in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Probably it was mainly used as a mantle (*prāvaraṇa*-Artha. S. 40). Varāha (Chap. 73) makes Royal umbrellas of white fresh *dukūla*.

In the Artha-śāstra both the words *kshauma* and *dukūla* occur together. Thus in the Chapter on Custom Duties we are told that the duty to be levied on the yarn for *kshauma*, *dukūla* and silk, etc., and on furs and on carpets (*āstaraṇa*) and wrappers (*prāvaraṇa*) of *kshauma* and *dukūla*, and on silks, etc., should be one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the price. The first list seems to refer to yarn, and the second to the finished product. In the first case the duty shall be one-tenth, and in the second one-fifteenth of the price. In the Chapter on Royal Treasury where precious articles, like gems, can find a place, the author mentions the seats of manufacture of the best kinds of *dukūla* and *kshauma*. We read that "the *dukūla* of Vanga is white and lustrous; that of Puṇḍra black or blue and as lustrous as a gem; and that of Suvarṇa-kuḍya like the colour of the sun and as lustrous as a gem. *Dukūla* is woven wet. It is square or of other shapes. Some are woven of one thread, some of half a thread; others of two, three, or four threads. Such is also the *kshauma* manufactured in the districts of Kāśī and Puṇḍra". Now, the country named Vanga is now known as Eastern Bengal, Puṇḍra Northern Bengal, and Suvarṇa-kuḍya the district of Kamrup in Assam⁵. Hence we learn that Bengal and Assam were in the fourth century B. C. celebrated for *dukūla* fit to be kept in the Royal wardrobe. This explains, I think, the absence of the word in the works composed far away from Bengal. The best kinds of *kshauma* were obtainable in Benares and Northern Bengal. Both the *dukūla* and *kshauma* used to be dyed black or blue, red or orange. The natural colour of flax fibre is yellowish

⁵ From the same chapter we learn that Suvarṇa-kuḍya was also famous for its *Aguru* wood (Aquilaria). The Bhutan Himalaya, Assam and Khasia hills are even now the country of *Aguru*. Suvarṇa-kuḍya was therefore no other than Kamrup and its neighbourhood. This was also the opinion held by the commentator of the Artha-śāstra. See English translation.

or steel-grey. Defective or excessive retting produces a dirty grey shade. The fibre mainly consists of cellulose, like cotton, but is stronger than the latter. Fine flax exhibits a silky sheen. It is soft and perfectly clean. It occupies the premier position in the group of stem or bark fibres and is in Europe the most important vegetable spinning material known. Ireland and Belgium produce the best flax. From the properties of flax fibre it is clear that the best qualities of *kshauma* and *dukūla* were no other than linen. In Bhatti (seventh century A. D., III, 34), we read of banners made of *dukūla* and silk; hence it is clear that *dukūla* was woven as fine as silk.

There were, however, inferior grades of *kshauma* used as sheets (*āstarana*. Artha-S. 40). These were cheap. In the Mahābhārata (Udyoga, 154), we find that *kshauma* cloth was soaked in oil for use in the war. Such a cloth after ignition used to be thrown into enemy ranks. Bhatti speaks also of rags of *dukūla* and other fibre-made fabrics (*balaka*), which were soaked in oil, tied to the tail of Hanumān, and ignited.⁶

The coarsest and thickest *kshauma* was called *aṭṭa*. In the dictionaries *aṭṭa* denotes *kshauma*. The root meaning of *aṭṭa* is 'high'; whence it meant an upper storey, a tower. A variant of the word is *aṭṭalaka* or *aṭṭalikā* which denotes a high building. It is therefore difficult to understand how *aṭṭa* came to mean *kshauma*, or *kshauma* meant *aṭṭa*.⁷ The only possible

⁶ The poet of the Rāmāyana, however, tells us that cotton cloth was used for the purpose. This is the only mention of cotton cloth in the epic I have found.

⁷ Perhaps *aṭṭa* came from the Vedic word *atka* which is regarded as a garment. Kshīrasvāmī quotes the A. S. and explains the word *aṭṭa* as a room or shed erected on a wall in a battle-field. In the A. S. itself we meet with the word *aṭṭalaka*, and read that during encampment previous to a battle the residence of the king should be provided with an *aṭṭalaka*, guarded by means of ditch, mound, and ramparts. In the Chapter on Fortification we read that the *aṭṭalaka* should be erected in front of the royal palace on four pillars provided with a staircase. *Aṭṭa* seems to have denoted a tower, a watch-tower. Cf. the word *pura-aṭṭa*. In fact, we are informed by the Sanskrit commentator of the A. S. that *aṭṭalaka* is a tower on the top of a fort and provided with a leather cover. From this place archers throw arrows. Kshīrasvāmī tells us that *aṭṭa* is also called *kshoma*, because soldiers make noise in it, and connects the word with the root of *kshoma*. In one place in the A. S. (*ākara-karmanta*) *kshauma* appears to denote either a variety of *atasi* or *sana*.

explanation seems to be that originally *aṭṭa* or tower used to have a canopy of coarse *kṣhauma* or canvas. In course of time the original significance of the word was lost, and *kṣhauma* came to denote an *aṭṭa* or tower. There were no firearms; a thick canvas roof sufficiently tough to prevent penetration of descending arrows was the only necessary condition. In the *Mahābhārata* we find that war-chariots used to have a covering of tiger-skins. There were also chariots (*Karṇī-ratha*) covered with cloth (*Amara-kosha*).

Prof. Macdonell informs us that *kṣhauma* 'a linen garment' is mentioned in the *Maitrāyaṇī samhitā* (iii, 6, 7, etc.) of the Vedas and in the *Sūtras*. We therefore see that linen was known to the ancient Aryans since the Vedic times.

In course of time, somehow or other, people began to apply the word to denote other fibre-made cloth, and latterly even silk. Probably cotton cultivation extended and supplied fine cloth more easily than linen; *śaṇa* furnished a coarse canvas, and *bhangā* (*Cannabis*) supplemented it in Northern India. It appears that between the twelfth and sixteenth century A. D. real *kṣhumā* and *kṣhauma* began to be forgotten.

In the dictionaries of the tenth—twelfth century A. D., such as *Halāyudha*, *Viśva-kosha*, and *Hemchandra*, *kṣhauma* is *ataśī* cloth, *dukūla*, and *aṭṭa*, as in the *Amara-kosha*. But in *Medinī* (fourteenth century) *kṣhumā* is *ataśī*, and another plant named *nīlikā*. *Nīlikā* is also called *nīlinī*, the indigo plant, and is also the name of *Vitex negundo*. The reason of extending the meaning is perhaps the blue colour of the flower of these plants. *Kṣhauma* also lost its original connotation and included (1) *aṭṭa*, (2) *dukūla*, (3) cloths made of *ataśī*, (4) made of *śaṇa*, and (5) made of any fibre.

The real article having become scarce, it was easy for later writers to indulge in fancy. They remembered that *kṣhauma* and *dukūla* were worthy to have been the robes of kings and queens, and argued that silk, which was undoubtedly fine and expensive, must have been the material. The root-meaning of the word *kṣhumā* perhaps helped in the confusion. *Kṣhumā* makes

a sound; and so does also silk garment when worn. Thus, Mallinātha (fourteenth century A. D.), the celebrated commentator of Kālidāsa, fell into the error, ignoring the meaning given in the Amara-kosha. The most surprising fact is that even some of the later commentators of the Amara-kosha, in spite of the distinct mention of vegetable origin, took *kṣhauma* as a fine silken cloth! Medinī took *dukūla* to be not only *kṣhauma*, but also any fine soft garment.

But the manufacture of linen could not have come to an end all on a sudden. In the sixteenth century A. D. coarse fabrics of flax fibre were known in Bengal. These were known as *khuñā*, a corruption of *kṣhauma*. The Bengali poet, Kabikankan of Western Bengal, mentions *khuñā* as a coarse cloth. A wealthy lady was compelled to put on *khuñā* as a punishment in lieu of her silk *sārī*. Banśi-dās, another Bengali poet of the same period, but flourishing in Eastern Bengal, mentions *khuñā* along with other thick and coarse fabrics, such as *chaṭ* which is woven of *saṇa* fibre. The separate mention of *chaṭ* in the same line with *khuñā* leaves no room for doubt that the latter was not made of *saṇa*. Gradually with dwindling cultivation of flax for fibre many forgot the true *ataśī*, which now acquired the name *masinā* (linseed), while a wild plant (*Crotalaria sericea*, Retz.) allied to *saṇa* and having yellow flower began to be called *ataśī*. The colour of the Goddess Durgā was golden yellow, and by mistake was compared with that of the flower of *ataśī* in a Sanskrit śloka!

Linen used to be manufactured in Bengal as late as the eighteenth century. Sir George Watt quotes, under silk, Mandelslo (*Travels*, 1638) who discussed the "cotton and linen cloths" and "silk stuffs" either conveyed to Surat or worked up there. There is no reason to take the linen in any sense other than its own. Indeed, there was a caste of linen-weavers in Bengal, where, as in other parts of India, occupation has given names to castes. The Bengali poet, Bhārat-chandra (eighteenth century), speaks of *Khuñā Tāntis*⁸ or 'weavers of *khuñā*', who were unable

⁸ I enquired in certain parts of the districts of Hughli and Nuddea whether the caste of *Khuñā Tāntis* of old exist or not, but could get no definite information. Probably with the extinction of the industry the caste is also extinct.

to weave finer stuff, such as *tasar*. The *kṣumā* industry appears to have been extensive but confined to a class of people, while *śaṇa* industry was not. It appears that within the last two centuries the Bengal industry of linen has become extinct. Probably jute has been the cause of the ruin in the same way as it has been superseding *śaṇa* within the last few years.

(b) *Śaṇa* (*Crotalaria juncea*).

Śaṇa is as old as *kṣumā*. It occurs in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. Prof. Macdonell tells us that it is mentioned in the Atharva-veda as growing in the forest, and as used as a remedy, against "Vishkandha". He takes *Śaṇa* as a kind of 'hemp' (*Cannabis sativa* or *Crotalaria juncea*).

Indeed, there is much confusion even now among certain Indian scholars, regarding the determination of the plant, some taking it to denote *Crotalaria*, others *Cannabis*. The English word 'hemp' and Greek and Latin 'cannabis' at least the part 'canna' are apparently derived from Sanskrit *Śaṇa*. It is necessary to determine the plant and to find out how the confusion arose.

We have seen that *ataśī* and *śaṇa* denoted different plants. Suśruta does not include *śaṇa* fabric in the list of cloths for use as bandages, probably because it was as coarse as it is now. But he speaks of *śaṇa* fibre as fit for sewing up wounds. Thus, in Chapter 25, we are told that the fibres of *aśmantaka*, *śaṇa*, *kṣumā*, *mūrvā* (*Sansevieria*), *guduchi* (*Tinospora cordifolia*) and catgut (*snāyu*) and hair are fit for use. Here as well as in the rest of Suśruta, there is no mention of *bhaṅgā*, the proper name for *Cannabis*. The Pali list of fabrics quoted before (page 9) remove any possible doubt regarding the difference between *śaṇa* and *bhaṅgā*. In fact, we find there three sources of fibrous fabrics, viz., *kṣumā* or *ataśī*, *śaṇa*, and *bhaṅgā*, which were known at the time. Two points are of special interest; one is that *kṣumā* was neither *śaṇa*, nor *bhaṅgā*, nor silk; and the second is, that besides *ataśī* and *śaṇa*, *Cannabis* fibre was at least one other textile material in use at the time in certain parts of India, and that *śaṇa* and *bhaṅgā* were regarded as different. Kṣhīrsvāmī

mentions *bhāṅgā* (Cannabis), and Sarvānanda *śaṇa* as other examples of bark-made textiles. We have referred to Manu and others prescribing *śaṇa* cloth for Brāhman students. We have seen how this injunction is followed in Orissā where *śaṇa* cloth is worn by them at the time of initiation. In the Artha-śāstra, *śaṇa*, *atasī* and others are regarded as wild fibrous plants. There was also cultivation, and Varāha tells us how to forecast the outturn of *atasī* by *vetasa* (Calamus), and *śaṇa* by *ingudī* (Balanites). The Artha-śāstra directs the Superintendent of Arms to collect *mūrvā* (Sansevieria), *arka* (Calotropis), *śaṇa*, *gavedhūkā* (Coix), bamboo, and catgut for use as bow-strings. It is to be noted that *atasī* fibre is not one of these, although it is one among the wild fibrous plants, probably because it is not as strong as the others and rather too soft to be serviceable. In the Mahābhārata (Adi. 146), *śaṇa* is mentioned with *munja* and *balvaja* grasses for making an inflammable house. It was commonly used as a war-material.

Let us now turn to dictionaries. The Amara-kosha gives two compound words, each containing *śaṇa* as a part. One is *śaṇa-sūtra*, literally a thread or string of *śaṇa*. The commentators explain it as a string fit for fishing nets. Now, it is well-known that *śaṇa* or *Crotalaria* fibre is universally used in India for fishing nets, and no Cannabis fibre is sought. A synonym of *śaṇa-sūtra* is *pavitraka*, the sacred thread of the Brāhmins. We read in Manu (Chap. 2) that "the girdle of a Brāhmaṇa shall consist of a triple cord of *munja* grass (*Saccharum munja*), smooth and soft; that of a Kshatriya of a bow-string made of *mūrvā* (*Sansevieria*) and that of a Vāsya of *śaṇa* threads." It will be seen that these three were chosen because they represented plants in common use among the three classes. The second word of the Amara-kosha is *śaṇa-puṣhpikā*, literally having flowers like those of the *śaṇa*. Its synonym is *ghantā-ravā*, meaning one which sounds like a bell, because the pod of *Crotalaria juncea* and its allied species makes a sound when dry and shaken by the wind. Hence *śaṇa* could not have denoted Cannabis whose fruit is anything but conspicuous.

We shall, however, presently see that some of the later dictionaries and commentators took *bhangā* to denote *śaṇa*.

(c) *Bhangā* (*Cannabis sativa*).

In his Vedic Index of Names, Prof. Macdonell cites *bhangā* from the Rig-Vēda (9. 11. 13) to denote an intoxicant. It is there used as an adjective to the word *Soma*, the celebrated beverage of the Vedic Aryans. But Sāyana whose authority cannot be lightly passed over takes the word in a different sense. In the Atharva-Veda (11. 8. 15), however, Sāyana interprets *bhangā* as *śaṇa* (*Crotalaria*). This I am not ready to admit. He lived in the latter half of the fourteenth century in Southern India. By this time people, specially of Southern India, had begun to confound *śaṇa* with *bhangā*, as they did *śaṇa* with *kṣumā*.

In the Pali list of fabrics quoted before is found perhaps the earliest distinct mention of Cannabis fibre. In the commentary to the Vinaya-piṭaka by Buddha-ghoṣa (I. 8. 3), there is a discussion as to the meaning of *bhangā*. We are told that "some say that a single fibre of a plant is *bhangā*, but it is not. It signifies a thread spun of five fibres." From this we may infer that pretty thick twist was used to weave into cloth. It may be also noted that the word *bhangā* is still in use in Sanskrit vernaculars to mean 'to twist.'

The Artha-śāstra does not mention *bhangā* as a fibre-yielding plant; but its *bālka* category might include it. On the other hand, the author speaks of *bhāṅga* in a list of ingredients of a mixture said to cause death by its smoke (*Paraghāta-prayoga*). The *bhāṅga* is evidently the same as *bhangā*, though the form *bhāṅga* is not found in Sanskrit. Probably it denoted the seeds or flower of *bhangā*. Whatever it may have denoted, the deleterious properties were known to Chāṇakya. It is remarkable that *bhangā* is not mentioned in Charaka and Suśruta, the two standard medical works of ancient India.

In the Amara-kosha, *bhangā* is a field-crop. It was not *śaṇa* : not only because *śaṇa* is not given as its synonym, but also

because the word does not occur where *śaṇa* does. On the other hand, *bhangā* occurs immediately after *atasi* as if the two are related to each other in some respects. If *bhangā* be accepted as *Cannabis*, we see how the mention of one led to that of the other, both being field-crops, both yielding fibres and edible seeds. Literally, *bhangā* is that which can be divided, or which splits into fibres, or which can be twisted; and secondarily, which arrests or suspends pain or lassitude. A synonym of *bhangā* is *māt ulānī*, 'which has no equal'; while a similar or the same word denotes the narcotic *Dathura*. Both are "unequalled" in deleterious properties. It is reasonable, therefore, to accept the *bhangā* of the Dictionary as *Cannabis*.

The derived word *bhāṅgyam* occurs in Pāṇini's Grammar. So does *śānam*, derived from *śaṇa*. In Halāyudha's dictionary (tenth century) *bhāṅgyam* denotes a field of *bhangā*. Kshira-svāmī takes *bhangā* as *śaṇa*; Hemachandra and Rudra make *śaṇa* a name for *bhangā*. Medinī takes *bhangā* as a kind of field-crop. Maheśvara, a Marathi commentator of the *Amara-kosha*, explains *bhangā* as *bhāṅg* (*Cannabis*) as well as *tāg* (*śaṇa*)⁹. The Bengali commentator, Bharata, is more definite, and states that *bhangā* is so named in Kashmir. It is well known that *Cannabis* is wild in Kashmir and is cultivated there both for its fibre as well as for its oil-yielding seed. (Watt.) In Bhāva prakāśa, a medical compilation of the sixteenth century, *Bhangā* is no other than *Cannabis*, and bears the name *mātulānī* of old.

It will be useless to multiply instances of confusion, apparently resulting from ignorance on the part of the writers, as to the plant denoted by *bhangā*. It was known to them that both *śaṇa* and *bhangā* yielded a fibre; those who had no opportunity of seeing *bhangā* took it to denote the more familiar crop *śaṇa*. The fact is that while *śaṇa* is a field-crop everywhere in India, *bhangā* is so only in certain parts, the northern parts of India. It is doubtful whether *bhangā* as a narcotic was generally known

⁹ The part of Sarvānanda's commentary in which *bhangā* occurs is unfortunately not yet out of the press, and I have no means of knowing how he, in Bengal, took the word.

to the ancients. The only reference to the deleterious properties of its smoke is found in the Artha-śāstra, whose author having been a native of the Punjab noticed its intoxicating property, and it is possible that his group of *bālka* apart from *atasī* and *sana* included Cannabis fibre also. The Hindu God, Śiva, is said in popular vernacular works to have been addicted to *bhāṅgā*. But I do not find any early authority for the belief. Possibly the narcotic was introduced by the people inhabiting the country of the drug, say, Western Himalaya, where Śiva was said to have his home.

Sir George Watt tells us that Cannabis is grown in Garwal. From the fine fibres of both the male and female plants the *teoka* or sheet worn by the people in Garwal is prepared. Nearly one-third of the population of that district are clad in hempen garments. In Kashmir, Kumaon and Nepal, Simla and Kangra, hemp plant is cultivated for its fibre. The seeds which yield a pale limpid oil are occasionally consumed along with other grains.

The Indian Hemp Drug Commission (1898-94) were of opinion that Cannabis is not indigenous to India, the wild growth in Kashmir and its neighbourhood being attributed to accidental importation, if not escape from cultivation carried on at one time or other in the country itself. Wherever the home of the plant may have been it is now found to grow wild throughout the Himalaya from Kashmir in the west to Assam in the east. The Amara-kosha, as we have seen, mentions *bhāṅgā* as a field-crop, and the Grammarian Panini (seventh century B. C.), who was an inhabitant of the Punjab and visited Pātaliputra, had opportunities of seeing fields of *sana* which were called *sāna*, and of Cannabis called *bhāṅgya*. The Chinese names for Cannabis are *tsu-ma* and *chuma*. These have strong resemblance with Sanskrit *kṣhumā*, which may have been easily corrupted into *chhuma*, and then into *chuma*. Bretschneider states that "the character *ma*, which now-a-days is a generic term for plants yielding textile fibres, was in ancient times applied exclusively to the common hemp plant, Cannabis Sativa. It would seem that so very ancient is the character *ma* that it denotes conjointly fibre and oil (or food). The double property was certainly known from the most ancient

times." (Watt.) It is remarkable that the same was the case with *kshumā* in ancient India, its fibre as well as its seed being fully known. I am therefore tempted to ask whether the Chinese *chuma* originally denoted flax or hemp.¹⁰

(d) *Balka*. (Other bark-fibres.)

Bālka is frequently mentioned in the Artha-śāstra to denote fibres and fibre-made fabrics other than *kshumā* and *śaṇa*. Thus, in the Chapter on the Superintendent of the Spinning Department, he is told to employ proper persons to prepare *ūrṇā* (woollen), *bālka*, *kārpāsa* (cotton), *tūla* (*tasar*), *śaṇa*, and *kṣauma* threads and cloth. Ropes used to be made from threads and from *bālka*. It appears that the word *bālka* was a generic term for all fibres, specially coarse fibres which were unnamed and not cultivated. Duties were levied on these as on other goods, such as cloth, yarn, cotton, skins, etc., to the extent of one-twentieth to one-twenty-fifth of the price. In forts were stored provisions as well as weapons, and also *balkala*, which were ropes for horses, chariots, etc. Bow-strings were made of *mūrvā*, *arka*, *śaṇa*, *gavedhu*, *venu* (bamboo), and *snāgu* (catgut). We have already found names of some of the wild fibre-yielding plants, such as *mālātī* (*Jasminum*), *arka* (*Calotropis*), *mūrvā* (*Sansevieria*) and *gavedhūkā* (*Coix*). In the Mahābhārata (Śāṇi. 86), there is a list of fibres evidently for ropes, such as *śaṇa*, rattan cane, *munja* grass, *ballaja* grass, and skins, and catgut. There is no mention in the Artha-śāstra, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana of *Cannabis*, *rhea*, or the modern jute.

The Amara-kosha gives *kṣauma* as an example of fibre-made fabrics, implying thereby that there were others. Suśruta mentions *balkala*, but qualifies it by saying that it is *antar-balkala*, i.e., made of the inner bark (bast fibre) of plants. The Pali list gives *śaṇa* and hemp fabrics, and thus probably supplies

¹⁰ But Hanausek (Winton's *Transl.*) gives the Chinese name *t-chouma*, which may be compared with Sanskrit *kṣauma*, to Ramie or rhea fibre (*Boehmeria nivea*, L.). Probably the Chinese word underwent changes in meaning like the Indian *kṣauma*.

the omission of the Amara-kosha and Suśruta. The latter (Chap. 25) mentions fibres fit for sewing up wounds. These are *asmantaka*, *saṇa*, *kṣhumā*, *mūrvā*, *gṇḍuchī* (Tinospora), catgut and hair. Manu (Chap. 2) speaks of girdles made of *kusa* grass, *āsmantaka*, and *ballaja* as substitutes for *munjā*, *mūrva*, and *saṇa*, when these latter are not available.

Let us see what these additional fibrous plants of the ancients were. I take *asmantaka* ¹¹ as one or more of

¹¹ There has been as much confusion regarding this plant as with *kṣuma* and *ataśi*. The word *asmantaka* does not occur in the Amara-kosha. Kullūka, the commentator of Manu, does not throw any light. Bhāva-prakāśa (sixteenth century) gives two synonyms of the plant, viz., *Amla-lonika* and *Kovidāra*. The first is usually taken to be *Oxalis*. But *asmantaka* could not be this herb. Some have taken the plant to be *Coleus*, which is equally wrong. It is worth while to record the grounds on which the determination of the plant is based by me. The Rāja-nirghanta (quoted in sabda-kalpa-druma) gives the following descriptive synonyms of the plant:—*Induka*, *Kurali*, *Amlapatra*, *Slakṣhna-tvak*, *Nila-patra* and *Jamala-patraka*. Of these I do not understand the reason of the name, *Induka*. The other names indicate that *asmantaka* has sour, dark green, and bilobed leaves, and soft and smooth bark, probably referring to its fibres. *Kovidāra* in the Amara-kosha is *Kuddala*, and has bilobed leaves and paniced racemose flowers (*chamarika*). *Kurali* is the same as *kuddala*. These names and *asmantaka* and *Kovidāra* signify plants splitting rocky soil by their roots. There is thus no doubt of *asmantaka* being a plant allied to *Kovidāra* which is usually called *Rakta-kanchana* or *Bauhinia vareigata*, and also perhaps *B. purpurea*, the two closely resembling each other. Among the *Bauhinias*, *B. malabarica* is “a bushy tree met with in the sub-Himalayan tract, from the Ganges to Assam, and in Bengal, Burma, and South India”. This has acid leaves, which are eaten. Hence it is called *Amlī* in Hindi, and *Amlalonika* in Sanskrit. Its bark ex-foliates in thin fibrous strips. Kṣhīrāsvāmī, the commentator of the Amara-kosha, quotes a large number of names for *Kovidāra*, many of which are found among the vernacular names quoted by Watt for the useful and common species of *Bauhinia*, such as *Kundali*, *Korala*, *Kundoi*, etc. Though the *asmantaka* of the Rāja-nirghanta is undoubtedly *B. malabarica*, that of Manu and Suśruta is probably *B. racemosa* and *B. vahlii*, which yield a strong cordage. That from the bark of the latter plant is called *malo* in Hindi, probably on account of the plant being a climber (from Sanskrit *mālya*, a garland), and *Udala* in Panjabi, which is an evident corruption of Sanskrit *kuddala*. *Bauhinia vahlii* is known as *siari* or *siali* in Western Bengal, Orissa and Sambalpur. Kāśidās, the Bengali poet of the Mahābhārata, describes how the wild hilly tribes “*Kīrātas*” forming the army of Bhagadatta, king of Assam, tied their loin-cloth with *Siari* (The conquest of Arjuna, Sabhā). The name *Siali* is evidently derived from Sanskrit *śrinikhalā* on account of the climbing habit of the plant.

Baubinias, specially *B. vahlii*. Ropes are made from it. The strong cordage is a very important article with the hill tribes. The fibre is not extracted; but the bark separated from the wood in strips is used.

Guduchi (*Tinospora cordifolia*) is mentioned only in *Suśruta*. Its long filiform aerial roots were probably used as cords in surgery. The roots, however, yield a fibre.

Of the grasses mentioned in the various works as fit for cordage the use of the culm of *Coix* as bow-string is all but unknown at present. *Munja* is well known and extensively used for twisting into fine cordage. *Kusa* (*Saccharum spontaneum*), the sacred grass of the Hindus, can yield only rough ropes. *Vallaja* or *Balvāja* is the *Bābai* of Jute Bengal (*Ischoemum angustifolium*), and has been extensively used for making ropes since time immemorial. (Page 10.) It is now one of the paper-making materials in mills.¹²

It will be thus seen that the economically useful textile materials of to-day are nearly the same as in ancient days, with the exception of flax which has ceased to exist. There is no mention of Nettle, or Rhea, or the modern jute, though some of these might have been included in the generic term *Bālka*.

To complete the account a few words may be said about jute. In Bengali it is now known as *Pāt*, which is really mulberry silk. This name was given to jute on account of its resemblance with silk in colour and lustre. In Western Bengal where mulberry silk and jute are both grown, the former is known as *tūt-pāt*—the mulberry *pāt*, and the latter as *gāceh-pāt*—the vegetable *pāt*. In some districts, such as Nuddia, jute is known as *koshṭā*, which is derived from Sanskrit *Kośa*—the cocoon, implying again its resemblance with silk.

The word jute is a corruption of the Hindi form *Jhūt*, which is derived from Sanskrit *Jūta*—fibre. *Śaṇa* is called *pāt* in Hindi, and *Chhaṇa-pāṭa* (i.e. *Śaṇa pāṭa*) in Oriya, jute being *Jhoṭa pāṭa*. The second word, *pāṭa*, in Oriya implies merely a fibre, from Sanskrit *paṭṭa*—silk. It is curious that Bengal, which

¹² *Balbaja* occurs in the Vedas, and is regarded by Prof. Macdonell to be *Eleusine indica*. But the vernacular names of this plant do not support the determination.

is the centre of Jute cultivation, has not given its own name to commerce; but the Hindi-speaking people employed in it have furnished the name from their language.

The very names *Pāṭ* and *Jhūṭ* show that Jute was unknown in ancient times. The Bengali and Oriya name *Nālitā* is derived from Sanskrit *Nālikā* or *Nāḍikā*, which denotes a species of *Corchorus* used as a bitter herb. It is so-called because the stem of *Corchorus* is hollow as a tube. The word *Nālikā* or *Nāḍikā* occurs in *Charaka* and other medical works; but its modern synonym *Paṭṭa sāka* does not occur in old Sanskrit. It occurs in the medical work of Bhāva-prakāsa (sixteenth century). But there is no mention of its fibre. The Bengali poet Krittibās (fifteenth century) speaks of boats laden with *Pāṭ*, but means Hindi *Pāṭ* which is *sana*. In fact, the word *Pāṭ* denotes a bag of sack-cloth to hold rice and other grains. These were never made of Jute cloth, but were until recently prepared by sewing together narrow *sana* fabric. Fabrics of narrow width are called *Paṭṭi* in Sanskrit, of which *Pāṭ* is a corrupted form. Similarly, *ṭāṭ*—a sheet or cushion, and *Gūn*—a bag, were always prepared by weaving *sana* strings. Even now few would care to use Jute, if *sana* is available. I therefore concur with Sir George Watt in the opinion that “the history of the modern Jute industry is closely associated with the British rule in India.” (See Appendix.)

CONCLUSION.

It will be seen that though India possesses an extraordinarily large number of fibre-yielding plants, important bark-textiles in ancient India were prepared only from three plants, viz., flax, *sana* and *cannabis*. The last was used in restricted areas, chiefly in North-Western India. Flax and *sana* were common and extensively cultivated. Hill tribes and hermits used entire barks (*ḍalkala*), tying them round the loins by means of cordage.¹³

¹³ An interesting relic or revival is found among the sect of *Kumbhipatiā* of Orissā. The sect is comparatively modern. The followers separate the bark of the tree *Kumbhi* (*Careya arborea*), and wear it instead of any woven cloth. It is thick but soft, and can be prepared sufficiently long and wide to cover the loins. The fruit of the tree resembles a *Kumbhu*—a waterpot. Hence the name of the tree, and *Kumbhi-patiā* literally means one whose cloth is *Kumbhi* (bark).

These were never woven, and must not be confounded with textiles. We shall see that skins of animals, such as goat, deer, and even tiger were also used for a similar purpose, though the art of weaving was known even to the Vedic Aryans of old. But flax fibre came into decay, probably on account of cotton becoming more abundant. It is not improbable that the export of cotton fabric to Europe, where flax was cultivated and linen prepared, gave an impetus to increased cultivation of cotton gradually superseding the indigenous flax about the fifteenth century. When an industry has fallen into decay, it is well nigh impossible for it to revive. Latterly, with the advent of the British rule in India, Bengal, which was once famous for its linen, took to jute cultivation, and what was left of linen manufacture became extinct. The situation has been so strange that the people do not know that a useful fibre can be extracted from the *atasi* plant which is extensively cultivated, though only for its seed. (*Vide* Appendix.)

(ii) SEED-FIBRES. COTTON.

Of the second group of vegetable fibres, cotton is the sole representative and at present the most important textile fibre of India, and also of the whole world. In ancient times it did not occupy as prominent a place as it does now. *Bombax* wool is occasionally worked up in Europe as yarn in conjunction with cotton, but was and is used only for upholstery work in India.

The Sanskrit name of cotton-wool and fabric is *Kārpāsa*. The earliest mention appears to be in *Āsvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* in connection with the material of the sacred thread of the Brahmins, contrasted with flax and *śaṇa*. The word *Kārpāsa* gave rise to the Greek and Latin *Carpasos*, and the word *kartana* to cotton of the present times. For cotton was practically unknown to the civilized nations of the West more than two hundred years ago.

The name of the *kārpāsa* plant was *kārpāśī*. The *Amara-kosha* mentions four species or varieties of cultivated cotton plant recognized about the beginning of the Christian era. These were named *Tuṇḍikērē*, *Samudrāntā*, *Kārpāśī*, and *Vadarā*. Besides

these there was the wild species named *Bhāradvājī*. It now impossible to determine the five species; though all belonged to the genus of *Gossypium*, there have been changes in the cultivated forms so that the number of recognizable varieties has become large. The fruit of *Tundikerī* had a sharp point at the apex. The species which were cultivated in the western part of India near the sea was known as *Samudrāntā*. The fruit of *Vadarā* was globose like that of *Zizyphus* (*Kola* fruit). *Kārpāsā* was the name of the common species, and also denoted all others. The name *kārpāsī* again was derived from *kārpāsi*, denoting cloth. Hence *kārpāsa* was *par excellence* the raw material of textiles in early times, and many references to cotton cloth are met with in Varāha (sixth century).

Probably the sacred thread of the Brāhmins was prepared from the cotton of the tree-cotton plant. It is perennial and known even now as *Deva-Kārpāsa*, i.e., the *Kārpāsi* or cotton plant sacred to the gods. It grows wild; and this fact rendered it sacred, cultivated forms of plants being, as a rule, avoided in Hindu worship. (Cf. *Kānthālī* plantain, a semi-wild variety, being regarded necessary in oblations instead of better varieties.)

The Artha-sāstra tells us how cotton-seeds were stored in time for cultivation. There was trade in cotton-wool and cotton fabrics which yielded a revenue to the kings. By the beginning of the Christian era the cotton manufacture of India became fully known to the Greeks. The Artha-sāstra mentions the seats of the manufacture of finest cotton cloth. These were southern Madhura, Aparānta (Concan), Kalinga (Northern Circars), Benares, Vanga (Eastern Bengal), Vatsa-desa (above Allahabad), and the Mahisha country on the banks of the Nerbuda below Jabbalpur. From this we conclude that cotton was cultivated largely in almost all parts of India about the fourth century B. C. Madras and the Panjab were the parts which did not produce good cotton. The account given in the Artha-sāstra substantially agrees with that given by Marco Polo, who travelled through a large portion of Asia in 1290 A. D. He refers to the production and manufacture of cotton in Persia, Kashgar,

Yarkand, Khotan, Guzarat, Cambay, Telingana, Malabar, Bengal, etc. (Watt.) As regards the Panjab it is highly significant that the Rāmāyana which I believe was composed in that province mentions cotton cloth only once, while it clothes the kings, queens and princes with *kṣhauma* and silk. The Mahābhārata, too, while seldom mentioning the dress of the people by name leads us to infer that cotton cloth was not abundant at the time. (*Vide* Appendix.)

(iii) WOOL AND HAIR.

Of clothing of animal origin, skins undoubtedly formed a part in the Vedic and post-Vedic times. "The use of skins as clothing is shown by the adjective 'clothed in skins' (*ajina-vasin*) in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the furrier's trade is mentioned in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā. The Maruts also wear deer skins in the Rig-Veda (I. 166. 10), and the Munis (wild ascetics) of a late Rig-Veda hymn seem to be clad in skins". (Macdonell.) Such skins are known as *ajina*, and numerous references are met with in the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. These were usually furs of the gazelle as well as of the goat. We read, in the Rāmāyana, of beds made of piles of sheets, probably of mattress, over which was spread an *ajina*, or fur of the sheep. The *ajina* was as soft as cotton-wool (2. 30). Similarly in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā. 50). In later literature we find Śiva clad in a tiger fur. There were various uses of skins and hides, and the Artha-sāstra enumerates a large number of wild animals from which skins and furs were obtained, such as the large lizard called *Godhi* (Varanus), leopard, lion, tiger, elephant, buffalo, rhinoceros, etc. Many of the hides were used as war material, some as coverings, and others sewn into vessels. The art of tanning hides was known as early as the Rig-Veda.

But woollen textiles were very common among the Vedic Aryans. Pūshan is said to weave raiment from the wool of sheep (Rig-Veda, x. 26). The main use of sheep was their wool (*ūrnā*); hence the expression 'woolly' (*ūrnāvati*) is employed to designate a sheep (Rig-Veda, viii. 67). The sheep is *āvi*, the same as *Ovis*, and the woollen cloth is *āvika* in Sanskrit.

The generic name for all woollen goods was *rāṅkava* and sometimes *lomaja* (woollen and hairy). Literally, *rāṅkava* denotes what is obtained from *Ranku*, probably a species of wild goat, perhaps the Himalayan Ibex.¹⁴ Thus we read in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā, 50) that the Śakas, Romakas, etc., inhabiting the provinces on the north and west of India presented the Pāṇḍavas with *rāṅkava*, *ūrṇāja*, *kīlaja* and *paṭṭaja*, and smooth white cotton garments. Here is a difference made between *rāṅkava* and *ūrṇāja*. The latter is undoubtedly made of wool (*ūrṇā*). We read also of furs of *Ranku*. But the word *rāṅkava* gradually became generic and included all fabrics prepared from wool and hair. The country of the Kāmboja people inhabiting the tracts about the Hindu-Kush and extending up to Ladak was famous for horses, and shawls made of goats', rats' and dogs' wool. The king of the Kāmbojas brought for the Pāṇḍavas woollen cloth and cloth made of the hair of the 'marine cat' (otter?). We read of very valuable carpets manufactured in that country. The Rāmāyana (Lankā, 113) speaks of carpets made of the fleece of *ranku*, of sheep, and of hairs (Lankā, 75). Manus speaks of *kutapa*, explained by commentator, Kullūka, as a soft blanket made in Nepal, but not made of sheep's wool. Medinī specifies *kutapa* as made of goats' hair. Varāha (Chap. 41) uses the word as distinguished from wool, sheep's, and the compound word *ajāvika* to include the two stuffs. (See page 11.)

* For aught we know *Ranku* may have been the Tibetan *pashm* goat (*Capra sibirica*), the under fleece of which furnishes the best *pashm* of Kashmir. The Amara-kosha and other lexicons explain *Rankava* as derived from the hair of a *mriga*, which is often translated as a deer. But while *harina* is certainly a deer, every *mriga* is not necessarily so. A *mriga* is an animal which is sought after by hunters; hence it includes many animals other than the deer. Compare the word *mrigaya*. The Amara-kosha enumerates *Ranku* along with *Kṛishṇa-sara* which is not a deer, but an antelope. *Nyanku* is one of these animals. There is phonetic similarity with the *Nyan*, *Nyand*, the great sheep of Tibet. (*Ovis hodgsoni*.) The etymological meaning of *Ranku* is one which sports. This agrees more with the habits of the goat than with those of sheep, while *Ru-ru* of the same list is probably the Barking deer, (*Cervulus muntjac*). Prof. Macdonell takes *Nyanku*, which occurs in the Vedas, to be a gazelle). Sanskrit *Pushan* and Persian *Pashm* may have the same origin.

But the goat and sheep were not the only animals which furnished wool. The Amara-kosha mentions not only the *ūrṇā* (wool) of the sheep, but also of the rabbit (*sasornā*). The Artha-śāstra tells us to shear the hair of goats, etc., every six months, and also the hair of horses, asses, camels and boars. It describes various woollen clothing. For instance, the cloth made of the wool of the sheep was either pure white, pure red, or rosy. Blankets (*kambāla*) were made either by fastening borders or braids, or woven so as to have coloured designs, or by joining pieces together, or by felting. Coarse blankets, coarse dress for cowherds, head-dress, coats, and trappings for bullocks, horses, and elephants, and carpets were made of sheep's wool. Those which were fine, soft and smooth were regarded as the best. Nepal produced black waterproof blankets made of eight thicknesses. Trousers, shawls, and carpets were made of the wool or hair of wild animals (*Ranku*, etc.?). Toll was levied on furs, linen, silk, and on carpets made of the hair of goats and sheep.

Bengal was never famous for woollens. The sheep are poor wool-producers, and the wool produced is more like coarse hair than true wool. The blankets of Bihar and Western Bengal are no doubt useful to the poor, but are never prized. Old Bengali literature praises the blankets of Bhotan as Chānakya did. There was a variety of woollen stuff known as 'Pāmārī' which was highly valued. This used to be imported, probably from the North-West (modern Pamir?). The fact seems to be that the climatic condition of Bengal is unfavourable for sheep-breeding, and winter is never so severe as to create a demand for woollen stuffs. Such is also the case in Madras.

(iv) SILK.

Before we begin our enquiry into the silk of ancient times it is necessary to have the broad facts of the industry obtaining at present. Silk is of two kinds: (1) wild silk, and (2) true silk. Wild silk, as the name implies, is the product of silkworms which feed on the leaves of various plants usually growing in forests. Some of the worms are semi-domesticated; but none, as a rule, feed on the leaves of mulberry. True silk is the product

of the mulberry silkworm. The wild silks of India are derived from three species of worms: (a) the Bengal *tasar* worm (*Antheraea paphia*), (b) *Eri* or *Erandi* worm (*Attacus ricini*), and (c) the *Mugā* worm (*Antheraea assama*).

The Bengal *tasar* worm may be spoken of as "a denizen of the upland forests inhabited by the Santhal, the Kol, the Khond and the Gond, extending west and south-west of the Gangetic alluvial basin. The chief districts of production are Bhagalpur, Chota Nagpur and Orissa in Bengal, and Chattisgarh, Nagpur, Nerbuda and Jabbalpur in the Central Provinces. The chief trees on which the Bengal *tasar* worm feeds are many species of *Terminalia* and *Ficus*, *Zizyphus*, *Tectona*, *Shorea*, *Ricinus*, *Bombax*, *Bauhinia*, *Anogeissus*, etc. (Watt.) In a monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal (1903), Mr. Mukerjee tells us that the *Tasar* industry is at present carried on in districts all lying towards the west of Bengal and extending southwards to Balasore. In many places the worm is semi-domesticated, the eggs being gathered and put upon the leaves of *Asan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*), *Sāl* (*Shorea robusta*), *Haritaki* (*Terminalia chebula*), and *Sidhā* (*Lagerstromia parviflora*) trees in the jungle. He also tells us that the quality of the cocoon depends not only upon the species of the tree, but also upon the soil on which the tree grows. The colour of the cocoon is thus more or less variable, from dark ashy-grey to straw yellow.

The *Endi* or *Eri* cocoons are reared in the northern districts of Bengal. The product of the cocoon is spun and not reeled. The fibre is, however, stronger and more lasting than the mulberry silk and *tasar*. The worm chiefly feeds on the leaves of castor-oil plant (*Ricinus*), called *Brāṇḍa* in Sanskrit, and the names *Brandi*, *Endi* and *Eri* are corruptions of Sanskrit *Erandi*. Assam is famous for *Eri*. Besides *Ricinus*, there are other food-plants, the most important being the *Keseru* of Assam (*Heteropanax fragrans*). The Assam cocoons are white, while those of Bengal are often brick-coloured.

The third wild silk is the *mugā* of Assam. I think the name *mugā* has been given to it on account of its golden

yellow colour resembling the colour of the yellow *mugā* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*, Linn.). *Mugā* cocoon is also met with in the Naga hills, Sylhet, and Cachar, Tippera and the mountains of Burma. The worm is more domesticated than the *Tasar*; the eggs are hatched and the cocoons spun within doors. It feeds on the leaves of many plants, the most important being the *Sum* of Assam (*Machilus odoratissima*). The cocoon is reeled. There is a variety of *mugā* called the *Chāmpā mugā*, its worm feeding on the leaves of the *Champā* tree (*Michelia champaka*). Sir George Watt tells us that "the Champa silk seems almost quite forgotten to-day, but it was the fine *white* silk worn by the Ahom kings and nobles of Assam in former times". There is or was another of similar quality. It is known as the *Mezankari mugā*, the worm feeding on the *Adākari* tree (*Litsea citrata*). "This *mugā* constituted the dress of the higher ranks, most of which were dyed red with lac but some were white." It is now scarce.

Of the three wild or semi-wild silks, the *Erī* and *Mugā* are peculiar to Bengal and Assam, and the third *Tasar* has the Ganges for its northern boundary and the Godavari for its southern.

The true or mulberry silk is the product of *Bombyx mori*. Except the Eastern Bengal districts every other district of Bengal had the industry of cocoon-rearing. At present it is confined to the districts of Murshidabad, Rajshahi and Maldah. Four varieties of silkworm are reared in Bengal, viz. (1) the *Nistāri* or *Madrasī*, (2) *Chhota Palu* or *Deski*, (3) *Bara Palu*, and (4) *Chīnā Palu*. But all require mulberry leaf. The "hereditary silkworm-rearing caste of Bengal is known as the *Pundā* caste, mainly in Maldah, but who are also found in parts of Murshidabad and Rajshahi. They are the best, the most intelligent, and the most prosperous of all cocoon-rearers." (Mukerjee.)

The mulberry plant on which the silkworm feeds is represented in India by two species of *Morus*. *Morus alba* is a small tree indigenous in Northern and Western Asia. It is cultivated in Northern India and Trans-Indus country up to 11,000 feet. It

is the chief mulberry used for silk production in the Panjāb and Kashmir. The fruit is whitish and edible. The wood is used for furniture and agricultural implements. *Morus indica* is a moderate-sized tree of the Lower Himalaya and Sub-Himalayan tract from Kashmir and Sikkim. It is cultivated for its leaves which are used to feed silkworms. Its fruit is small, and black when ripe. The third species, *Morus serrata*, is a large tree, both cultivated and wild. The wood is used for cabinet work and agricultural implements. The fruit is purple, sweet and eaten, and the leaves are used as cattle fodder. The first two species whose leaves are used to feed silkworms are both known as *Tūt* or *Tūnt*, white *Tūnt* and black *Tūnt*, on account of the colour of the fruit. Watt gives other local vernacular names, such as *Tāl* for *Morus alba*, and *Nuni* and *Chhota Kimbu* for *Morus indica*.

Now let us turn to Sanskrit literature. Three words signifying silk are found, viz., *Kausheya*, also spelt *Kauseya*, *Patrorṇa*, and *Chīna-paṭṭa* or *Chīnāmsuka*. Thus Suśruta (Chap. 28) mentions *Kauseya*, *Patrorṇa*, and *Chīna-paṭṭa*. The Artha-śāstra (*Kosa-pravesya-ratna-parīkṣā*) does the same, and qualifies the latter by the expression *Chīna-bhūmija*, i.e., produced or manufactured in *Chīna*, or China. Manu (Chap. 5) regards *Kausheya* and *Paṭṭa* as different. The Mahābhārata (Sabhā. 50) calls these *Kiṭaja*—made by worm, and *Paṭṭaja*—made of *Paṭṭa*, *Kiṭa* being no other than silkworm. Hence we conclude that about the fifth century B.C. at least two varieties of silk were known in India, one of which was Chinese silk, and that some knew a third variety which was called *Patrorṇa*.

The *Kauseya* or *Kausheya* of Sanskrit undoubtedly denoted silk. Usually it denoted wild silk. No word occurs in the Vedic literature conveying the sense of silk,¹⁵ while numerous references to wool are found. The Rāmāyana mentions *Kshauma* and *Kausheya* oftener than any other stuff, and tells us that Rāma and Sītā used to be clad in *Kausheya* even

¹⁵ Macdonell mentions *Tarpya* garment, but the nature of the material is uncertain.

at home (Ayodhyā, 37, 89). Like woollens, *Kausheya* has been held pure since time immemorial, because, I believe, the material is obtained from a wild source. *Kausheya* is now known in the vernaculars as *Tasar*.¹⁶

A variety of *Kausheya* was called *Patrorṇa*. It is defined in the Amara-kosha as "a bleached or white *Kausheya*" and is said to have been costly. Literally, the word denotes the *ūrṇā* or fleece produced or found on leaves. The commentator, Kshīrasvāmi, states that it is the fibre produced by the saliva of a worm on the leaves of *Lakucha* (*Artocarpus lakoocha*), *Vata* (*Ficus bengalensis*), etc. Sarvānanda, a Bengali commentator of the Amara-kosha, describes it as a whitened *kausheya* or *tasar*.¹⁷ There is, therefore, no doubt about *Patrorṇa* being a wild silk which was either naturally white or which could be bleached.

The Artha-śāstra states that *Patrorṇa* was obtained from three countries or districts, viz., Magadha, Pundra and Suvarṇa-kudya. Its origin is said to have been the trees, *Nāga*, *Lakucha*,

¹⁶ The commentator, Kshīrasvāmi, of the Amara-kosha, gives *Netra-paṭṭa* as an example of *Kausheya*. The word *Netra* means not only the eye, but also roots of trees and a kind of cloth (*amsuka*). *Paṭṭa*, as will be presently seen, is true silk; and the compound word *Netra-paṭṭa* would therefore signify a special kind of wovensilk. Some take *Netra* itself as woven silk; the compound word is then a tautology. In old Bengali literature the word was corrupted into *net* and used often without the second word *Paṭṭa*, or its corruption *Paṭ*. It is not clear whether the silk was wild, though it was more likely so than mulberry silk. Probably the name implied a fine quality of manufacture, and not the source or material. Cf. the note 19 on *Amsuka*. *Netra* is now known as *Havai*, "airy". It is a fine fabric made with filature-reeled silk, and may be described as silk muslin.

The origin of the word *Tasar* is not definitely known. It is usual to derive it from Sanskrit *Trasara*. Some take this to mean a weaver's shuttle, while others the operation of warping preparatory to weaving. The cocoon was perhaps compared with a shuttle, or rather a spool full of thread. The word *tasara* occurs in the Rig-Veda (x. 130), and also in the Yajur-Veda, and denotes the weaver's shuttle. (Macdonell.) Possibly *trasara* is a later Sanskritized form of the original *tasara*.

¹⁷ The word *Patrorṇa* is also applied to a plant, *syonaka*, identified with *Oroxylum indicum*. The tree is so called because, the commentator says, it bears *ūrṇa*. But the leaves are not hairy; and the only explanation that suggests itself is that silk worm feeds on its leaves and produces cocoons thereon.

Vakulā, and *Vata*. "That obtained from the *Nāga* tree is yellow; that from the *Lakucha* tree (*Artocarpus lakoocha*) is of the colour of wheat; that from the *Vakulā* tree (*Mimusops elengi*) is white; and that from the *Vata* tree (*Ficus bengalensis*) is of the colour of butter. Of these that produced in the country of *Sūvarṇa-kudya* is the best." The author concludes the list of silks by mentioning *Kausheya*, and the *Chīna-paṭṭa* as manufactured in China, but does not describe these in detail.

It will be seen that there is no mention of mulberry. Hence *patrora* is not true silk. The *chīna-paṭṭa* again is not *patrora*. I think the meaning is clear. As *dukūla* is the best kind of *kshauma*, so *patrora* of *kausheya*. Now, the countries mentioned are Magadha or South Bihar, Puṇḍra or Northern Bengal, and *Suvarṇa-kudya* or Assam. We have seen that these are still the districts where wild silk of the best quality is obtained. It is well known that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to bleach *tasar*, and, therefore, when dyed, the colour of the stuff remains dark, and never becomes as pure as of true silk. *Patrora*, on the other hand, is naturally white or yellowish white, a colour not only valued for its purity, but also easy of variation by dyeing. This was probably one of the reasons which led the cocoon-rearers to introduce China silk, which is undoubtedly inferior to Bengal *tasar* in length of fibre and tenacity.

There is some doubt in identifying the *Nāga* tree named in the *Artha-śāstra*. Lexicographers take it to denote the trees, *Nāga-kesara* and *Punnāga*, the flowers of which possess yellow anther.¹⁸ It is remarkable that the plant next to *Eranda* (*Ricinus*) on the leaves of which the *Eri* worm feeds is called in Assamese *Keseru* (*Heteropanax fragrans*). A synonym of *Nāga-kesara* is *Chāmpēya*, because the flower of *Chāmpaka* (*Michelia champac*) is yellow; and it is no less

¹⁸ The word *Naga* has in its meanings the significance of yellow colour. Hence the yellow calyx of lead is called *Naga*. The fruit *Naga-ranga* from which the names *Narangi* and *Naranja*, and the English word 'orange' have been derived, is so-called because it is yellow or orange when ripe.

remarkable that the *Chāmpā* silk once celebrated in Assam was fine white. I am therefore inclined to take the *Patrorna* of Suvarṇa-kuṇḍya to be no other than the *Erī* and *Mugā* silk of Assam. A remarkable confirmation of this view is unexpectedly obtained from the *Rāmāyana* where the author tells us (*Kishkin-dhyā*, 40) the names of the countries one passes through on going to the east. These are Magadha, Anga, Puṇḍra, and the 'country of the cocoon-rearers' (*Kosa-kārānām bhūmi*). Puṇḍra is northern Bengal; and the country lying on the east is no other than Assam. It appears that the present practice of semi-domestication of the Assam silkworms existed centuries before the Christian era. The silk was generally known as *Kausheya*, and *Patrorna* only by those who were acquainted with the source. The words *Patrorna* and *Chīnamsuka* occur nowhere in the *Rāmāyana*, and, as we have seen, *Kārpāsa* is mentioned only once. The *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* makes a distinction between *patrorna*, *kāusheya*, and *amsuka*. (Page 11.)

When mulberry silk came to be known it naturally received a name derived from the *atrorna* which it resembled. The portion *ūrṇa* was omitted, and *patra* was corrupted into *Paṭṭa* in the vernacular of the time. *Paṭṭa* thus came to denote silk, more correctly, mulberry silk. Thus in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhlā*, 50) we read of fabrics made of *ūrṇa* (sheep's wool), hair of *Ranku* (Tibetan *pashm*), fibres produced by *Kiṭa* (*ausheya* or *tasar*), fibres of *Paṭṭa* (true silk), and lustrous and smooth cotton cloth and soft furs, etc. The two names *Kiṭaja* and *Paṭṭa* certainly indicate two varieties of silk, the former implying ordinary *kāusheya*, and the latter true silk. We have already seen that *Suśruta*, *Manu*, and *Chāṇakya* made the difference between wild and true silk. The names *Chīna-Paṭṭa* and *Chīnāmsuka* confirm the view taken.¹²

¹² The word *Amsu* denotes fibres in general, and *Amsuka* any textile. Hence the use of the word *Amsu-paṭṭa* to mean *Paṭṭa* or silken garment. *Kṣhīrasvamī* gives the root-meaning, and says that *Amsuka* is so called because it makes a (rustling) sound. In course of time *Amsuka* came to denote a fine cloth like muslin, but usually silken. (See page 11.)

These were *Paṭṭa*, but originally manufactured in China. In course of time the word *Chīna* itself came to mean a kind of garment, evidently referring to *Chināmsuka*. Kālidāsa (Raghu, 18) mentions *Paṭṭa* or silk of golden colour, and also white *Chīna-paṭṭa* (canto 10). Bhaṭṭi (3, 34) speaks of banners of *Paṭṭa* and *Dukūla*, the latter being as finely woven as the former.

It is difficult to assign a date to the introduction of mulberry silk in India. It may have come to Bengal *viā* Kashmir as well as *viā* Manipur. All that we can safely assert is that mulberry silk was known in India about the fifth century B. C., the dates of the Mahābhārata and Suśruta. We find in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā, 50) that the Sakas and other races inhabiting the countries beyond the North-West frontiers of India brought as presents to the Emperor Yudhisthira different kinds of garments including *tusar* and *paṭṭa*. But we also learn that the Aryans of the time became acquainted with the Chinese *viā* Assam. Thus, in his conquest of the Northern countries, Arjuna fought with the King of Prāg-jyotiṣa who had armies composed of Kirātas, Chīnas, and the people who inhabited the sea-coast²⁰. (Sabhā, 26.) Prāg-jyotiṣa is the old name of Assam. The 'Chīnas' are the Chinese, and the 'Kirātas' a mountain tribe of Bhutan who lived by hunting. But this does not prove that the Chinese of the North-Eastern frontier introduced, or taught the ancient people of Bengal to rear mulberry silkworm. The late Mr. N. G. Mukerji wrote in his Monograph on the Silk Industry of Bengal that "various kinds of mulberry are found wild throughout the Himalayas at an altitude of between 500 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and that there are references in old Sanskrit literature to sericulture having been carried on in ancient times by certain mountain tribes, among whom Paundrakas are specially mentioned in the Institutes of Manu. The recognized silkworm-rearing castes of Bengal still call

²⁰ The Bay of Bengal did not then extend so far south as now. The Eastern Bengal was called the *sama-tāṭa*, and Assam is said to have been called by contrast *asama-tāṭa*. In the Rāmāyana, however, Prāg-jyotiṣa is described to be situated on the west of India (Kishkindhya, 42). This seems to be an error.

themselves Puṇḍās, and they probably came originally from the hilly regions of the Himalayas, where the mulberry grows wild. The western portion of the Himalayas, from Kashmir to Kumayun, the climate of which is less damp than that of the eastern portion, is still to be regarded as more naturally suited for sericulture than any other part of India." Mukerji was further of opinion that the sericultural industry of India is traceable not to China but to the Himalayan country, and that it travelled not from north-east to south-east, but from north-west to south-east. Sir George Watt also writes that in the sixteenth century A. D. Kashmir had an abundance of mulberry trees, the leaves of which were used as food of the silkworm. "Several writers mention a small wild insect seen on the mulberry trees of Kashmir, the cocoons of which were collected and sold."

This agrees with what we have found in the Mahābhārata. Unfortunately, Mukerji did not quote the Sanskrit literature on which he based his assertion. Manu mentions Puṇḍras, but not their occupation as silkworm-rearers. While, therefore, there is strong presumption for the North-Western frontiers having been the early home of the mulberry worm, the theory fails to account for Bengal occupying the premier position since remote times. Sir George Watt seems to be right when he says that "in India the mulberry worm has been systematically reared for many centuries, though it seems probable there have been two independent sources of the knowledge and stock possessed by India, viz.—(a) Northern India, very possibly from Central Asia (Khotan) and Persia, and (b) Assam to Bengal, possibly across the Chinese frontier, in all likelihood *via* the little state of Manipur." (*Vide* Appendix.)

Let us see if any light can be got from the Sanskrit name of the mulberry tree. In the Amara-kosha occurs the word *tūḍa* or *nūḍa*, which Bhāvaṇḍaśa (sixteenth century A. D.) has taken to mean mulberry. Charaka describes the fruit of *tūḍa* as sour. The word occurs also in Sukra-nīti among fruit trees for plantation. *Kramuka*, one of its synonyms, occurs in Vedic literature (Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. Macdonell). Its wood was used as fuel,

and also for making sacrificial post (*Yūpa*). Another distinct synonym found in Vedic literature is *Tūlu*.²¹ Among the vernacular names, *Tūt* or *Tūnt* is a corruption of *Tūda*, *Tūl* of *Tūla*, and *Kimn*, *Karan* of *Kramuka*, and *Nun* of *Nudu*. The mulberry tree was therefore undoubtedly known to the Vedic Aryans. From them the plant received the name *Brahma-dāru*, the wood of the Brahmans. In the Artha-śāstra the word 'tūla' may mean mulberry silk. (Pages 23 and 45.)

If we turn to the important words in use among the silk-worm-rearers of Bengal, we find that every one is traceable to Sanskrit. This shows that the industry has been in existence since remote times. Thus the word *Palu*, the silkworm, is corrupted from *Pallava*, leaves, and *Palu-pokā*, the worm which feeds on leaves. The word *Desi Palu* indicates that the species is indigenous to Bengal, or if introduced from a foreign country the seed was brought so long ago that the origin is forgotten. *Khamru* is a word in use to mean silk twisted into thread. It occurs as *Kharma* in *Medinī*, and is evidently a later introduction. *Matkā* is derived from *Mukh-Kātā*—the pierced cocoon. Plain fabrics are usually made with *Khamru* silk. The product is often called *Garaḍ* in Bengali. It is a corruption of the older name *Kshiroda*, occurring in old Bengali literature, and *Kshirodāṛī* current in Oriya. *Kshiroda* was the name of a sea whose white water was likened with milk. It is said to be situated on the east of India, and was probably the name for the Chinese sea. (*Rāmāyana*, IV, 46.) The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ* (Chap. 82) relates that a pair of durable cloth (silk) was furnished by the *Kshiroda* sea. It is just possible that *Chīnāmsuka*²² or *Chīna-paṭṭa* was prepared with filature-made silk, and the twisted raw silk was therefore distinguished by the name *Kshiroda*.

(v) MINERAL TEXTILE MATERIALS.

Mineral materials for textile purposes are of minor importance and not suitable for fabrics intended for clothing. This class of

²¹ Professor Macdonell takes it to denote the panicle of a plant. Perhaps the name was given to mulberry plant on account of its peculiar efflorescence or fruit.

²² In Persian silk is called *Resham*; probably allied to Sanskrit *Amsukam*. It is not uncommon to introduce an initial *r* and to drop *k*.

fabrics was therefore not recognized in Sanskrit literature. Yet coats of mail were made of metallic, usually iron, wires, woven into gauze and known as *Jāḷaka* in Sanskrit.

There was, however, an extensive use of silver and gold wires in brocade and embroidery. In the account left by Megasthenes (third century B. C.), who resided at the court of Chandragupta, we find mention of gorgeous embroidered robes seen in profusion and fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold. The wires were probably made of pure metals, and the purple prepared in the manner of the so-called "brilliant yarn" produced by twisting tinsel with a silk yarn. The tinsel trimmings and ribbons seen in decorative fabrics of the images of Hindu gods and goddesses are no doubt meant to represent embroidered robes of ancient days. In the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā*) there are numerous references to "gold robes", and in the *Rāmāyana* (*Sundara*, 10. 15) to gold and silver robes. Prof. Macdonell tells us that the word *Pesas* denotes in the *Rig-Veda* and later "an embroidered garment, such as a female dancer would wear." The making of such garments was a regular occupation of women, as is indicated by the *Pesas-kārī*, the female embroiderer. *Hiraṇya* is the word for gold in the *Rig-Veda* and later literature, and *Hiraṇya-kasipu* in the *Brahmaṇas* denotes a golden seat, which the Professor supposes was one covered with a cloth of gold.

Passing on to other minerals we meet with a remarkable reference in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* to a peculiar fabric which could be purified by fire. The story is the following. *Chanda* and *Munda*, two attendants of two mighty Asuras, *Śumbha* and *Niśumbha* by name, were describing before their masters the wealth acquired from the Devas. They related that all the best and most valuable in the world were gathered in the royal treasury. "The renowned elephant and horse, and the *Parijāta* flower-tree were taken from Indra, the King of the Devas; the wonderful aerial pleasure-car with the figure of a swan as its motor which once belonged to *Brahmā* is now in your yards; the celebrated treasures of the god of wealth are in your possession; and even *Agni*, the god of fire, was compelled to give you a pair of "fire-

purified dress.”²³ That the robe was rare and highly prized is evident from the context; and whatever the stuff was, it was neither vegetable nor animal. The only fibrous material indestructible by fire and suited for spinning is the mineral asbestos, especially the variety known as Amianth. Formerly in Europe asbestos was mixed with flax before spinning, the vegetable fibre being then eliminated from the finished fabric by calcination. At the present time asbestos is spun direct into yarn, and the yarn is woven into fabrics as incombustible table-cloths, and garments for fire-brigade men, etc. It is quite likely that the ‘fire-purified’ garment was no other than a similar stuff. A fibrous variety of asbestos is found in many parts of India, and ropes are made in Afghanistan. Whether the incombustible robe was made somewhere in India or imported from Egypt where priests used to wear asbestos cloth remains an open question.²⁴

(vi) TEXTILE INDUSTRY,—WEAVING, WASHING, DYEING AND PERFUMING CLOTH.

Professor Macdonell has given a very interesting though brief description of the clothing (*vāsas*) of the Vedic Aryans. “Clothes were often woven of sheep's wool (*ūrṇā*); the God Pūshan is called a ‘weaver of garments’ because of his connexion with the fashioning of forms. The garments worn were often embroidered, and the Maruts are described as wearing mantles adorned with gold.* * The Vedic Indian seems often to have worn three garments—an under-garment (*Nivi*), a garment (*Vāsas* in the narrower sense), and an over-garment (*Adhivāsa*), which was presumably a mantle. * * A similar sort of garment in the case of women appears to be alluded to in the Atharva-veda and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.”

²³ The Sanskrit expression is *Agni-sauche vasasi*. It is explained by commentators as a dress which can be purified or cleansed by fire. The purification cannot simply be washing in boiling water. For instance, when Manu prescribes purification by fire, such as brass utensils, we have to understand it literally. The robe could not be of fine gold gauze; for it would not be a robe, and, besides, a rare article.

²⁴ The word asbestos if Sanskritized would be perhaps *Asprishṭa*—untouched (by fire). Asbestos has a similar derivation.

A spindle (*Tarku*) was used to spin yarn, and the weaver (*Vāya*) had his loom (*Vēman*) from which the warp (*Tantu*) was stretched by a wooden peg (*Mayūkha*), while lead was employed to extend it. A shuttle (*Tasara*) was used in weaving.

This account, though fragmentary, is enough to give us a glimpse of the spinning and weaving operations carried on in the most ancient times. For, spinning by means of a hand-spindle is still practised in many parts of India, and the village weaver's loom has not undergone material improvement. Professor Macdonell supposes that weaving was the special care of women in the Vedic times, and it is still one of the duties of the women in Assam.

Old Bengali literature abounds in references to cotton cultivation. In the Śūnya Purāṇ (twelfth century) the god Śiva is described as a cultivator of cotton and food-grains. We can imagine that his divine spouse spun the yarn for supplying cloth to the couple. Kabikāṇḍ (sixteenth century) portrays the demand for land suitable for cotton cultivation. Almost every home had its spinning wheel. The women used to spin, and the village weavers wove the yarn into the desired cloths. Those who had cultivation of any crop tried to include cotton as one. We saw this in our younger days in Bengal, and the writer of this paper remembers how he was clad in home-spun and locally made cloth. A similar home industry must have existed in ancient times, and I believe the chief reason of the decline of cotton cultivation in Bengal and Orissā of which I have any direct knowledge is the extinction of the home industry.

But this could not supply the nation's demand. Cloth merchants organized trade. They used to buy cotton from cultivators and gave it to spinners, who were the poor women of the neighbouring villages. The yarn was then collected and made over to the weavers, wages being paid to the spinners and weavers for their labour. Even kings had similar organization. They owned arable land of their own just as their subjects did, and got it cultivated by employing labour and often by the

cultivator subjects in consideration of land they enjoyed. For instance, in Orissā every Raja or Feudatory Chief has his own farm. This practice has continued since time immemorial. The Artha-śāstra has a vivid description of this in the Chapter on the Royal Farm. Similarly, the Chapter on the Spinning and Weaving Department gives a picture which was as true until recent times as it had been about the fourth century B.C. It is worth while to reproduce the chapter here in view of the attempt at the revival of the cottage industry of textiles at the present times.

"The Superintendent of the Spinning Department shall employ persons who prepare yarn, coats of mail, fabrics, and ropes. He shall employ them to spin wool, fibres (*bālka*), cotton, *tūla* (silk?), *śaṇa*, and flax. Widows, crippled women, unmarried girls, mendicant women, women unable to pay fines imposed upon them for crimes, mothers of prostitutes, old women servants of the king's household, and temple women who have ceased to serve, shall be employed. Wages shall be determined according to the fineness of the yarn. Those who produce large quantities shall be rewarded with oil and emblic unguents.²⁵ If the quantity of yarn is not as much as is expected from the given stuff wages shall be cut down. The Superintendent shall often go round the workshop and see that the workmen produce the right quantity of right quality in the given time for the given wages. Those who weave *Kṣauma*, *Dukūla*, silk, woollen and cotton cloth shall be encouraged by presenting them with perfumed garlands of flowers and other rewards. Fabrics, sheets, and coverings of various sorts shall be prepared. Coats of mail shall be prepared by those who know the process. Those women who do not go out of their house, those widows who live away from their home, those who are crippled, and those

²⁵ The English translator has missed the point. Emblic myrobolan ground into a paste with water and mixed with oil has ever been noted as a favourite unguent with Indian women. It is known as *Udvartana* in Sanskrit, and *Abata* in Bengali. The word "myrobola" itself is derived from Greek *myron*, unguent, and *balanus*, a nut. Its Vedic name is *Amala*,—which cleanses. *Amalakē* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) is reputed to be good for the hair. The next line of the text is not understood, and is therefore omitted.

who maintain themselves by their own labour, and unmarried girls shall be employed with the help of women servants, and paid for the work. Those who can come to the spinning house should come there at dawn for receiving their wages for the yarn prepared. A lamp should be there to give light just sufficient for examining the yarn. If the Superintendent looks at the face of the women or talks with them on other matters, he shall be punished with the first fine, and with middle fine if he delays in making payment, and also if he pays for work which is not done. Those who receive wages but do not finish their work, and also those who misappropriate, steal, or run away with the material supplied to them shall have their thumbs marked with tight iron rings.²⁶ If a workman be guilty of any offence he shall be punished by reduction of wages. The Superintendent shall himself see ropes, coats of mail, straps, and other articles for warfare prepared under his direct supervision. Cordage is to be prepared from thread and fibre, and straps from rattan cane and bamboo. These are for the purpose of war equipment, and for fastening and harnessing horses of chariots and other draught animals”.

We can imagine that similar rules were followed in private workshops. Estimates of loss and gain in the weight of the yarn due to weaving were made, and penalties prescribed to check unfair dealings of spinners and weavers. Thus in the Chapter on the Protection of Artisans, Chāṇakya allows loss in yarn to the extent of 5 per cent. of the weight of wool due to carding, and 80 per cent. in the case of cotton with seed, and raw linen fibres on account of cleaning for yarn (*Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣya*). Starching of yarn previous to weaving increases the weight of woven fabrics. Chāṇakya prescribes 10 per cent. in the case of

²⁶ The English translator writes “thumbs cut off”. I think there is no reason for this harsh punishment, especially because spinning and weaving become impossible without thumbs. The word *Samdamsanam* of the text may mean a tight-fitting mail, and the punishment may imply fixing tightly an iron ring round the thumb to proclaim the offence.

cotton, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in that of linen and *tasar*. and 2 per cent. in that of woollens and *dukūla*.²⁷

Clothes require washing. There were washer men at the time of the Vedas. In the Rig-Veda (x. 26, 6) we are told that "the god Pūshan weaves woollen clothes and washes them." The washermen used lye (*Palpūlana*), and the Pūshan of the Vedas became the sun in later literature, which bleaches washed clothes. Manu (Chap. x) tells us to cleanse *tasar* and woollens with alkaline earth, Tibetan shawls (*Kutapa*) with the fruit of *Sapindus* (*Arishṭa*), fine silk (*Amsu-paṭṭa*) with the pulp of Bael fruit (*Aegle marmelos*), and linen (*Kṣhauma*) with a ground paste of white colza seed (*Śveta sarshapa*. *Brassica campestris*, var. *sarson*).²⁸ The Agni Purāṇ (Chap. 156) also prescribes Bael fruit for *amsu-paṭṭa* or fine silk, and white colza seed for *kṣhauma* or linen. But the silks dyed with safflower, and the dyed wool and cotton are to be merely rinsed in the clean water of a river and then spread out. For clothes generally water and alkaline earth, etc., are prescribed. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ (Chapter 35) prescribes colza and sesame paste for woollens, ash of plants for cottons, and alkaline earth for fibres. It is thus seen the ancients were very careful in selecting proper detergents. The Tibetan shawls and silken garments which did not bear washing with lye must have been really fine. Probably these were also dyed.

Care was also taken to preserve clothes while undergoing washing. Manu (Chap. viii, 396) enjoins that "a washerman shall wash the clothes of his employers gently on a smooth board made of

²⁷ Manu (Chap. 8. 397) also makes the increase due to starching 10 per cent. This is, I believe, in the case of ordinary cotton cloth. The Agni Purāṇ (Chap. 257) is more definite, and makes the increase for woollen and cotton of coarse quality 10 per cent., of middle quality 5 per cent., and of fine quality 3 per cent. It permits no change in the case of silk and linen, but allows decrease to the extent of 30 per cent. in the case of fabrics which have to be worked up and to which wool or hair has to be fastened, as in making carpets.

²⁸ Similarly, articles made of conch-shells, horns, bones and teeth are, like *Kṣhauma*, to be cleansed, with a ground paste of *sveta sarshapa*, or urine of cattle diluted with water. Professor Macdonell suspects that the lye (*Palpūlana*) mentioned in the Atharva-veda was composed of urine.

the wood of *Śālmālī* (Bombax). He shall not allow any one but the owner to wear them." Here is an example of hygienic rules enforced in ancient times. Chāṇakya did not leave the matter to mere injunction, but prescribed fines if washermen did not use smooth wooden boards or stone slabs, and if they sold, let out to hire, or changed the clothes of their employers. Clothes used to be stamped; those belonging to the washermen had marks like a hammer. One day was allowed to remove dirt by cleansing upon a stone slab, the colour of the clothes remaining yellowish like a leaf-bud, or that of the yarn, or becoming whiter. More days were allowed to wash dyed clothes. For the washermen had not only to cleanse them, but also to restore the colour. They were *Nejaka* (washermen) first, and *Rajaka* (dyer) next. Thus Chāṇakya allowed five days for lightly dyed clothes, six days for those which were dyed blue, and seven days for those which were dyed red with flowers like safflower, and *manjishṭhā* (madder), and for such fine clothes as required careful handling. Reliable experts used to decide disputes regarding alleged loss of colour by washing, and settled wages.

Dyeing of textiles was practised from the Vedic times. Four primary colours were recognized, viz., white, red, yellow, and blue or black. The people were accordingly classed into four *varṇas* or colours. Those whose complexion was white formed the Brāhmaṇa, those whose complexion had a reddish tinge the Kshatriya, those whose complexion had a yellowish tinge the Vaiśya, and the dark-skinned people were the Śūdra. The occupations of the people favoured and perpetuated the colours of the complexion.

As regards the colours of garments, red and yellow seem to have been regarded as auspicious since remote times. It is just possible to enumerate the most highly valued dyes. The undyed woollen garment had a yellowish tinge as in the word *Pāṇḍva* of Vedic, and *Pāṇḍura* of later literature. From the Artha-śāstra, however, we learn that there were white, pure red, rose-red and black woollens. There were furs of one uniform colour, such as black, dark-red, and grey, or of wheat colour, or of straw colour;

like the colour of the *Nala*-grass (Phragmites). Probably these were the natural colours of the furs. But there were others which had tawny or dark-brown spots. In some cases the spots were as round as the moon; in others there were stripes and spots of blue, yellow and white colour. Others were of variegated colours, and a fur is mentioned which had the colour of the neck of the peacock. Some of the best linens of Bengal were blue or black, and orange, and, as we have just seen in connection with the washing of clothes, garments were dyed blue, and others red with safflower, lac, and madder.

Fabrics were also printed. Perhaps the earliest reference to this is found in the word *Chitranta*, with printed fringe in the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (xix, 20). In the *Rāmāyana* we meet with numerous passages in which printed garments are referred to. For instance, we find that the ladies of Rāvaṇa wore garments of variegated hues (vi. 7); printed carpets (*Kuṭha āstarana*) were used as bed covers (ii, 30), and printed blankets (ii, 70), and printed dresses distributed as gifts (vii. 113). There are also references in the *Mahabhārata*. The usual word for printed clothing is *chitra vastra*, of which *chitra* has given rise to chintz in English. There were dyers (*Raṅgājiva*) by profession. (*Amara-kosha*.)

The art of dyeing and printing of fabrics has nothing in it which need surprise any one in India. If stress is not laid on fast and brilliant dyes of silks and woollens, and permanent but sombre hues of other fabrics, ancient India loses much of the credit in that line. Dull and fleeting colours were and are never valued in India, nor do the painfully bright and pure colours produced with the modern aniline dyes ever accord with Indian taste. We may therefore presume that the art was carried to perfection in ancient times. It is well known that it is easier to dye silk and wool than linen and cotton, yet, as we have just seen, some of the celebrated *dukūlas* were dyed blue, yellow, or red. The *dukūla* mentioned by Kālidāsa (*Kumār. v*, 67; *Raghu. v*, 17-25) used to have white impressions of swans, evidently on a blue background to imitate the flights of the bird in the

sky. Probably the figures were sketched with wax and then dyed in an indigo vat, or made in the 'Bandana' style of Madras. The effect produced by complementary colours was fully appreciated. Fair ladies, perhaps with a tinge of yellow in their complexion, delighted to wear blue garments, commonly called *Megha-dambara* (lit. as blue as the rain-cloud), and *Nīlāmbari* (lit. blue garment) of old and modern Bengali. In *Gīta-govinda* (a Sanskrit lyric of the twelfth century) we find Śrīkrishṇa, who was as dark as the *atasi* flower, clad in yellow *dukūla*; while Rādhā, his fair lady-love, is always described as clothed in a blue garment. Balarāma, the brother of Śrīkrishṇa, was of fair complexion, and he got the epithet of 'Nīlāmbara' (lit. wearing blue cloth), while Śrīkrishṇa 'Pitāmbara' (lit. wearing yellow cloth).

Among the dyes used there is no doubt of *Kusumbha* (*Carthamus tinctorius*) heading the list. In his Vedic Index Prof. Macdonell quotes *Kausumbha paridhāna* and takes it to be a silken garment. But the garment received the distinctive appellation because it was dyed with *Kusumbha*. The flower was named *Mahā-rajana*, the great dye. It is 'the flower,' *Kusuma*, and *Kusuma* and its common synonym *Pushpa*, when used in connection with clothes, denoted this flower.²⁹ It was commonly used to dye silk. Hence *Kausumbha* denoted silken garment dyed red with *Kusumbha*. *Kusumbha* used to be grown in Royal farms and was cultivated perhaps both for the flower as well as the seed. (A. śāstra.) I suppose *Kusumbha* became the dye *par excellence* for silk, not only because it gives a brilliant orange, but also because the dye is fast and easy to apply.

²⁹ Agni Purana (156) uses the expression *Kusumbha Kusumanam*, meaning silk dyed with safflower, and other flowers, such as *Palasa* (*Butea frondosa*) Cf. *Kusuma*, *Pushpa*—the menstrual discharge, *Kusumapura*, or *Pushpa-pura*, the town Patna of *Patali* flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*), which is red; *Pushpa-raga*, topaz, etc.

The next red dye was lac³⁰ which is as easily separated and applied as *Kusumbha*. It has been the red paint for the feet of Hindu ladies. The bark of *Lodhra*³¹ (*Symplocos*) was used in the process of dyeing silk with lac, as it is done even now. *Tilvaka*, one of the synonyms of *Lodhra* occurs in Vedic literature. This fact, together with the name of *Lākshā*-tree, points to the use of lac-dye in Vedic times.

Manjistha or Indian madder (*Rubia cordifolia*) has been another red dye since remote times. It occurs in the *Aitareya* (iii, 2, 4) and *Sāṅkhāyana* (viii, 7) *Āraṇyakas*. (Macdonell.) We find it mentioned in the *Artha-śāstra* as a red dye-stuff. It is so called because it contains 'a beautiful dye,' and has given rise to the India-red, commonly mis-named Turkey-red, of commerce. It has been in use in dyeing cotton fabrics. But the dye is not fast unless these are mordanted. It is difficult to say what

³⁰ Prof. Macdonell states that *Laksha* occurs once in the *Atharva-veda* (v. 5. 7) as the name of a plant. Possibly it is the *Laksha-vriksha*, the lac-tree of later Sanskrit on which the lac-insect lives. The lac-tree (*Schleichera trijuga*) is one of the most highly valued plants of the lac insect and occurs in the sub-Himalayan tract, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. The ordinary vernacular names of the tree are *Kosam*, and *Kusam*. In the *Artha-śāstra* the name is *Kusamra* (page 11). In *Bhāva-prakāśa* (sixteenth century) the name is *Kosamra*. I believe it is the Sanskritized form of the vernacular names which were originally derived from *Kusumbha*. As true *Kusumbha* yields a red dye famous for silk, the name was applied also to this tree which by the lac insect yields a similar dye most useful for silk. In fact there is no reason for the first part of the name *Kosa-amra*. The fruit was taken to resemble *amra*, mango, and we can understand how it received the name *Vamra* or wild mango. The other names given in *Bhāva-prakāśa* denote characteristics of the tree which are easily understood. The name *Lakshā* tree was also applied to *Palasa* (*Butea frondosa*) for a similar reason.

³¹ Both the names *Lodhra* and *Tilvaka* occur in *Amara-kosha*. Some commentators, e.g. *Kshirasāmi* take them to be two species of *Symplocos*, 'white' and 'red'; while others, e.g. *Sarvānanda*, one species, the 'white' one, maintaining that *Pañjika-Lodhra* is the 'red' *lodhra* used for clearing the lac-dye solution. Accepting the explanations I take 'white' *lodhra* to be *Symplocos crataegoides*, which occurs in the Himalayan tract and bears white flowers. The other is *s. racemosa* occurring in the sub-Himalayan tract, in Oudh and Chota Nagpur forests. It bears yellow flowers (*Hema-pushpika* of *Raja-Nirghanta*), and has thick and spongy bark and large leaves, thus agreeing with the description given in *Bhāva-pra-*

the mordant was in ancient times. Probably oiling was resorted to along with some auxiliaries, such as *Iodhra*. A medical work (Rasaratna-samuchchaya of the twelfth century) mentions alum, rather alunogen, of Surat, which acts as a mordant (*Rāga-bandha*) of *Manjisthā* when applied to clothes. The same names (*Mritsnā*, *tuvarī*, etc.) are given in the Amara-kosha, and at least one, 'the product of Surat', in Suśruta.³² It is, therefore, probable that the mordant used was also alum.

kāśa. The epithet 'red' was given not because of the colour of the flower, but because it is astringent and checks bleeding, and specially because it is used in dyeing red. It is just possible the commentators mistook the right article named *paṭṭika* and *paṭṭi* which was no other than mulberry silk. *Kramuka*, as we have seen, was a name of mulberry, and the word occurs immediately to denote mulberry tree, and *Paṭṭika* and *Paṭṭi* are the common names of mulberry silk which is nowhere mentioned in the Dictionary. I would then interpret the appellative *Lakṣha-prasadhāna* as one which is rendered pleasing by *Lakṣha*. If this surmise be true, then *Iodhra* and *Tilvaka* will denote the two species referred to above. This agrees with Kshīrasvāmi's commentary. The 'Vanaśadhi varga' includes animal products, such as *Sukti* and *Nakhi*, and mineral products, such as *Surashtiraja* taken to be the earth of Surashtira or Surat. *ee* note 32 on alum. On the other hand, the 'Vaisya varga' includes certain plants which were not cultivated, such as the myrobolans. If this view be correct, we see that there was no mulberry cultivation at the time of Amara-kosha (say, about the beginning of the Christian era), though *Paṭṭa* or mulberry silk was undoubtedly known. The silk was, I suppose, procured from the cocoons found on wild mulberry trees. The point requires, however, further research.

³² Here is another example of confusion in determining *Adhaki* or *Tuvarī*. Kshīrasvāmi makes it a kind of crop, and Sarvaṇanda gives the Bengali name *Tumur* (*Cajanus indicus*). The name, *Arhar*, a pulse, is said to be a corruption of *adhaki*, and *Tumur* of *Tuvara*, the two being sometimes recognized as two species, *C. flavus* and *C. bicolor*. But no one seems to have tried to understand the reason of the names, which, according to the commentators, signify 'one which covers' (*adhaki*), 'found in grass forests' (*kakshi*, probably better rendered as 'found in forests of dry wood', or even 'found in marshy land'), 'found in special soils' (*Mritsnā*); 'astringent' (*tuvara*); 'a special earth or stony earth' (*Mrit-talaka*); 'found in Surat'. Now none of these descriptions are true of *Cajanus*, or *Arhar*. It is rather strange that the appellation 'earth', or 'stone' escaped the attention of early writers. As a matter of fact, alum is prepared from alum-shale in Ouch and the Panjab. Both Charaka and Suśruta, however, mention *adhaki* among legumes. The same name, therefore, appears to have been applied to both alum and the *arhar* pulse. Was *Cajanus* first introduced into Surat?

The Amara-kosha mentions two other red dyes. One is *Kāmpilya*, also spelt *Kāmpilla*, the Kamela powder (*Mallotus philippinensis*). The red powder is used also in Hindu medicine, and has been mistaken by some as a red earthy matter of *Kampilya*, a city. The name *Rochanī* applied to it makes it 'a pleasing dye'. It is used to dye silk. Equally significant is the name *Pattraṅga* applied to the red Sanders (*Pterocarpus santalinus*).³³ It is called a *Rānjana*—a dye, but not known whether it was used to dye cloth. But it can be said, however, that the word was originally *Patra-ranga* or *Paṭṭa-ranga*—a dye for silk, and corrupted into *Pattraṅga* which does not give any reasonable meaning.

Among yellow dyes *Palāsa* (*Butea frondosa*) was well known to the Vedic Aryans. The flower yields a brilliant yellow dye by simple decoction, and may therefore have been used in ancient times (page 10). *Rajanī* occurring in the Atharva-veda has not been identified, but there cannot be any doubt of its use as a dye. In later literature *Rajanī* came to denote turmeric, and *Berberis* (*Dāru-haridrā*), both of which are the best yellow dyes in India. *Lodhra* bark and leaves may also have been in use, as now.

Many tannin-containing plants were known, and it is a simple matter to observe ink produced when they are cut. *Rhadrā* (*Acacia catechu*) was one of the well-known trees in Vedic literature. There were tanners (*Charmamna*), and furs and skins must have been tanned before use by the people who claimed to be "Arya". Indigo, *Nīla*, however, is pre-eminently the blue or black dye of India; and the process of dyeing with indigo shows the extent to which the art of dyeing was carried in ancient times. Whether the indigo plant *Nīli* was cultivated, or the wild plant utilized for the extraction of the dye, cannot be, without careful enquiry, answered. From the Amara-kosha, however, it appears that the plant grew in

³³ Cf. *Patanga* (*Cassalpinia sappan*) which must have been either *Paṭa-ranga*—a cloth-dye, or *Paṭṭa-ranga*—a silk-dye. In Bengal and Orissa it is known as *Bakam*, a corruption of *Patanga*, which again is of *Patra-ranga*, the tree being regarded as a kind of red Sanders.

villages (*grāmīnā*), and that there was trade either of the plant or the dye extract (*Kīṭakikā*). It was a *Rañjanī*, a dye, and received the names *Nīlī*—indigo plant, and *Kālā*—a black plant. It used to be fermented in vats and cloth macerated in the solution (*tunī*, *dolā*). From these it appears that the process of dyeing was much the same as it is now.

The arts of spinning, weaving, washing, and dyeing were recognized industries in ancient India. Śukrāchārya specifies them in the following terms:—"To spin yarn and to twist threads into strings and ropes is an art. To weave thread into a cloth is an art. To wash and bleach cloths is an art. To blend dyes into various shades is the art of dyeing. Similarly, tanning and softening hides and skins into leather and furs, and curing so as to make the leather transparent is an art. To prepare gold coats-of-mail, etc., is recognized as an art. Kings should ascertain the occupation of artisans and artists and protect them."

From the *Amara-kosha* and *Smritis* we learn that the artisans and artists belonged to the *Sūdra* caste, and *Vaiśyas* traded in the products of manufacture. *Manu* (Chapter x) did not permit the highest two castes, even under straitened circumstances, to deal with clothes either dyed red or not, nor with lac and indigo. These were regarded unclean, the weaving operation requiring the use of starch, and lac and indigo some sort of fermentation or putrefaction for extraction. The Brahmins, when householders, used to wear white clothes. There was no such rule with the other castes. There were at least two garments, one, *antariya* or *paridhāna*, for the lower parts, and the other, *uttariya* or *prāvāra* for the upper; and no one would come out of his house without the pair (*udgamaniya*), which were washed clothes (*dhauta*). The modern *dhuti* worn by the male persons is a corruption of Sanskrit *dhauti*. Similarly, Sanskrit *sāṭī* or *sāṭikā* has given the *Sārī* worn by Hindu ladies. But both the words *dhauti* and *sāṭī* did not have until recently the restricted sense they have now.

Bengal has discarded dyed clothes except on festive occasions. But the rest of India shows how such clothes were common in

ancient times, especially among the women. Clothes dyed red, orange, or yellow have a sanctity, especially if they are made of silk or *tasar*. Ascetics wear a pair, dyed red, in imitation of silk, or *tasar*, which is 'pure'. Even the household servants of Rajas attend their masters with red (*Kāshāya*) garments on. This is a custom well preserved in Orissa. The masters put on a pair not only when receiving visitors, but also at home. All are bound to use a pair when worshipping a god; but many have forgotten that it was equally customary or decent to wear the upper garment on other occasions, such as the taking of meals. The dress used to be wrinkled (*kulū-kṛitā*) in the form of waves (*Mahābhārata*. Sabhā, 50), and perfumed with an aromatic powder (*chūrṇa*, *Rāmāyana*. Lankā, 75). Besides the cloth powder (*chūrṇa*) dresses used to be perfumed by placing them in the smoke of incense. The use of perfumes for cloth dates from the Vedic period. For instance, the valuable perfume *Kushtha* (*Saussurea lappa*) is frequently mentioned in the Atharva-veda, and besides its use as an "all-healing" herb, its aromatic properties were also known. "In Kashmir it is much employed by shawl merchants to protect their fabrics from moths and insects". (Watt.) It is known there as *chob-i-kut*, the 'wood of Kut,' of which the word 'kut' is no other than Sanskrit *kushṭha*. *Nalada* or 'nard' is mentioned in the Atharva-veda, and has been a reputed perfume ever since (*see* note 36). Saffron of Kashmir (*kumkuma*) was prized not only as a dye but also as a scent. The word *ambara*³⁴ ordinarily denotes cloth, but it is also the name of the perfume, amber-gris. Equally significant, though pretty modern, is the word *kshaumaka*, i.e. relating to *kshauma* or linen. It denotes the fragrant root, commonly known as *choraka*.³⁵ Varāha gives many recipes of "cloth-powder"

³⁴ In the Amara-kosha, *ambara* denotes sky and cloth. The latter sense came into use probably because the cloth indicated used to be dyed sky-blue or blue. Then the word acquired the sense of amber-gris, as the latter was used to perfume *ambara*, a highly prized dress. Kshīrasvāmi gives the three meanings, and he has been followed by later lexicographers.

³⁵ The word occurs as *kshema* in the Amara-kosha, and *chauraka*, *choraka*, in other dictionaries. In Bengali it is known as *chor*. I have not

(*paṭavāsa*). One consists of "true cinnamon, cassia cinnamon (*patra*), and khas-khas³⁸ with half their weight of true cardamom made into a powder. The scent is heightened by

been able to procure it at Cuttack. In Varāha the word occurs as *chola*, and *l* being interchangeable. Bhāva-prakāśa regards the plant as a variety of *granthiparna* which is highly scented, and *sthāneya* which is lightly scented, a variety of *granthiparna*. The Amara-kosha recognizes only two, viz., *choraka* and *granthiparna*, *sthāneya* being a name of the latter. Kshīrasvāmī follows the Kosha. Many later writers included *chorapushpi* and even *sprikha* as synonyms. The latter plant has since long been taken to be the *piring* pot-herb in vernaculars. But I greatly doubt whether this plant (*Trigonella corniculata*) was meant. I take *sprikha* to be *T. fenum-græcum*, known as *methi*, which and not *piring* is used as a perfume. There is hopeless confusion in the determination of *choraka*. From the place of the word *kshema*, and also of *granthiparna* in the A. K., we can easily infer that they are not grasses. Neither is *chorapushpi* a grass. I take *choraka* and *chorapushpi* to imply that the flowers are concealed (probably) in spathes. All the three are herbs with aromatic root-stock. The names of *choraka* in the A. K. indicate that it has fibrous roots in tufts (*rakshasi*), and leaves very prickly (*dushpatra*). It has acrid or poisonous juice (*gana-hasaka*). Probably it is the scented rhizome of an aroid. *Granthiparna* may not be an aroid.

³⁸ We have to distinguish at least four scented grasses, viz. (1) *bhūstrina*, (2) *katrina*, or *ranhisha*, (3) *lamajjaka* and (4) *usira*. Of these *usira* is the well-known scented root (khas-khas) of *virana* (*Andropogon squarrosus*). But while some take *lamajjaka* to be the same as khas-khas, others (Kshīrasvāmī and Bhāva-prakāśa) to be different. It is better known as *nalada*, also spelt as *naḍada*. The middle *l* or *ḍ* can easily be changed into *r*; *Naradas* was thus the origin of the *Nardus* of ancient Europeans. The plant is described in A. K. as a hollow reed (*nala*), smooth, light and water-loving, preferring barren land. Bhāva-prakāśa tells us that it is like khas-khas, but of yellow colour. Most of the vernacular names given by Watt under *Nardus indicus* (page 462) can be traced to Sanskrit names quoted by Kshīrasvāmī and others. Thus *sirghurai* is a corruption of *sighra* (quick growing), *solara* of *sanala* or *sarala* (hollow), *runa* of *rana* (sound-making) or of *amrinala* (smooth), *bābhori* of *abhaya*, and *khavi* of *sevyā* (*s* is pronounced *kḥ* in many parts of Northern India). The names *gandhi*, and *gander* and *gandel* is from Sanskrit *gandha*, scent, and from *gandha-taila*, scented oil. The *nalada* of the Atharva-veda was probably this grass. It is not a synonym of *jatamansi*, the true spikenard, either in A. K. or any of its commentaries. I do not find any Sanskrit authority for the name *jwarancusa*, better spelt *jvarankusa*, meaning a febrifuge. The name is local, just as *A. sohananthus* has received the name *dhvantri* (a curer of diseases) in Oriya, and *arghya ghas* (a valuable grass), *gandha trina* (a scented grass), and

adding musk and camphor and powdering again".³⁷ Indeed, the word '*adbhivāsa*' which denoted a mantle in Vedic times came to be also used in later literature in the sense of applying perfumes. The duty of washermen was to perfume the washed clothing. (Cf. the Bengali expression *bāsi-karā*, which is from Sanskrit *vāsi-kṛita*—perfumed.) The object was not only to remove the smell of washing and to give a pleasant odour, but also to protect clothing from the attack of insects. Perfume was also applied by placing clothing in the smoke of burning incense (*dhūpa*). Distillation of aromatic substances to prepare 'atar' or essence was unknown. But if the use of perfumery be a measure of luxury, there was enough of it in ancient times. Not to speak of incense there were scented oils, scented water for bath, scented unguents before and after bath, scented clothing, and garlands of fragrant flowers.

gandha-bena (a grass scented like khas-khas) in Bengali. *Rauhissha* is thus described in A. K. It is an ugly-looking grass, cultivated in towns, sweet-scented eaten or sought after (by cattle? *dhyaṃa*, or spreads rapidly) and reddish (in inflorescence? *rauhissha*). It thus appears to be the Rusa oil grass. The vernacular names, *rusa*, *rhausa*, *rohish*, etc., are evident corruptions of Sanskrit *rauhissha* (reddish). *Bhūstrina*, also spelt *bhū-trina*, is described to have stem creeping (hence the name), annulate like a garland and leaves or stems tufted and (some say, roots) spreading like an umbrella. It appears to be a variety of *A. jwarancusa*.

³⁷ The other recipes include various proportions of four or more of sixteen ingredients. Among these are camphor, *balaka* (*Pavonia odorata*), *sāileyā* (a scented Lichen), khas-khas, flower of *Mesua ferrea*, *nakha* (*Unguis odorata*), fennugreek, aloe wood, wormwood (*Artemisia*), *tagara* (? not *Tabernaemontana*), coriander, *choraka*, white sandal. See also *Amara-kosha* and *Artha-sāstra*. The whole subject of scents as known to the ancients requires careful investigation.

APPENDIX.

Note to flax (page 2).—Since the opinion expressed by Watt, a great change has taken place in the possibilities of flax cultivation in India. The Bihar Planters' Association engaged a Belgian flax expert for five years (1908—1913). It was definitely proved that flax can be successfully grown and prepared at a profit in Bihar. *Agriculture in India*, by James Mackenna, M.A., I.C.S., 1915.

Note to Śukra-nīti (page 4).—Kāmandakiya-nīti borrows from Śukra-nīti. It has been shown by the researches of Western scholars that the former was introduced to the island of Bali before the fourth century A. D. The date of the latter may, therefore, be put down in the early centuries of the Christian era. The original was still older, since the Mahābhārata mentions Śukra as one of the writers on polity.

Note to bhāṅgā in Suśruta (page 21).—Dr. G. A. Grierson is said to have noted *bhāṅgā* as a medicine in Suśruta, "where it is called an antiphlegmatic" (*see* Watt, under *Cannabis*, page 251). The Doctor does not quote the chapter. There is in Suśruta the word *vijaya* (*Kalpa-sthāna*, 2). But it is a root-poison, and cannot therefore be the *vijayā* of later literature, where it is a synonym of *bhāṅgā*. The word *vijayā* occurs in Suśruta (*uttara-tantra*, 24); but it denotes, as in the Amarakośa, chebulic myrobolan. Charaka mentions the flower of *Sana* among green vegetables along with those of Bauhinia and Bombax, and did not therefore intend to denote, by *Sana Cannabis* hemp.

Note to Jute (page 27).—In Śrīkrishṇa-kīrtan (fourteenth century, by Chandīdās of Western Bengal, a work recently discovered, I find the earliest mention of the name *Pāt* and the use of jute in making ropes. The plant is called there *Nālichā*, the same as *Nālikā*. It is steeped in water for 36 hours, and then taken out and dried. The *Pāt* is next separated and twisted into a rope. From this it appears that the people knew the fibre, but the context shows it was not a commercial commodity.

The following few references to Indian textiles by Greek and Roman writers are taken from *India and the Western World*, by Prof. H. G. Rawlinson.

Flax.—In old Greek accounts flax and cotton are said to be continually confused. But Strabo (first century B. C.) notes that the Hindus used paper woven from flax. Eratosthenes (third century B. C.) heard of watering the flax, rice, millet, and other crops.

Cotton.—Assurbanipal (seventh century B. C.) is known to have been a great cultivator, and to have sent for Indian plants, including the "wool-bearing trees" of India. Herodotus (fourth century B. C.) mentions "the excellent wild cotton, superior to sheep's wool, of which the Indians made their clothes."

Silk.—From Megasthenes we learn that "silk from the Seres, Gangetic muslins [*dukūla?*], etc., poured into the bazars of Pataliputra." Demetrius (second century B. C.) "pushed the limits of his realm to the edge of the Pāmirs in order to control the silk-routes." Of Sāgala (? Siālkot), the capital of Menander, the author of the *Milinda-pañño* (a Pali work) writes that "shops were there for the sale of Benares muslin, of Kotumbara stuffs, and of other clothes of various kinds."

[The original Pali, however, reads "various clothes produced in Benares and Kotumbara, etc." The city of Sāgala is compared with Uttara-kuru, which was very prosperous, and which gave rise to the legends of the Hyperboreans of the Greeks. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ (Chap. 59) remarks that Uttara-kuru had trees which produced cloth. These cannot refer to cotton. The Pāmirs were probably the Uttara-kuru of the Mahābhārata.]

"In the first centuries before and after Christ, silk, from China, fine muslins from India and jewels were exported from eastern ports to Rome. The exports of Sind were costus (*kushṭhu*), berbery (a cosmetic fashionable in Rome), nard, gems, indigo, skins, and lastly, silk from China. Some of the silk also found its way through Nepal to the Ganges and thence to the Malabar coast. Later on it was taken straight from China to Rome."

[In ancient times the country of the Seres extended westward to Pāmīr (Enc. Brit., 9th Ed.). Ptolemy first used the name Sera for the chief city of the Chinese. The Lat. *seres* is supposed to be derived from the Chinese word for silk, which is variously pronounced as *Se*. I think this is rather far-fetched. Cannot *seres* be connected with Sanskrit *kshīra*,—milk or milky liquid? If it can be, we can then trace the name to the white sea, which was called *Kshīroda* in Sanskrit. Cf. *kshīroda* and *kshīrodarī* for silk (page 41). The glutinous secretion of the silkworm may have been called *kshīra*, milk. The initial *k* is easily dropped.]



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Avika (woollen) 8, 30.
Bābai grass 25.
Bael fruit (*Ægle*) 47.
Bakam (Cæsalpinia) 52n.
Bālaka (Pavonia) 57n.
Balbaja, ballaja (Ischæmum)
 10, 19, 24, 25.

- Balka, balkala* (fibre) 8, 15, 24.
Bālka (fibrous) 8, 21, 23, 45.
 Bamboo 10, 19.
Berberis 53, 58.
Bhanga 21.
Bhangū (Cannabis) 9, 13, 14n,
 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 58.
Bhānga 9, 21, 22.
Bhāngyam 21, 23.
Bhāradvājī 28.
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Bhūstriṇa (Andropogon) 56n.
 Blanket, see *Kambala*.
 Bow-string 10, 19, 24.
Brahma-dāru (Morus) 41.
 Camphor 57.
 Cannabis, see *Bhangā*.
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Champakā, Chāmpā (Michelia)
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Chob-i kuṭ 55.
Chola, chora, choraka, chauraka
 55, 55n.
Chuma 23.
Chūrṇa (cloth-powder) 54.
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- Clothing 6, 12, 13, 31, 41, 42,
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Dāruharidrā (Berberis) 53.
Deva-kārpāsa (tree cotton) 29.
Dhūpa (incense) 57.
Dhuti 53.
Dukūla 2, 8, 12-14, 17, 37,
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Dūrvā (Cynodon) 10n.
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Eṇḍī, Eraṇḍī, Eṇī (silk) 32,
 34.
 Flax, see *atasī* 27, 45, 58.
 Furrier 29.
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Gandha-triṇa (Andropogon)
 56n.
Garad (silk) 41.
Gargar, gargari 10n.
Gavedhūkā (Coix) 10, 19, 24.
Granthiparṇa 55n.
 Grasses, scented 56n.
Guḍuchī (Tinospora) 19, 24, 25.
Gūn (sackcloth) 27.
 Hair 8, 24, 29, 31, 38.
Harītakī (Terminalia) 33.
Hāvāi (a cloth) 36n.
 Hemp 9, 18, 24.

- Hiraṇya-Kasipu* 42.
 Ibex 30.
 Indigo see *Nīla*.
Inguḍī (Balanites) 11n, 19.
Jāḷaka (mail) 41.
J. tāmānsī (Nardostachys) 56n.
Jūṭa, Jute, *Jhūṭ* 24, 26.
Kalā (arts and industries) 4, 53.
Kālā see *Nīlā*.
 KALINGA 29.
Kambala (blanket) 9, 13, 31, 49.
 KAMBOJA 31.
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Kappāsika (cotton) 9.
Kapittha (Feronia) 11n.
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Kārpāsa (cotton) 8, 23, 28.
Kārpāsī (Gossypium) 28.
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Keseru (Heteropanax) 33, 37.
Khadira (Acacia) 53.
Kharma, *Khamru* (silk) 41.
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Kimbu, *Kimu* (Morus) 35, 40.
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Kosāmra, *Kusāmra*, *Kusam* (Schleicheria) 11n, 50n.
Koseyya (silk) 9.
Koshṭā (Jute) 23.
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Kovidāra (Bauhinia) 24n.
Kramuka (Morus) 40.
Krīṣṇa-sāra 30n.
Kshauṃa 8-12, 14, 16n, 17, 23, 37, 38, 45.
Kshaumaka, *Kshema* 55.
Kshiroda, *Kshirodarī* (silk) 41, 58.
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Kshumā 1, 2, 9, 17, 19, 23.
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Kūḷaki (mantle) 14n.
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Kunkuma (Saffron) 10, 55.
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Kusa (Saccharum) 24, 25.
Kushṭha (Saussuria) 55, 58.
Kusumbha, *Kusuma* (Carthamus) 10, 12, 48, 50.
Kutapa (shawl) 31, 47.
Kutha (printed carpet) 49.
Lākshā (Lac) 34, 48, 50.
 „ -*vriksha* (Lac-tree) 50.
Lakucha (Artocarpus) 36.
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Matkā silk 41.
Mātulānā 21.
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Metki see *Sprikkā*.
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Muga (*Phaseolus*) 11, 33.
Mugā silk 32, 34
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Munja (Saccharum) 10, 19, 20,
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Nādikā, *nālikā*, *nālītā* (Corcho-
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Nāga tree 36, 37.
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Nimba (Melia) 11n, 12.
Nīvi (garment) 43.
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Nuni 34, 40.
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Palāsa (Butea) 10, 50n, 53.
Palpūlana (a lye) 47.
Palu, *Palu pokā* (silkworm) 34,
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Pāmari cloth 32.
Pashm 30, 38.
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Paṭa-vāsa (cloth perfumery) 54,
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Patrona (silk) 8, 35-38.
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Pitāmbara 50.
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 PUNDA 34, 39.
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 PUSHAN (a god) 30, 43, 47.
Rāga-bandha (mordant) 52.
Rājaka (a dyer) 48.
Rajanī (turmeric) 53.
Rakta-Kāñchana (Bauhinia) 25n.
Rangājīva (a dyer) 49.
Ranjana (a dye) 52.
Ranjanī (a dye) 53.
Rāñkava (woollen) 8, 30, 31.
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Rauhisika (Andropogon) 56n.
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Rochanī 52.
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 SAKA 31, 39.
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Sālmālī (Bombax) 47.
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Samudrāntā 28.
Sana (Crotalaria) 9-13, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27, 45.
 „ -*sūtra* 20.
 „ -*pushpikā* 20.
Sāna, sāna 21, 23.
 Sandal 57n.
 Sanders, red, 52.
Sarshapa (colza) 47.
Sasorna 31.
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Siāri, Siāli (Bauhinia) 25n.
Siāhā (Lagerstrœmia) 33.
 Silk 3, 8, 14, 16, 18, 29, 32, 34, 45, 47, 50, 51n, 58.
 Silkworm 34.
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Snāyu (catgut) 19, 24.
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Teoka cloth 22.
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Tilvaka (Symplæos) 51.
Trasara 36n.
T-suma 23.
Tūda, tūnt, tūt (Morus) 35, 40.
Tūla 23, 40, 45.
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Tumur (Cajanus) 52n.
Tuṇḍikeri 28.
Tūnt pāt (mulberry silk) 26.
Tuvarī 52.
Turmeric 53.
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Udvartana 45n.
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Urṇā (wool) 23, 30, 31.
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- UTTARA-KURU, 13, 58.
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Vajra-lepa (cement) 12.
Vakula (Mimusops) 36.
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Varṇa 48, 49.
Vāsas (clothes) 43.
Vaṭa (Ficus) 36.
 VATSA 29.
Vāya (a weaver) 43.
Veman (loom) 43.
Venu (bamboo) 24.
Vetasa (Calamus) 11, 19.
Vijaya, vijayā 57.
Vīraṇa (Andropogon) 56n.
 Yarn 14, 24, 43, 45.
 Washing or bleaching 47.
 Weaving 30, 43.
 Woollens 8, 12, 13, 23, 30, 38, 45, 47, 48.
 Wormwood (Artemisia) 57n.

II.—Chronological Totals in Puranic Chronicles and the Kaliyuga Era.

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I

CHRONOLOGICAL LANDMARKS.

1. The Purāṇas in summing up their political chronology give two totals calculated from their two chronological landmarks. Those landmarks are the Mahā-Bhārata War (or the birth of Parikshit) and the reign of Mahā-Padma Nanda. The totals given are :—

- (a) Since the birth of Parikshit up to the coronation of Mahā-Padma, 1050 years (V., M.) or up to the coronation of Mahā-Nanda, Mahā-Padma's predecessor, 1015 years (Br., Vi., Bhāg.)¹
- (b) " The period likewise after Mahā-Padma is one of 836 years. " " The latter will be the chronological interval for those following the Andhras (= post-Andhras and others). " (V. & Br.)²

(¹) See the references and discussion on the two data in J.B.O.R.S.I, 109, 110. Cf. Pargiter, Purāṇa Texts, p. 58, where the two data have been confused as one.

Abbreviations—V = Vāyu-Purāṇa ; Br = Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa ; M = Matsya Purāṇa ; Vi = Vishnu Purāṇa ; Bhāg. = Bhāgavata Purāṇa ; Bhav. = Bhaviṣya Purāṇa ; P. T. = Pargiter's Purāṇa Texts, Oxford, 1913 ; J.B.O.R.S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society ; IA = Indian Antiquary.

(²) प्रमाणं व तथा वक्तुं महापद्मोत्तरञ्च यत् । अन्तरे तच्छतान्यष्टौ षट्
त्रिंशत् समाः स्मृताः ॥ Br. ; V. ; P.T., 58.

(³) एतत् कालान्तरं भाषा अन्ध्रान्ताद्याः प्रकीर्तिताः (तावत् कालान्तरं
भाषामान्ध्रान्तादापरिचितः, M.) P. T., 58.

In other words, the last date of the Puranic chronology is the 836th year expired after Mahā-Padma. Mahā-Padma died in or about 338 B. C. (J B O R S., I, 116), therefore (338 B. C.—836) 498 A. C. is the last date which the Purāṇas give to the chronology of the last kings whom they describe as 'the post-Andhras' ('those coming after the Andhras') (see also below).

2. The Matsya says "that much (तावत्) time" has elapsed between the post-Andhras and Parikshit, [that is, its *tavat* = (a) the preceding 1,050 years (from Parikshit to Mahā-Padma's reign) + (b) 836 years] : while the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa say "this" (एतत्) or "the latter" interval (i.e. 836) was covered by the post-Andhras and others after Mahā-Padma. Mr. Pargiter disregarding the clear reading of the Matsya "ā-Parikhshitah" combines the two independent data and gives 836 to Mahā-Padma-Andhra period and another 836 to the future time after Andhras ["an equal space of time (is still) future", p. 74]. But this explanation is against the text, possibility and astronomical data (sections 4-9 *infra*). 836 + 836 years after Mahā-Padma Nanda would bring the Purāṇas to the thirteenth century of the Christian era—a result which would be absurd from every standpoint. Mr. Pargiter himself puts the Purāṇas in the early régime of the Guptas (about 325 A.C.), for, he thinks, the Purāṇas would not have ignored the orthodox Gupta Empire had they been completed in the later Gupta period.

The above date for the Puranic chronicles had been once suggested by myself.⁽¹⁾ But it can no longer be maintained. Here the statement of the Purāṇas about the 498 A. C. date is definite and is borne out by the astronomical data (see *infra*). As to the

¹ I.A., 1913, 265 N.

"The Vāyu, I think, closed before the reign of Chandragupta II, probably in the early days of Samudragupta. For the dominions of the Guptas described there precede the conquests of Samudragupta :

अशुगङ्गा प्रयागश्च साकेतं मगधास्तथा । एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान्
भोक्षन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥ Ch. 37-277 "

Guptas having been mentioned as ruling over a small tract—the Gangetic valley up-to Allahabad only—it seems that about the time the Puranic chronicles came to an end, the Gupta Empire had contracted into those limits; and as the Guptas were still reigning, no details as to their number and reign-periods could be given. The mention of the Hūna dynasty and that coming as the last dynasty in the Puranic list is conclusive. A Hūna dynasty amongst Indian kings can only be mentioned in the end of, or after, the fifth century of the Christian era.

3. We might notice here an important reading of the

The Andhra Chronology: Matsya in connexion with the chronological totals of the Purāṇas. In the place of प्रमाणां वै तथा वक्तुं महापद्मोत्तरचयत् (Br., V.) the Matsya gives पौलोमास्तु ततोन्वास्तु महापद्मोत्तरे पुनः। अन्तरं तच्छताव्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशत् समास्तथा (272-36). The Matsya while giving the *antara*, interval, after Mahā-Padma, makes the parenthetical statement: “As to the Andhras, they are the Paulomas (those succeeding Puloma)”, i.e. for the purposes of calculating the chronology between Mahā-Padma and the post-Andhras, you have to take only those Andhras who begin with Puloma (I) and not the earlier ones. We know that when the Purāṇas give 460 or 456 years to the Andhras (or the Sātavāhanas), they count from the beginning of the dynasty, not from the overthrow of the Kāṇvas by a later Sātavāhana. Hence there is an overlapping. In the general total this is remedied and the Matsya apparently is pointing out the landmark to count the Andhra period. This landmark is Puloma which is the first Pulamavi in the list, spelt and misspelt variously: as *ā-Polava* and *ā-Pīlavā* in the Vāyu*, as *ā-Polava* in the Br., as *Vilaka* and *I-Vilaka*, *Chi-Vilaka*, etc., in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata MSS.† [shewing forms and corruptions of *Sri-Puloma*, *Sri-Pulamāvi* and *Vilavā(yā)*.] He is about the 8th in the Andhra list.

* Possibly also as *Paṇḍumāvi*, Bib. Ind. Vāyu, 37. 345, notes.

† P. T, 32 n, 45.

His reign, as I have shown in my "*Brahmin Empire*," covers the date of the fall of the Kanvas of Magadha. The scheme of the general chronology of the Purāṇas which is primarily Magadhan, excludes the Andhra years before this Pulamāvi I.* Hence this parenthetical note in the Matsya that the Andhras are to be taken as the Paulomas only (1).

ASTRONOMICAL CHRONOLOGY.

4. The above chronological data (sections 1, 3) are coupled in the Purāṇas with an astronomical reckoning. It runs thus :—

सप्तर्ष्यस्तथा प्रांशु प्रदीर्घे नाग्निनासमम् । ² (M.)

or सप्तर्ष्यस्तदा प्राप्तः पित्र्ये पारिक्षिते शतम् । (Br.)

सप्त विंशेः शतैः भावा [सप्त-विंशति भावेन, M.]

अन्यत्रान्ते ज्ञेयापुनः (V., Br.)

"Likewise the Great Bear being high with full Agni (= Kṛitika, Agni being its deity), the post-Andhra houses fall in the century beginning with the 27th Future Century." According to the Br. "the Great Bear at the time of Parikshit reached the Pitri or (Maghā) century." After this there follows an exposition of the Great Bear reckoning which describes that the Seven Rishis remain 100 years with each of the 27 Nakshatras or lunar mansions.

* For the pre-Puloma years are covered in Magadha by the later Maurya Śūnga and Kanva periods.

¹ The fall of the Kanvas is dated according to the system of my reckoning in 31 B. C. (against Mr. V. Smith's 28 B. C.). The dynastic total for the complete list of 30 Andhra kings being 456 years, and the details for the first eight kings up to Puloma I being for 181 years, the Paulomas (or the 22 kings after Puloma I) covered 275 years or cir. 31 B. C.—244 A. C.)

² प्रदीर्घे ऽग्नि has been corrupted into प्रतीपेरिञ्चि, प्रतीपेरोञ्चि, etc., in V. MSS. This has led Mr. Fargiter to treat the mislection *pratipn* as a proper name and to suggest that "all readings in this line in Mt., Va., Bd. are no doubt attempts to Sanskritize an old Prakrit śloka which was obscure. Perhaps the true reading should be . . . सप्तर्ष्यस्तदा पश्ये प्रतीपेराञ्चि." If the significance of *Agni* in the verses be realized, no guesses would be necessary. *Agni* is to denote the Nakshatra, as *pitr̥ya* does in Br. (see *infra*). The presiding deities have been used to denote the Nakshatras.

It is implied in the above datum that the reckoning is commenced with the Kṛittikā Nakshatra and we know from other sources that the ancients did count Kṛittikā as the first Nakshatrā³. Taking Kṛittikā as the first, our datum says that the post-Andhras fall in the 27th or the Bharanī century of the 7-Rishi cycle.

The Andhra period in 5. The second datum is—
Great Bear reckoning.

सप्तर्षयः सघातुक्ताः काले प्रारिचिते समे (दिवि) ।
अन्ध्रान्ते तु चतुर्विंशे भविष्यन्ति शतं (प्रति) तदा
(समा) [V., M.]

“The Great Bear united with Maghā in the time of Parikshit will be in the 24th century at the close of the Andhras.” The Seven Rishis thus mark the reign of Parikshit in Maghā or the 8th century and the end of the Andhras in the Uttara Bhādrapada, their 24th century.

The difference between the Andhra-period and the post-Andhra period is thus of three centuries.

Mahā-Nanda time in 6. The third datum tells us
Great Bear reckoning.

यदा सघातो यस्यन्ति पूर्वार्घाष्टं सप्तर्षयः ।
तदा नन्दात् प्रभृत्तेव कलित्रिंशं गमिष्यति”
[Vi. Bhag.]

“When from Maghā the Great Rishis got into Pūrva Āshāḍha, then—since Nanda—Kali will reach Vṛiddhi.” We have already seen (J B O R S., I, 109) that the Purāṇas by their Nanda as a chronological landmark mean Nanda II or Mahā-Nanda (predecessor of Mahā-Padma). Thus the Sapta-Rishis were in the 18th or the Pūrva-Āshāḍha century in the time of Mahā-Nanda.

7. We may summarize the results of the above data in these words :

1. Sapta-Rishi cycle begins in Kṛittikā.
2. The reign of Parikshit begins in Maghā (eighth centenary from Kṛittikā).
3. The reign of Nanda II (Mahā-Nanda) begins in Pūrva-Āshāḍha (18th centenary).

³. Yajus, Tai. Sam, 4. 4.10, 1-3.

4. The end of the Andhras falls in Uttara Bhādra-Pada (24th centenary).

5. The post-Andhra period of Purāṇas ends in Bharanī (27th centenary).

8. Now let us verify the plain chronology with this. We ^{have seen that Nanda II (Mahā-Sapta-Rishi chronology} ^{and plain chronology.} Nanda) ruled during B. C. 409—374 and Mahā-Padma, B.C. 374—366-338 (J B O R S, I, 109 and 110), and that the interval between the death of Mahā-Padma and the post-Andhra dynasties brings us to the close of 498 or to 499 A. C. We have also seen that since the birth of Parikshit (or the Great War, 1424 B. C.) up to the coronation of Mahā-Nanda 1,015 years or up to the *abhisheka* of Mahā-Padma 1,050 years, have been counted by the Purāṇas. The Mahā-Bhārata gives 36 years to the reign of Yudhisṭhira after the War (Maṇṣala Parva, I I). The coronation of Parikshit therefore took place in (B. C. 1424-36), B. C. 1388.

Thus the Seven Rishis in 1388 B. C. were in Maghā (fifth Nakshatra century) or as stated by the Bhāgavata they just entered Maghā.* According to the astronomical data 10 centuries later (in the 18th centenary of Great Bear cycle or in 388 B. C.) the Great Bear reached Pūrva Āshāḍha and that ought to fall in the reign of Mahā-Nanda. According to our plain chronology 388 B. C. does fall in his reign (409-374 B. C.).

Coming 6 Nakshatra centuries later, the 24th centenary (388 B. C.-600) brings us to 212 A. C.-312 A. C. during which the Andhras close. The plain chronology gives the year about 244 A. C. (see section 3 n. 1) for the end of the Andhra period. Thus the two chronologies agree up to this point.

9. A difference of 14 years, however, crops up as to the ^{498 A. D. or 512 A. D. as} date of the post-Andhras. The astro- ^{end of post-Andhra period.} nomical datum would place the end of the post-Andhra period as beginning with the 27th century which

* त्वे त्वदीये द्विजाः कालेऽधुना चाश्रिता मघाः ।

यदा देवर्षयः सप्तमवाप्तुं विचरन्ति हि ॥

तदा कलिर्द्वादशाब्दशततमकः ॥

would begin in 512 A. C. as against the plain reckoning (836 years after Mahā - Padma) giving the date 498 A. C. The difference between the Pūrva Āshāḍha and the Bharaṇī (the 18th and the 27th centenāries) is an interval of 900 years. Calculating back from 498 A. C. the initial year of Pūrva Āshāḍha falls in (900-498) 402 B. C., against 388 B. C. which is based on taking 1388 B. C. as the initial year of the Maghā centenary. The difference of 14 years thus lies in the difference between the date obtained for the initial year of the Pūrva Āshāḍha (402 B. C.—388 B. C.-14). If we adjust the difference the initial year of Maghā would be 1402 B. C., i.e., when Parikshit's reign began (1388 B. C.) the Seven Rishis had already been in Maghā for 14 years. (1) This of course would offend against the Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which implies that the Rishis entered Maghā in or after 1388 B. C.

10. There is, however, evidence to indicate that the reckoning of the sixth century A. C. which 1388 B. C. probably known to Megasthenes, would regard the Maghā century as beginning in 1402 B. C. and not in 1388 B. C., is wrong. The old reckoning seems to have dated the initial year of the Maghā century in 1388 B. C. This was so about 320 B. C., for Megasthenes (Arrian IX) tells us that the Hindus counted 6,462 years before Alexander's time (326 B. C.). In 326 B. C. the accession of Parikshit according to the Purāṇas would be (1388—326) 1,062 years old. If we deduct this 1,062 from 6,462 we get 5,400 years or exactly two Sapta-Rishi cycles elapsed. In other words, the

¹ In either case the astronomical data correspond with the political chronology : 402 B. C. falls in Mahā-Nanda's reign ; the period 198-298 A. C. sees the end of the Andhras and the century beginning with 492 A. C. would close the Puranic History which would explain the mention of the Hāna dynasty.

* Also against the old datum of Vṛiddha Garga (as quoted by Utpala) that the Rishis at the junction of Dvāpara and Kali stood at Maghā (Pitri). Colebrooke II., 313.

Hindus in 326 B. C. dated the beginning of their history in (6462—326) 6,788 B. C. or 5,400 years before 1388 B. C. ^a

It is thus clear (a) that the year 1388 B. C. was regarded as a chronological landmark as early as 326 B. C., (b) that the Sapta-Rishi reckoning was in vogue as early as 326 B. C., that (c) probably a Nakshatra centenary was then held to begin in 1388 B. C. before which a 7-Rishi cycle had been complete, the cycle beginning with Maghā and not with Kṛittikā. *

11. The year 498 A. C. of the plain chronology is a definite point. The Purāṇas mean that their post-Andhra lists do not go beyond 498 A. C. and when they give the 27th century of the 7-Rishi cycle beginning with 512 A. C. for the close of the post-Andhras, they give somewhat an indefinite and loosely approximate date. If they had given a preceding centenary (412-512 A.C.) it would not have been so near the truth as the century commencing with 512 A. C., for they say that their period ended with the 27th century सप्त विंशति मायेन, i.e., just before or about the beginning of the 27th century.

12. At present I cannot say why the year 498 A. C. was taken to mark the end of the Puranic chronicle. We know only this much that it falls within the second Hun period (after the second Hun war) and about the disruption of the Gupta power. It is significant that in the numeration of the post-Andhra dynasties of the Purāṇas, the Huns are the last.† That the Puranic date 498 A. C. was a well-known date in the sixth century is, as we shall see below (17 and 18), certain.

^a In 326 B. C. the chronology since Parikshit had been accurately recorded as is evidenced by the fractional figure (5,400 + 1,062) three months. Before Parikshit the chronology was even then a matter of guess and round figures. In the present Purāṇas years are given only after the Mahā-Bhārata war.

* (as later when the early part of the astronomical chronology of the Purāṇas was composed.)

† P. T., 46.

II

PURANIC DATA ABOUT KALI AGE.

13. After completing the examination of the chronological summary of the Purāṇas, I essayed an examination of the Puranic data about the Kali age which lie intermixed with that chronological summary. The result proved satisfactory, as it not only gave a clear view of the Puranic standpoint as to the Kali age but also offered an explanation of the Kaliyuga era. The earlier data about the Kali age in the Purāṇas are these :—

- (1) *That the Kali age started the day Krishna died (all the Purāṇas say this).¹*
- (2) *That Kali started when the 7-Rishis were in Maghā (Vishṇu Purāṇa) in the time of Parikshit.² Kali started with the entry of the Seven Rishis into Maghā Bhāgavata).³*
- (3) *That when Krishna died, the Pāṇḍava King Yudhishtira abdicated the throne and anointed Parikshit to sovereignty.⁴*
- (4) *That the period of Kali thus starting was to last for 1,200 years (Vishnu and Bhāgavata).⁵*

(¹) यस्मिन् कृष्णोदिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाहनि ।

प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगं ।

Also Yuga-Purāṇa the Garga-Samhitā has it.

(²) ते तु पारिद्धिते काले मघाखासन् दिजोत्तम ।

(³) ते त्वदीये द्विजाः कालोऽधुना चाश्रिता मघाः । यदा देवर्षयः
सप्त मघासु विचरन्ति हि । तदा प्रवृत्तप्रच कलिः ।

(⁴) तव्याज सादुजो राज्यं धर्मपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः ।

* * * याते कृष्ण चकाराय सोऽभिषेकं पारिद्धितः ॥

(⁵) तदाप्रवृत्तस्चकलिर्दादशाब्दप्रतात्मकः ।

Cf. Manu, I. 69, 70 where the same duration of 1200 years is given.

- (5) That when the 7-Rishis travelling from Maghā reached Pūrva Āshādha in the reign of (Mahā-Nanda, or rather, "since Nanda"), Kali attained *priddhi* (Vishṇu and Bhāg.)⁽¹⁾

We may add here two more data occurring in the body of the Puranic chronicles—

- (6) That Mahā-Padma was *Kali-amsa-ja* (V. B., M.) which is ambiguous: born in the *Kali-amsa* ('the 200 years after the 1,000 years proper') or 'born of a portion of Kali'.

- (7) Lastly, that the Yavana Kings 'will' flourish in *Kali-sesha*.⁽²⁾

- (1) यदा मघाभ्यो यास्यन्ति पूर्वाषाढं महर्षयः । तदा नन्दात् प्रभृत्येव कलिवृद्धिं गमिष्यति ॥

(2) V., 99. 388—390:

अल्पप्रसादा ह्यवृता मन्त्राक्रोधाह्यधार्मिकाः ।
भविष्यन्तीह यवना धर्मतः कामतोऽर्थतः ।
नैव मर्धाभिषिक्तास्ते भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः ।
युगदोषदुराचारा भविष्यन्ति नृपास्तुते ।
स्त्रीणां बालवधेनैव हत्वा चैव परस्परम् ।
भोक्ष्यन्ति कलिशेषे तु ।

Cf. the earlier authority Yuga Purāna in the Garga-Samhita which makes begin Kali with Krishna's death and ends it with the defeat of the Yavanas. Y. P. also describes their tyranny in similar terms and mentions a fight between themselves in their own country towards the close of their time in the end of Kali.

(The Yuga Purāna does not know the Andhras.)

[शूद्राः कलियुगस्यान्ते भविष्यन्ति न संशयः
× × यवना ज्ञापयिष्यन्ति न शरैर्यंच पार्थिवः
× × मध्यदेशे न स्यास्यन्ति यवनायुद्धदुर्मदा ।
तेषामन्योन्यसम्भावा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
आत्मचक्रोत्थितं घोरे युद्धं परमदारुणं ।
ततो युगवशात् तेषां यवनानां परिच्छेदम् ।

The text, which is corrupt, has been published and discussed in my 'Brahmin Empire.'

The results of the data 1 to 5 are: firstly, that the initial year of Kali synchronises with the coronation year of Parikshit, the death-year of Krishna and the initial year of the Maghā century, and secondly, that the initial year of the Pūrva Āshāḍha century marks the Vṛiddhi (which I shall explain presently) of Kali.

The statement of the Vāyu about the Yavanas in India agrees with the earlier data in the Yuga Purāṇa (Garga-Sambhitā). According to both they were utterly devoid of humanity, they fought between themselves and their time came to an end in the end of Kali Yuga. That the Yavanas of the Yuga Purāṇa were the Indo-Greeks has been recognized (they are described to have invaded Magadha), and that must be also the conclusion with regard to the Yavanas of the Vāyu which mentions each Mlechchha nation by its distinctive name. The result, therefore, of datum 7 is that the Indo-Greeks are put down in the Kali-Sésha or the close of Kali Yuga, and it is an accepted fact that the end of the Indo-Greek power in India proper is the defeat of Menander or rather Demetrius ⁽¹⁾ by Pushyamitra.

14. Let us now reduce these above
Kali data reduced into dates. results into dates.

1388 B. C.—(a) Coronation of Parikshit ;

(b) Kali begins ;

(c) Maghā century of 7-Rishi cycle begins.

388 B. C.—(a) Pūrva Ashāḍha century begins (coming 10 centuries later than Maghā) under 'Nanda',

i.e. Mahā-Nanda (388 B. C. is the 21st year of Nanda II or Mahā-Nanda (J B O R S, I, 116).

(b) 1,000 years elapsed since the beginning of Kali.

[1] In 'Brahmin Empire' I have pointed out that Strabo implies a joint invasion by Demetrius and Menander. The great quarrel which is said by Yuga Purāṇa to have arisen in their own country also seems to refer to Demetrius.

188 B. C.—(a) The 1200th year or the END OF KALI.

(b) Defeat of Menander and end of THE INDO-GREEK POWER in India—in *Kali-sesha*.

(c) The Vriddhi or 'dotage' of Kali begins. (1)

15. My chronological investigations have already brought me to the conclusion that the date of Menander's defeat is about 188—186 B. C. (*Brahmin Empire*), and that the

Agreement with dates
already found. 188 B. C.:
End of Kali.

Brahmanic revolution which overthrew the Śūdra and the Buddhist rule of the Mauryas brought Pushyamitra to the throne in 183 B. C. Now we find that that year marks the close of Kali. Whether the years closing the Kali Yuga had any theoretical and moral influence on the events of the political revolution and the defeat of Menander or it was a mere coincidence, we cannot say. But the point which becomes definite is that the Kali age according to the old theory of the age chronology ended in or about 183 B. C.

15(a). According to the oldest theory it ought to have ended two hundred years before, with the 1000th year in 388 B. C. under Mahā-Nanda. But an extension of 200 years was given which appears to have been done about the second century B. C. (2). This might have been due to the fact that although the Kali age was over, the country saw no signs of a better age: instead of being in an improving state of political morals, it saw the worst days under Mahā-Padma. Instead of dying under Mahā-Nanda Kali was regarded to have attained only 'dotage'. The Śuṅga period certainly started with a very good promise, having put an end to the Indo-Greek power which, according to the Purāṇas, was the worst tyranny.

(1) 388—188 B. C.—the amsa (200 years) of Kali: Mahā-Padma 374, 66—338 B. C.

(2) As it appears for the first time in the Mānava-dharma-śāstra, which, as I have shown elsewhere, I regard as a work of the Śuṅga period.

16. The chronology in Sapta-Rishi cycles thus fully bears out the Puranic chronology in plain figures. They conjointly fix the duration of Kali to have been one of 1200 years. But the period was considered too short. ⁽¹⁾ An explanatory note during some later revision was added into the Purāṇas after the astronomical data—that the 1,200 years are the years of the Devas and that to get the human years it has to be multiplied by 360! It was a theory for the first time put forward after or about the end of the Puranic chronicles (c. 550 A. C.); ⁽²⁾ a theory of divine years is unknown to previous literature. It was absurd but honest: absurd, because the data before it completely refute the theory. The years of the kings, Mahā-Nanda and others, are not divine but human years, the Sapta-Rishi centuries are not in divine but in human years. How could, therefore, their total of 1,200 years be divine years? It was honest as its author or authors leave the earlier statements sacredly intact.

III

KALI YUGA ERA.

17. As we have seen above, the Purāṇas count 836 years from the death of Mahā-Padma (338 B. C., 498 A. C.—its basis. J B O R S., I, 116) up to the post-Andhras, that is, they close their period in 498 A. C. (or 498-499 A. C.). At the same time they put the post-Andhras in the 27th (or Bharani) centenary of the Sapta-Rishi cycle, and the reign of Mahā-Padma's predecessor (and therefore also of Mahā-Padma) in the Pūrva-Āshāḍha or the 18th centenary, i.e. 900 years earlier. Now knowing the year 498 A. C. if the astronomers in the sixth and seventh centuries wanted to calculate back to the beginning of the Pūrva Āshāḍha conjunction they got

498 A. C.

—900.

402 B. C. (see section 9.)

⁽¹⁾ See separate paper on Kalki as to his age (cir. 498—538 A. C.) in connexion with the Kali Age and further extension of its duration in IA, 1917.

⁽²⁾ Presumably in the latter part of the sixth century.

By adding a full Sapta-Rishi cycle to this they obtained

(402 B. C.

2700.)

3102 B. C.

which they called the Kali Yuga era.¹

They thus seem to have got a date which on the basis of the nine nakshatra centuries and the year 498 A. C. represented the beginning of Pūrva-Āshāḍha centenary of the Sapta-Rishi cycle, i.e., the period when Kali's *Vṛiddhi* commenced. To this *Vṛiddhi* period of Kali, possibly regarded as 'increase' and not 'dotage', the indefinite period of a complete Sapta-Rishi cycle (2700 years) was added. Thus the Kali Yuga era is very distantly connected with Kali—connected not with the beginning but with the end of Kali.

As a matter of fact, the reckoning leading to 402 (+2700=3102) B. C. has a mistake of 14 years in view of the astronomical data of the Purāṇas. The 27th century (from the Kṛttikā) began as seen above (sections 9, 10) in 512 A. C. and not in 498. An accurate calculation ($900 - 512 = 388$ B. C.) would have dated the astronomer's Kali Yuga era in (388 B. C. +2700) 3088 B. C. and not in 3102 B. C.

18. Thus the date 498 A. C. of the Purāṇas, coupled as it was with astronomical equations, seems to be so well-known a date as to become the pivot of astronomical calculations in the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era. The identification of the Puranic date, it appears, now explains the mystery of the

498 A. C. well known in sixth and seventh centuries.

1 It is curious that although Aryabhaṭa and Varāha-Mihira enunciate the Kali Yuga era, as commencing in 3102 B. C., they place the Mahā-Bhārata war (Yudhisṭhira) in the seventh century of the Kali Yuga era (Aryabhaṭa in 662 and Varāha 653 Kaliera. This very fact shows the artificiality of the era and also indicates that its adoption was a new thing and a matter of some controversy in the sixth century A. C.

The oldest mention of the K. Y.-era in inscriptions is in 634 A. C.

Siddhānta year (498 A. C. elapsed or 499 A. C. current) as well as the riddle of the Kali Yuga era.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

I.

PURANIC TOTALS AND PERIODS (1922 YEARS).

[*Pre-Parikshit Period*—

6788 B. C.—Beginning of Hindu History as regarded by the Hindus in the days of Megasthenes : 2 Sapta-Rishi cycles (5400 years) added to the coronation year of Parikshit.

2188 B. C.—Kṛittikā (or the First) century of the Sapta-Rishi begins.]

(i) THE PARIKSHIT TO MAHA-NANDA-MAHA-PADMA PERIOD
1050 YEARS.

1424 B. C. { The Great War.
Birth of Parikshit.

1388 B. C. { Death of Kṛishṇa.
Coronation of Parikshit.
The Maghā (or the 8th) century of Sapta-Rishi cycle begins.

409 B. C.—Coronation of Nanda II (Mahā-Nanda)—
1,015 years after the birth of Parikshit.

388 B. C.—Pūrva-Āshāḍha (or the 18th) century of the Sapta-Rishi cycle begins.

374 B. C.—Mahā-Padma-Nanda's reign, 1,050 years after Parikshit.

- (ii) THE POST-MAHA-PADMA (MAHAPADMAVOTABAM PERIOD :
836 YEARS.

[*The pre-Andhra period* :—

388 B. C.—288 B. C.—Pūrva-Āshāḍha century (eighteenth
century)

the Vṛiddhi-period of Kali
begins.]

[374/66—388 B. C.—Mahā-Padma Nanda.]

- (a) THE ANDHRA PERIOD : 456 or 460 years.

(1) Those before Puloma I :
181 years.

(2) The PAULOMAS : 275 or
279 years.

288—188 B. C.—Beginning of the Andhra dynasty
in the Uttara-Āshāḍha Century—
456 or 460 years before the 24th,
the U. Bhādrapada century
(212 A. C.—312 A. C.).

212 A. C.—312 A. C.—The 24th or the Uttara Bhādra-
pada century.

End of the Andhra Dynasty in
this century (cir. 244 A. C.)

- (b) THE POST-ANDHRA (*andhrānta-avayas*) PERIOD (two
centuries elapsed).

512 A. C.—The 27th (the last) or the Bharanī century
begins.

498 A. C. or 499 A. C. — { End of the post-Andhra
period.
End of the Puranic dynas-
ties.

II.

PURANIC DATA ON KALI AGE.

1388 B. C.—Death of Krishna; coronation of Parikshit;
Kali commences; the Maghā century com-
mences.

1388—388 B. C.—1,000 years from the beginning of the Maghā to the beginning of the Pârva-Āshāḍhā Century (original Kali-period of 1,000 years completed in 388 B. C.)

[409—374 B. C.—Mahā-Nanda.]

388—188 B. C.—Further 200 years of Kali.

388 B. C.—7-Rishis enter Pârva-Āshāḍhā;
Kali's Vṛiddhi (dotage) begins.

188 B. C.—End of Kali : Śunga Revolution : Fall of the Maury dynasty.

188 B. C.—“*Kali-sesha*” : End of the Yavana rule in India proper.

III,

THE KALI YUGA ERA.

(*Started in Sixth Century A.D.*)

498 A. C.—The well-known point in chronology adopted by the Purāṇas as well by the astronomers of the Puranic age (sixth century).

402 A. C.—900 years counted back (498 A. C.—900) to get at the Pârva Āshāḍha point which was really the end of the original Kali-period and the beginning of the *Vṛiddhi* (dotage) or the Sandhyā period of the latter theory.

3102 B. C.—A full Sapta-Rishi period added to the above (2700 + 402 B. C.) : the beginning of the artificial Kali Yuga era,

III.—Note on a Unique History of Timur and his descendants in Iran and India, beautifully illustrated by the Court Painters of Akbar, and once prized and treasured by Shah Jahan as a Literary and Artistic Masterpiece.

By Khan Sahib Abdul Muqtadir, Oriental Public Library, Bankipore.

THE Muhammadan law which forbade the representation of the forms of living creatures, precluded the Moslems in the early days of Islām from cultivating the art of portrait-painting. Yet, though the prohibition was respected by every true Moslem as a sacred law, the advance of time and science helped to abate something of its original stringency. The pictorial art of Persia which had succumbed under the orthodox Caliphs of Bagdād, began to revive in the middle of the thirteenth century when the Mongols shook off the Arab suzerainty. This revival of the art in Persia marks a new epoch in the history of Islāmic art, which reached its zenith under the Safawis (A. H. 907-1148—A. D. 1502-1736).

Historians, like Khwānd Amīr, Iskandar Beg and several others, speak in eloquent terms of the artistic taste of the Safawīs, and mention a large number of artists who flourished under them. Dr. Rien, in his Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, London, Volume III, p. 1072, notices a finely illuminated copy of Nizāmī's Khamsah, dated A. H. 946-949 (A. D. 1539-1542), written by the famous calligraphist Shāh Mahmud of Nishāpur for Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī (A. H. 930-984—A. D. 1523-1576). It contains fourteen miniatures, of which eleven are signed by five artists of the Shāh's

Court, viz., Mirzā Sultān Muhammad, Mir Sayid 'Ali, 'Aghā Mirak and Muzaffar 'Ali. This art which entered Persia from Transoxania owes its technique to China, which, as is well known, stood foremost among Eastern nations in the cultivation of the fine arts. Chinese influence is apparent from the Chinese figures in the illustrations of many a manuscript painted by the artists of the Persian School. The earliest Persian painting in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, dates from A. D. 1279-1280. H. Morley, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London*, notices an illustrated copy of the *Jāmi-ut-Tawārikh*, dated A. H. 724—A. D. 1314. This is one of the most ancient illuminated manuscripts in Perso-Mongol style. Mr. Vincent A. Smith in his valuable *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, which has been of great help to me in writing this article, remarks:—"Its numerous illustrations may be regarded as the best examples of the style in its early form. Chinese influence is apparent throughout, the figures being nearly pure Chinese." It is worth noticing, too, that they are treated in a purely conventional and stereotyped fashion, devoid of any delicacy of form or execution; one figure is exactly like another. This Perso-Mongol tradition, which India received directly from Persia, lingered in Indian paintings for many years. The Emperor Jahāngīr, whose memoirs give us ample evidence of his love for the art, remarks that although Bābar took a very keen interest in it, he most probably did not ask the painters, whom he brought with him to India, to draw the figures from life. Manuscripts thus illuminated by the Persian School are not uncommon. It was not until the reign of the Emperor Akbar that the old tradition was broken, and that his painters, at the instigation of their royal master, first applied themselves to study nature, drawing portraits, etc., direct from life, and paying due attention to accessory details. In Akbar, then, we recognize the founder of the Moghal School.

Inheriting qualities, peculiarly Persian,—imaginative power and love of beauty in all forms,—Akbar saw in the encouragement of painting a way to gratify his own tastes and to enhance the

splendour of his reign. It was an age of portraits ; and Hindus and Muhammadans in a hundred delicate miniatures, scattered, through a large number of MSS., have made his features and his actions immortal. His historian, Abul Fazl, observes in the *Aīn-i-Akbari* :—" Akbar had from his earliest youth shown a great interest in painting, and given it every encouragement, regarding it both as a means of study and as an amusement. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Daroghas and the Clerks ; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles carefully ascertained. The mixture of colour has especially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish." Jahāngīr was like his father ; he showed a great affection for his painters, whom he rewarded liberally. Among those at his Court Abul Hasan, entitled Nādir-uz-Zamān, and Mansūr were the most accomplished. But we must pass on to the reign of Shāh Jahān, the Magnificent, to see miniature paintings attain their highest finish. The portraits by his artists bear upon them the very stamp of truth while the predominance of more purely Indian types is very noticeable. There is preserved in this Library a copy of the Padishāh Nāmāh (a history of Shāh Jahān) with fine illuminations in the best Indian style of the later Moghal Period. Of the artists of Shāh Jahān's Court, the following are worthy of note :—Chitrāman alias Kalyān Dās, Anūp Chhatar, Manūhar, Muhammad Nādir, Mīr Hāshim and Muhammad Fakhr Ullah Khān. Nor, for all his orthodoxy, did Aurangzib or his successors allow the art to die out, and the works of several masters who flourished under them are not uncommon in these days. Some of the most beautiful specimens of Mughal painting are reproduced in the works of Messrs. Vincent A. Smith and E. B. Havell. Within the brief space of four reigns (Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib), India, that had learnt miniature painting from Persia, infused into it a character all her own, and brought it to a perfection far

surpassing the achievements of her teacher. This could never have happened but for the patronage of her emperors, and for this alone the Moghal dynasty deserves to rank among the chief glories of Indian history.

Illuminated manuscripts earlier than the fifteenth century are rare. Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson in his admirable Catalogue of the Cochrane Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gives a minute description of several illuminations by Bahzād (A. D. 1487-1524), the most famous of all the Persian artists, who flourished under the Safawis of Persia, and of several executed by one of Bahzād's pupils named Mirak, and some others, who lived in the sixteenth century. The British Museum, London, possesses a copy of the *Dārāb Nāmāh*, with a number of illustrations signed by the court painters of Akbar (See Rieu, Supplt. No. 385) and Mr. Vincent A. Smith informs us that one of these was painted by Bahzād and corrected or touched up by Khwājah Abd-us-Samad. The latter was at first attached to Humāyūn, but subsequently attracted the attention of the Emperor Akbar, who honoured him with high offices and made him the master artist of his court. The names of Khwājah Abd-us-Samad and Mir Saiyid Ali (the latter of whom has been already mentioned among the artists of Shāh Tahmasp's Court) are incidentally mentioned on Fol. 298a of the MS. under notice as the teachers of the Emperor Humāyūn. Among the pupils of this Khwājah at the Court of Akbar were Daswant Kahār (the son of a palanquin-bearer) who afterwards became the most famous of all the Hindu artists, and almost all the Hindu and Muhammadan painters in the Emperor's entourage. Dr. Rieu, in his Supplt. to the British Museum Catalogue (Persian MSS.), No. 75, notices a copy of the *Wāqiat-i-Bābari* containing sixty-eight whole-page miniatures signed by the Court artists of Akbar. The Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, has recently acquired a part of the Akbar Nāmāh, with about one hundred and ten

illustrations, mostly from the same source. Paintings of the Court artists of Akbar are not uncommon in Europe, but in India they seem to be rare. The Mahārāja of Jaipur possesses an illustrated copy of the Razm Nāmah which is said to have cost Akbar more than £40,000.

The Patna Library is singularly rich in manuscripts of Persian poets and historians to which the art of the miniaturist or the accident of their rarity has given an added value. Besides a large number of manuscripts containing splendid examples of the Persian and Indian styles, it possesses a collection of single-page paintings, specially prepared as examples of fine art, and several albums made up of single-leaf paintings chiefly by the artists of the Moghal Period. Among the MSS. the best in my opinion is a magnificent history of Timūr and his descendants in Iran and India. There are three points about it which deserve special attention:—(1) It seems to be a unique copy. I can find no copy of it in any European catalogue; there is none in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the Bohār collection at the Imperial Library, Calcutta, or in the Rāmpūr Library, all which I have myself examined. (2) The paintings are all signed by the artists of Akbar; and it was probably for the Emperor himself that they prepared the manuscript. (3) It was prized and treasured by Shah Jahān as a literary and artistic masterpiece.

The manuscript, comprising 338 folios, is of octavo size and measures $15\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ ". It is written in beautiful bold Nastaliq of the best Persian style, within coloured and gold ruled borders. The paper is of an excellent quality with a slight ivory gloss and of a high cream colour. The binding is modern, rich and tasteless. It is unfortunately defective at both ends. The want of headings, spaces for which have been left blank throughout, puts the reader to no small trouble in studying the contents. There are several lacunæ, in some of which folios have been inserted later. In many places the catch words have been cut off by the binder, and it is not always easy to detect gaps. One

of the two heavy leaves attached at the beginning of the copy bears the following autograph of the Emperor Shāh Jahān :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 این تاریخ کہ مشتمل است بر مجمل احوال حضرت صاحب
 قرآن گیتی ستان و اولاد امجاد آنحضرت و سوانح ایام حضرت
 عرش آشیانی انارالله برهانه تا سال بست و دهم درعهد دولت
 شاه بابا تصنیف شده حرره شاه جهان پادشاه بن جهانگیر پادشاه
 بن اکبر پادشاه *

There are several 'Arz-dīdahs and official seals of the nobles of the Moghal Courts of India. Almost all the seals are in a faded condition. The names of the officials read thus :—

Abdullah Chalapi,—22nd Shawwāl, 26th regnal year; Khwājah Suhayl; Khwājah Hilāl; Abdul Ghafūr; Muhammad Bāqir; Nūr Muhammad. The fly-leaf also bears the signature "Gladwin." The initials are faded, and there is no date. This must be Francis Gladwin, a contemporary of Warren Hastings. He translated several Persian books into English and died about 1813. (See C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, page 167.) A note on the same fly-leaf records the cost of the MS. as 8,000 rupees.

In the autograph note Shāh Jahān, the Emperor, says that this history, comprising the account of Timūr and his descendants, and of the Emperor Akbar down to the 22nd year of his reign, was composed in the time of "Shāh Babā", as Shāh Jahān in his childhood used to call Akbar. The name of the author and the title of the work are not found in the text, nor does Shāh Jahān in his note give any clue to them; but the binders' title runs: "Tārikh-i-khāndān-i-Timuriyah", or the history of the descendants of Timūr. This title was evidently chosen by the donor of the Library. The text opens abruptly in the middle of the introduction, and breaks off immediately after the account of the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar in the nineteenth year of his reign (A. H. 981—A. D. 1573). The history of the 20th, 21st and 22nd years is wanting. In the introduction the author praises the Zafar Nāmah, the well-known biography of Timūr

by Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi (d. A. H. 858—A. D. 1454). The earlier part of the work devoted to the history of Tīmūr and his descendants in Irān (Fol. 235b) is mainly based upon the aforesaid Zafar Nāmah. It opens with Tīmūr's march in search of Amīr Husayn, corresponding with the account given in the printed edition of the Zafar Nāmah, Vol. 1, p. 60: In narrating the history of Bābar and Humāyūn (Fol. 236a—283b) the author frequently quotes the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī, or the Memoirs of Bābar as his source; while for the account of Sultān Husayn Mirzā (A. H. 873-911—A. D. 1468-1505) and the short sketches of all the famous men of his Court, he relies exclusively on the said work. In fact, he openly admits that his account of Sultān Husayn Mirzā is nothing more than a literal translation of the Turki original of Bābar's Memoirs.

حضرت فردوس مکانی چند کلمه از احوال ارد در راقعات خود
بقلم آورده اند که ترجمه آن عبارت که بزبان ترکیست لفظ بلفظ
همین است ر بی هیچ گونه تغیر و تبدیل نوشته می شود *

The history of the reign of Akbar (Fol. 295b—388b) is treated more fully than that of any other king. The author was an eye-witness of most of the events which he narrates year by year, bringing down the history (according to Shāh Jahān's note) to the 22nd year of the Emperor's reign. While giving a short geographical account of Hindūstān (Fol. 264a), the author tells us that he will describe the country at length after finishing the history.

که شرح آن انشاءالله بعد از اتمام کتاب مرقوم خواهد شد*

It is quite probable that the author did not live to carry out his plan, but died shortly after bringing the history down to the 22nd year of Akbar's reign.

Leaving aside other questions connected with this MS., I wish here to dwell upon its illuminations, all of that delicate and highly finished style that reached so marvellous a development in India under the patronage of the greatest of the Moghal emperors. It contains 112 large miniatures, some of which cover two opposite pages. Some paintings run over the side margins. Unfortunately the names of most of the artists, which were

given at the bottom of each picture, have been cut off—thanks to the ruthless folly of the binder. Those that are legible read thus :—

(1) Daswant, (2) Kesū, (3) Basāwan, (4) Mādhū, (5) Lāl, (6) Makund, (7) Khīm, (8) Jagnāth, (9) Sānolah, (10) Rām [Das], (11) Sarūn, (12) Nanhā, (13) Tulsī, (14) Nand Gwaliari, (15) Dhannū, (16) Bhaur (and also Bhaurah), (17) Anant, (18) Sāhū, (19) Sūraj, (20) Deo, (21) Dharam Dās, (22) Gang Singh, (23) Jag Jīwan, (24) Asī, (25) Muhammad Kashmīrī, (26) Haydar Kashmīrī (27) Kamāl Kashmīrī, (28) Mukhlis, (29) Farrukh, (30) Miskīn, (31) Alī, son of Mukhlis, and several others. The first ten and the last three are mentioned by Abul Fazl in his list of the seventeen artists of Akbar's Court. Nos. 11—13 are noticed by Vincent A. Smith. In many instances we find two artists bearing the same name. In such cases they are distinguished by the words *Kalān* (the elder) and *Khurd* (the younger), e.g. Tulsī, *Kalān*—Tulsī *Khurd*, Mādhū *Kalān*—Mādhū *Khurd*, Banwālī *Kalān*—Banwālī *Khurd*, and some others who are similarly duplicated in the signatures. Sometimes one illustration bears the signatures of two artists with the words *Tarah* (drawing) prefixed to the name of one and *Amāl* also *Rang Amīzī* (colouring) by the other, meaning that the drawing is by one artist and the painting by another; while in rare cases, we find three artists collaborating in one picture—the drawing by one, the painting by another and the faces (*chihrah*) by a third. E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 196, gives us to understand that this division of labour was possibly introduced by Akbar, but that it was not apparently long continued by the Moghal artists. He observes :—“There had been for many centuries in China and Japan a real division in art practice between outline-work and painting; but to employ an outline artist and a painter to work together on the same picture seems to have been an innovation.”

Among the many Persian manuscripts ornamented with pictures for Akbar, Abul Fazl mentions the following nine :—

- “ (1) *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza*, or the story of Amir Hamza, was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. (2) *The Chingiz Nāmah*, (3) *The Zafar Nāmah*, (4) This book, i.e., the *Akbar Nāmah*, (5) *The Razm Nāmah* or the *Mahā Bhārat*, (6) *The Rāmāin*, (7) *The Nal Daman*, (8) *The Kalilah Dimnah*, and (9) *The 'Ayār Dānish'*”. These are all known to us except No. 2, *Chingiz Nāmah*. Though many works dealing with the Chingiz-i-dynasty have come down to us, none bears that name, nor, for that matter, would their incidental treatment of the subject entitle them to it. Now, having regard to these facts, viz.—(1) that *Shāh Jahān* expressly says that this history was composed during Akbar's reign—this statement being fully supported by the fact that the author always speaks of this emperor in the present tense ; (2) that, so far as we know, no other history dealing exclusively and fully with the Chingizi kings, thereby establishing a peculiar claim to the title “ *Chingiz Nāmah* ”, was composed during Akbar's reign ; (3) that the MS. was illustrated by the Court artists of Akbar ; (4) that no copy of Abul Fazl's illustrated “ *Chingiz Nāmah* ” has hitherto been traced, it may be hazarded as a conjecture that our MS. is the very work and the very copy mentioned by Abul Fazl.

The scanty time at my disposal does not permit me to describe in detail all the illustrations of this MS., but some of them, which seemed to me to be the most interesting, deserve more than a passing notice. Of the seven photographic reproductions given below, the first, taken from a copy of the *Shāh Nāmah* in this library, represents the painting of the Persian School, and the last, taken from the *Padishāh Nāmah* of the library, is a fine specimen of the Indian style of painting of the later Moghal

period. The remaining five, taken from the MS. under notice, show the masterly workmanship of Akbar's painters.

Illustrations.

- I.—Timūr as a child playing with his younger comrades and assuming the rôle of a king, Fol. 1b.
- II.—Peace between Timūr and Amīr Husayn; they are embracing each other at Qundaz, Fol. 7b.
- III.—Timūr's campaign against Shāh Mansūr, in which the latter is killed. Mirzā Shāh Rukh, then seventeen years old, joins Timūr, Fols. 53b-54a.
- IV.—The death of Prince Umar Shaykh (wounded in the neck) from an arrow shot at a venture from a fort (A. H. 796—A. D. 1394)

Fol. 50b.

و آنحضرت بر بالائے بلندی که نزدیک قلعه برد بے التفاتانه
بر آمد و بخت برگشته ندانسته از بالائے قلعه تیرے بزیر
انداخت و بر شرک شاهزاده رسید در ساعت جان بجان
آفرین تسلیم نمود *

- V.—Timūr's campaign against the fort of Aunak (اوناک) and its conquest on Fol. 63b.
- VI.—Timūr's campaign against Baghdad (A. H. 803—A. D. 1400), he takes his position on the bridge. Faraj, the governor of Baghdād, and his daughter try to escape in a boat, but being charged by Timūr's archers, throw themselves into the water and are drowned. By Timūr's order the boatmen bring out the dead body of Faraj. Timūr then ordered the town to be sacked on Fols. 103b-104a.
- VII.—Timūr's mourning for the death of the Prince Muhammad Sultān, the appearance of whose two sons at that time doubles his affliction on Fol. 118a.
- VIII.—Timūr orders preparations to be made for the marriage of Princes Mirzā Ulugh Beg, Ibrāhim Sultān, Jahān-gīr, Baiqara and others. Four royal camps are pitched at Samarqand. Amīrzādah Pīr Muhammad comes from

Ghaznin and Timūr receives him with great affection.

The chief ambassador of Egypt ملكى برقا presents a giraffe زنبب to Timūr on Fols. 131b.-132a.

IX.—Death of Timūr on Fol. 134a.

X.—Installation of Mirzā Khalīl on the throne of Samarqand on Fol. 136b.

XI.—Mirzā Shāh Rukh ascends the throne of Khurāsān on Fol. 138b.

XII.—Mirzā Badī-uz-Zamān comes to beg pardon of his father Sultān Husayn (A. H. 910—A. D. 1504), and is received with honour. Muzaḡḡar Husayn Mirzā (the younger brother of Badī-uz-Zamān) and his mother come also to receive the prince. The father forgives his son and embraces him, on Fol. 232a.

XIII.—Bābar's campaign against Samarqand on Fols. 246b and 248a.

XIV.—Bābar's rejoicings at the birth of Humāyūn. He gives a grand feast to his chiefs and nobles on Fol. 254a.

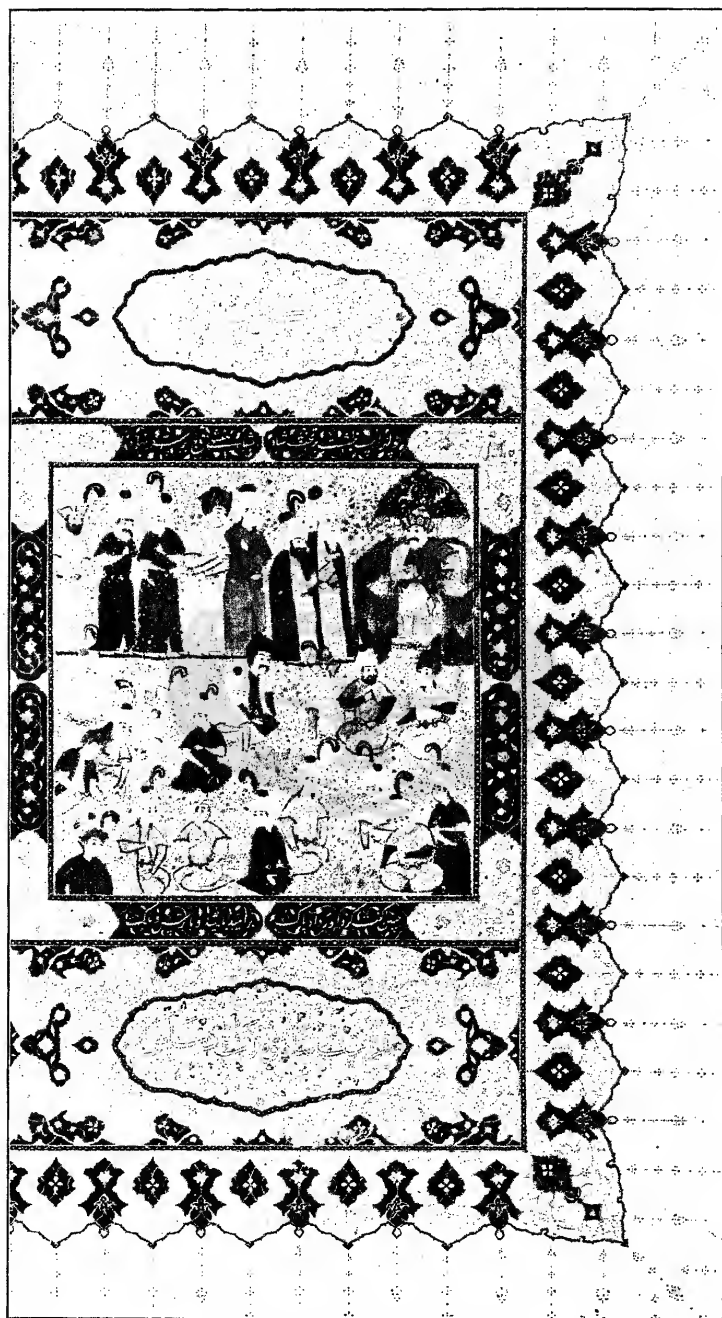
XV.—Humāyūn's accession to the throne on Fol. 273b.

XVI.—Campaign of Humāyūn against the citadel of Champanere (A. H. 941—A. D. 1534). After fixing steel spikes in the scarp of the rock, Humāyūn ascends the fort at night; at first with Bairām Khān and thirty-nine other officers, and before sunrise brings his whole detachment within the walls. The Emperor at the head of his detachment, calling out "Allāh-u-Akbar", forces his way, sword in hand, through the enemy and makes himself master of one of the gates, through which he admits his troops. The garrison is put to the sword on Fol. 277b.

XVII.—Birth of Akbar; Humāyūn's wife, Hamīdah Bānū Begum, gives birth to Akbar in the castle of Amarkot (5th of Rajab A. H. 949—15th October, A. D. 1542); though some are of opinion that he was born in a field about a mile from the fort. His mother, dressed in a

green robe, is lying exhausted on a couch, and the baby Akbar is seen in the arms of a nurse with a high conical Tartar cap, who is taking affectionate care of it. There is general rejoicing in the harem, and the women are seen in exultation over the birth. A stout man is emerging from the fort, and a woman is telling an astrologer the circumstances of Akbar's birth. In the lower part of the illustration, there is a picture of Tardi Beg Khān bringing the news to Humāyūn, who is encamped about fifteen *kos* from Amarkot (Fol. 284a). H. Beveridge in his notes on Persian manuscripts in Indian Libraries published in the J. R. A. S., 1901, pages 69—85, while noticing some of the interesting Persian MSS. in this library, attaches the greatest importance to this MS., and particularly to this very illustration, which he says "is a very striking picture of the birth of Akbar". He informs us in a foot-note that some of the illustrations in this manuscript were photographed for him by Mr. Bourdillon, I.C.S., among which that of Akbar's birth was "so interesting that it might have perhaps been published, though it only gave a faint idea". He also tells us that a notice of this manuscript will be found in Eastwick's *Hand-book for Bengal* (Murray).

XVIII.—At Thanesar on his way to Agra, Akbar learns of a sacred pond on the outskirts of the city, where the Sanyāsis and a very large number of Hindus assemble to bathe at the time of the sun's eclipse. The Emperor on hearing that the Sanyāsis have divided into two parties and are about to fight, reaches the place and vainly urges them to refrain. In the midst of the fight Akbar, seeing that one party is getting the worst of it, orders Shamshir Yār Samarqandi to assist them with his followers. Thus strengthened, they are victorious. This took place in A. H. 974—A. D. 1567, Fol. 322a.



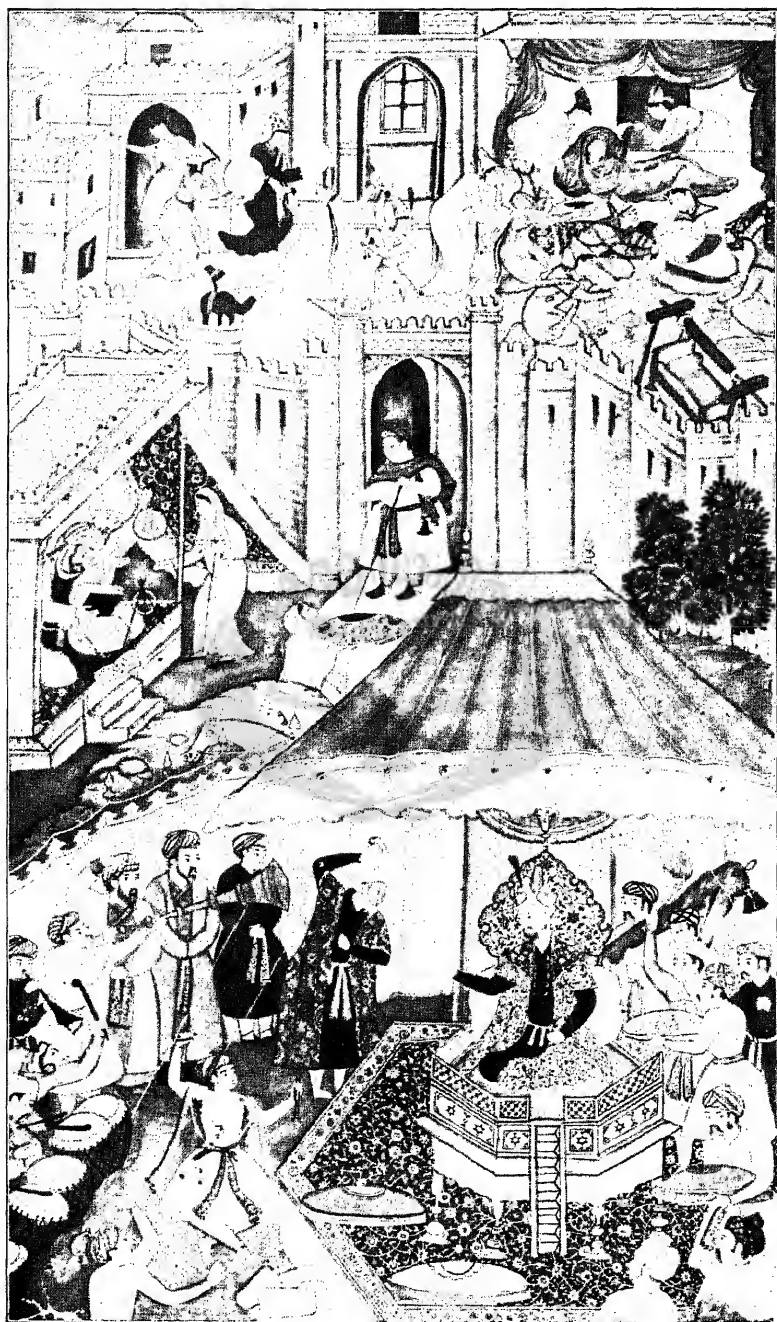
Lahrasp ascends the throne of Persia.



Babar's rejoicings at the birth of Humayun. He gives a grand feast to his chiefs and nobles.



Campaign of Humayun against the citadel of Champanere.



Birth of Akbar.



Akbar's campaign against the fort of Chitor.



Akbar shoots wild asses at Nagore.



Marriage of Shah Jahan, then prince Khurram, with the daughter of Muzaffar Husain Mirza Safawi of Persia.

XIX.—Akbar's campaign against Alī Qulī Khān (A. H. 974—A. D. 1567). He at first rides his favourite elephant called Bālsundar, and Mirzā Aziz Kokā is seated by him; but when the battle grows hot, he alights and mounts a horse. Alī Qulī Khān receives a wound from an arrow, and immediately another arrow strikes his horse. He is thrown, and the elephant named Narsingh comes up and crushes him under foot. Arzāni, the Wakīl of Alī Qulī Khān, recognizes his master's head, and after showing it to the Emperor throws it at his feet on Fol. 323b.

XX.—Akbar's campaign against the fort of Chitor (A. H. 975—A. D. 1568). It is night, and Akbar is standing in a shelter erected for him on the Sābāt. He has a musket in his hand. The face of Jaimal, the chief of the fort, being discernible by the light, cast by the fire of the guns and muskets, Akbar takes aim and shoots him. Jaimal falls from the fort, and the enemy, becoming disheartened, give up the contest. The Emperor returns victorious next morning, Fol. 326b.

XXI.—In A. H. 978—A. D. 1571, on his way from Nāgor to the sacred tomb of Shaykh Farīd Shakarganj, Akbar catches sight of a large flock of wild asses. He pursues these on foot into the jungle and shoots sixteen, Fol. 331a.

Marriage of Shāh Jahān, then Prince Khurram, at the age of twenty, with the daughter of Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā Safawī of Persia. Prince Khurram, Jahāngīr and a royal lady (most probably Nūr Jahān Begum) are seated in one row on the right side. On the opposite side are the bride and another royal lady (from the Pādishāh Nāmāh, Fol. 30b).

IV.—Ho Riddles.¹

By Sukumar Haldar, B.A.

1. The tree bears fruit one at a time but the fruits ripen all at once.

Answer.—Pottery.

2. The dance of white herons in a ruined homestead.²

Answer.—Indian-corn (*gangai*) when fried in a frying-pan (a piece of potsherd being used as such).

3. It is a thing the upper part of which is straight and the lower crooked.

Answer.—A spade.

4. A handful of fried Indian-corn (*gangai*) is scattered broadcast in space.

Answer.—The stars.

5. It bears a curved scimitar in every finger.

Answer.—A crab.

6. It leaves the village in silence, but on arrival in the jungle it makes a deafening noise.

Answer.—An axe.

7. There is black paddy growing in a white field.

Answer.—Writing in black on white paper.

8. In the morning it walks on all fours, at noon on two feet, and in the evening on three.

Answer.—The three stages of man's life (infancy, manhood, and senility).

9. In a room there were only white kine; in the morning they came out in different colours.

Answer.—Eggs.

¹ The Ho name for riddles is *Kudmu* or *Chapkad*, the latter being an inflexion of *Chakad*, false or untrue.

² Another version substitutes a hollow trunk of a tree for a ruined homestead.

10. Instead of the cooking-pot it is the cover outside that looks black.

Answer.—A cashew apple (*anacardium occidentale*).

11. You cannot swallow the pot-herb cooked by your grandmother.

Answer.—The hair of the head (when dressed).

12. The white stones which slip straight in.

Answer.—Cooked rice.

13. There in that field the two things will jostle each other with a rustling sound.

Answer.—A pair of pestles (*tuku*) used in threshing paddy.

14. There is one who has got three breasts which feed the world.

Answer.—A triangular bamboo sieve (*chala*) used in straining rice-beer.

15. There is a dead fellow who eats live fishes.

Answer.—A bamboo fish-trap (*kumbad*).

16. There is one who eats and disgorges his food at the same time.

Answer.—A cotton-cleaning wheel.

17. There is a house all the cattle wherein have curved horns.

Answer.—A tamarind tree.

18. If you want to take the young ones you will have the mother to lay hold of you.

Answer.—A jujube tree (which must be shaken for the fruits).

19. The mother stands still while her children go flying all over the country with white turbans.

Answer.—The cotton-tree.

20. It eats and relieves itself day and night for two months and then for six months it buries itself in its hiding-place.

Answer.—The silkworm.

21. The mother brings forth offspring to the number of ten or fifteen within five or six months; she holds them all in her lap while the young ones themselves cling to each other.

Answer.—The arum roots.

22. It comes of age in three months and brings forth two or three children at a time and holds them in its lap well covered with several folds of cloth.

Answer.—Indian-corn.

23. Born in the depths of night, it quits its birthplace at cock-crow.

Answer.—The Mahuā flower.

24. The mother attains full development in about two months and has curly locks. She gives birth to 50 or 60 young ones and these are green or black when immature and change colour when they grow up, and if you rub them with your fingers they will quarrel with you.

Answer.—The *capsicum* or chilli plant.

25. There is a little girl who manufactures many sitting stools (*gāṇḍu*).

Answer.—A crab which makes little earthen platforms resembling stools.

26. There is a fellow whose daily habit is to taste blood every morning.

Answer.—A goad, used in driving plough-cattle.

27. There is an urchin who runs right round a little hillock.

Answer.—A razor.

28. The mother stands still while her children giggle.

Answer.—A tree called *sekrā-dāru* the leaves of which seem to smile.

29. As long as it lives it carries its own body about ; when it dies it casts off the body.

Answer.—A snail.

30. There is one who keeps vigil all night.

Answer.—A star.

31. There is a tank with two landings (*ghāts*) guarded by two sentries. Anyone who goes to the tank to drink must first fight and overcome the sentries.

Answer.—The breasts (of a woman).

V.—Ho Auguries.

By Sukumar Haldar, B.A.

I.—OMENS.

Matrimonial Omens.—When a party of the relatives and friends of a bachelor sets out on a journey with the object of arranging a marriage for him, the members are on the look-out for omens. Amongst the evil auguries are the following:—

If a branch of a tree suddenly snaps and drops on the ground without any apparent cause on the right-hand side of the party it augurs ill for the bridegroom. Should the branch fall on the left-hand side it augurs ill for the bride.

If a jackal or a solitary vulture, or chameleon (*ka-karamba*) or a dung-beetle or a flight of bees crosses the path in front of the party from left to right it spells ill for the bridegroom; but if the jackal or vulture, etc., crosses from right to left it forebodes bad luck for the bride.

Should a single vulture fly across from left to right it bodes ill for the bridegroom; but if it fly across from right to left it would be a good omen.

Agricultural Omens.—If a cultivator who is going to plough his field sees a snake entering a hole he may expect a bad harvest. If, when he is going to transplant his paddy or to do any other work in connection with standing crops, he happens to see a Dhōṛā snake with its head upraised, he may count upon a bumper crop. But if the snake merely shows its head and then withdraws into the hole, it would mean that the paddy will promise well but would fail in the end.

If a cultivator on his way to his field sees a dog in the act of defecating he regards it as a good augury.

If he sees a beetle rolling a ball of cowdung across his path he will look forward to a bumper crop; but if the ball consist of human excrement it is a bad omen for his crop.

If he sees a large mouse (*gudū*) or a small field mouse (*chutu*) when he is going to sow paddy-seeds he regards it as an evil omen.

Domestic Superstitions.—The sight of a musk-rat (*chundi*) portends a visit of an evil spirit called Churdu Bōngā which, while increasing one's material property, is fatal to his progeny.

The sight of a centipede is a good omen.

II.—DREAMS.

If you dream of tigers you will have the pleasure of beholding royalty or some eminent personage.

If you dream of drinking liquor, or of eating chillies, or of being stung by a wasp, you will surely come in for abuse.

If you dream of a royal elephant-procession you may expect a plentiful paddy harvest.

If you dream of a tent being pitched on your land, it will receive a good shower of rain.

If you dream of a *nāgārā* drum being beaten, there will be thunder.

If you dream of fighting or slaughter, there will be flashes of lightning.

If you dream of preparing and drinking *haṇḍia* (rice-beer), there will be rain.

If you dream of cutting thatching-grass or *sābāi* grass, it portends famine.

If you dream that you are dying, or that your teeth are falling out, be sure that you will not die soon and that your life will be prolonged.

If you dream of catching white fish, you will come into possession of money.

If you dream of catching *Boara* or *Garai* fish, some male person will die.

If you dream of catching *Mirig*, *Rohu*, *Pothi* or *Katla* fish, some female will die.

If you dream of ploughing, you will be stung by a scorpion.

If you dream of eating *Dumar*, *Bar* or *Pipal* fruit, you will get meat to eat.

If you dream of anointing yourself with oil, you will be afflicted with sores, or you will be liable to hæmorrhage.

If you dream of eating rice, you may expect to tread on night-soil.

If you dream of flying white-ants, there will be a death in the house and many people will come in to condole with you.

If you dream of riding an elephant, there will be a plentiful paddy harvest.

The burning of a house in one's dream portends illness.

If you dream of wearing a yellow cloth, you will fall ill.

If you dream of tending cattle, there will be a good out-turn of *Tasar* cocoons.

If you dream of a big serpent, you will receive a visit from some eminent person.



MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—An Oriyā Inscription from Konāraka, Puri.

By Rai Monmohan Chakravarti Bahadur, M. A., B. L.,
F.A.S.B., M.R.A.S.

This short inscription I edit from an inked estampage. The estampage was taken by the late lamented Babu Purna Chandra Mukherjea, and was taken by him, according to his note, from a stone in the sun-temple at Konāraka, Puri.

The inscription, $15'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$, is in two lines. Its letters are Oriyā, legible and large in size, some letters being as big as $1'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$. They differ considerably from modern types, e.g., letters da, pa, bha, ka, ra, a, ba, la, na, e, i. The main difference lies in the omission of initial and final loops. The letter e approaches the Bengali type; and several letters, pa, ka, ba, and na, the Sanskrit type. The inscription is as follows:—

Line 1—Sri-dapa-bhaṇḍāra-adhikāri Bāliki Nāekā. Bhaṇḍāra-Nāekā.

Line 2—(Symbols) Um Anārṇṇu Nāekā. Koṣṭhakarāṇa Aṅgāi Nāekā || ||

TRANSLATION.

The officer in charge of Dapa (?) stores, Bāliki (Bālunki) Nāyaka. The head of (general) stores Anārṇṇu Nāyaka. The accountant Aṅgāi Nāyaka.

The inscription purports to record the names of three officers, who were presumably concerned either in the construction of or in some repairs to the temple. No dates are recorded. The time of the inscription can therefore be deduced from general considerations only.

Firstly, the inscription should be earlier than 1627-8 A. D. when the sun-temple was reported to have been abandoned and a measurement of its parts was taken by order of the king

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Mukunda Deb.¹ Next, it cannot be older than the time of the king Nṛsiṃhadeva I, who built the sun-temple. This Nṛsiṃhadeva I ruled from 1238 to 1264 A. D.² Therefore the time of the present inscription falls between 1260 and 1600 A. D.

Epigraphically, the letters of the present inscription appear to be more archaic than those of the Oṛiyā copper-plate inscription of the king Puruṣottama Deva. The letters of the latter, *sic*, pa, a, ba, ra, ka, appear to be more looped, and thus approach the modern types nearer. Consequently the present inscription is older than the time of Puruṣottama Deva of the Sun dynasty, 1469—1496 A. D.³

It is not unlikely that the names were recorded at the time of building the sun-temple at Koṇāraka and would then be placed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. In that case the inscription would be the oldest Oṛiyā record as yet brought to light.

¹ See the *Mādalā Panji*, quoted in my paper "On Certain Unpublished Drawings of Antiquities in Orissa and Northern Circars," J. A. S. B., 1908, pp. 302, 322.

² "Inscription of Nṛsiṃha Deva II," J. A. S. B., 1896, page 251; "Two copper-plate inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha Deva IV," J. A. S. B., 1895, page 144; and my paper on "The Eastern Gaṅgā kings of Orissa," J. A. S. B., 1903, pp. 120, 124.

³ For the copper-plate inscription in Oṛiyā, see the *Indian Antiquary*, I, page 355 and plate. For the time of Puruṣottama Deva, see my paper, J. A. S. B., 1899.

II.—The “ Baitarani ” River.

By L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, B.A., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Baitaranī river rises in the Keonjhar State in the lofty hills which form the highlands of the Keonjhar and Bonai States and flows into the Bay of Bengal. These highlands are inhabited by the wild tribe of Bhuiyas. The Baitaranī river has been bridged between Jaintgarh in the Singhbhum district and Champua in the Keonjhar State. The bridge consists of two portions, one a spill bridge of 30 spans built of stone, the other a large girder bridge of two spans each of 200 feet. The bridge forms one of the links in the direct line of communication between Gayā and Vyās Sarovar on the East Coast Railway. This bridge was opened by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissā on 6th March, and a brief account of the traditions connected with the name of this river as given to me by Babu Nilmoni De, Assistant Superintendent of the Keonjhar State, may be of interest to the readers of this journal.

The Baitaranī is regarded apparently by Hindus in the same way as the river Styx was regarded by the ancient Greeks. The tradition is that it is a river of warm blood which flows at the gateway of death in the nether world. The dead have to cross this river ‘ Bi-taranī ’ (ବିତରଣି) without the help of a boat, and they do so by holding the tail of a black cow, which is the last death-bed gift of a Hindu : should death, however, occur without this gift it is offered to him at his ‘ Śrādh ’ to enable him to cross the river. The Sanskrit text is as follows :—

Yama-dwāre Mahā-ghōrē taptā Baitaranī nadī.

Tamcha tartum dadamyēnām Krishnām Batrānincha yām.

Literally, therefore, the word Baitaranī means “ what is crossed by *bitarn* or *dām* and not by boat ”. There is a legendary

account connected with the river Baitaranī as it flows through Orissā. The Ganges, it is said, with a view to please the gods and notably Brahmā, appeared at the foot of a hill, where she is known to this day as Gupta Gangā. The Gangā was, however, impeded in her flow by the Mlechhas, who killed a cow and threw it into the stream. The god Brahmā then performed a sacrifice and the sacred stream began to flow through the nostrils of the cow, i.e., *Gonāsika*. It was through this connection with the Paurānic cow that the stream received the name Baitaranī. To this day will be found the temple of Brahmeswar at Gonāsika in the Keonjhar hills where the river rises and the shrine of Yama, by which it flows at Jāipur in the Cuttack district.



III.—Copper-plate Grant of Jeypore.

Reviewing an article on "A Copper-plate grant of Jeypore" contributed to the journal of the Bihar and Orissā Research Society for December 1916, a correspondent of the *Aśha* (Berhampore) remarks :—

"The learned writer has not, with his long research work, been able to identify the tract of country referred to in the plate as Nandapur. He says that his inquiry in the matter has been fruitless. The inquiry must certainly have been of a very superficial nature. A writer in the *Aśha*, dated 13th March 1917, says that Nandapur mentioned in the copper-plate of Ramachandra Deva, which was described in the December number of the Journal (page 437), was the former name of the present Jeypore Estate in the district of Vizagapatam (Madras Presidency). Sri Ramachandra Deva was the Maharaja of Nandapur or Jeypore from 1779 to 1825 A. D. The present Maharaja of Jeypore is the great grandson of the grantor".

IV.—The Nāik Caste.

By Parmeshwar Lall, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

One cannot say what happens in the particular village mentioned by Mr. T. S. Macpherson in his note on the Nāik Caste. It may be true there, that those who adopt the "profession" become Muhammadans. But the caste exists all over Bihār and in the neighbouring districts of the United Provinces, probably also elsewhere. The caste is divided into two sub-castes, Gandharpa and Rāmjani. The Gandharpas form a sort of aristocracy. Those who adopt the "profession" do not become Musalmans. Some may do so, but the bulk of them remain Hindus and follow the Hindu religion, its festivals and practices. The "profession" does not mean prostitution as Mr. Macpherson implies. Music and dancing is the ostensible means of livelihood. The "cognate purposes" are not absent, but a strict line of etiquette or ethics has to be followed and is enforced in the usual Hindu way—by expulsion from the caste. The "cognate purpose" is allowed only with the men of the higher castes of the Hindus. With non-Hindus and with Hindus of the lower castes it is forbidden. Another rule of the caste with regard to the "cognate purpose" is that there should be only one man for one night. Readers of the Hindi *Bhaktmāla* will recall instances of this in old times.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Commissioner's House, Bankipore, on Sunday, 18th February 1917.

PRESENT :

1. Principal V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.
2. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-law.
3. Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., M.R.A.S.

Note.—There was no quorum, but in view of the fact that the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham, the Vice-President, had seen the records, it was resolved to proceed with the more urgent items of business.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
2. The draft annual report was passed and the Joint Secretary was instructed to send the draft to the Government Press and to arrange for printing 200 copies of it.
3. Pending applications for membership were considered, and eight ordinary members were duly elected. Their names are noted below :—

- (1) J. E. Scott, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., Superintendent, Mayurbhanj State, P. O. Baripada (Mayurbhanj).
- (2) Dr. K. S. Caldwell, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D., F.I.C., F.C.S., Professor, Patna College, Patna.
- (3) Rev. Mr. G. J. Dann, Baptist Missionary, Patna.
- (4) Babu Girindra Nath Sarkar, B.A., Prob. Sub-Deputy Collector, Chaibassa.
- (5) The Venerable Walter K. Firminger, M.A., B.D., Arch-deacon of Calcutta.

- (6) R. L. Ross, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Patna.
- (7) Hon'ble Mr. M. Haque, Bar.-at-law, Patna.
- (8) Babu Brindaban Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A., Professor, Muir Central College, 6, George Town, Allahabad (U. P.).

The consideration of the other items was postponed.



II.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Government House, Patna, on the 24th February 1917.

PRESENT :

1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S., Vice-President, *in the chair*.
2. Principal V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.
3. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.
4. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-law.
5. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.
6. Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar, B.A., M.R.A.S.
7. Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

(1) The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
(2) Pending applications for membership were considered, and six ordinary members were duly elected. Their names are noted below :—

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. P. Chapman, I.C.S., Judge of the Patna High Court, Patna.
- (2) W. S. Coutts, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Registrar of the Patna High Court, Patna.
- (3) J. F. Gruning, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Patna (Patna).
- (4) Dr. Syed Riaz Haidar, Warsi Medical Hall, Gaya.
- (5) Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of the Hindu University, Benares City (U. P.).
- (6) Babu Kaliprasad Sinha, Chapra.

3. Resolved, that the Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham's resignation of the office of Vice-President be accepted and the Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., be elected Vice-President.

4. Resolved, that the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh be asked to accept the Secretaryship of the Archæological Section.

5. Resolved, that the Council are of opinion that a whole-time clerk is essential, and Mr. Sinha be consulted with a view to arranging details.

6. The Council unanimously passed a special vote of thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham for the very valuable services rendered by him to the Society as its Vice-President.

[We have been requested by the Hyderabad Archæological Society to publish the following notice for general information.—EDITOR.]

Pinhey Memorial Medal.

The Hyderabad Archæological Society, on the 21st April 1916, decided that a Gold Medal be instituted to commemorate the memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Founder and first President of the Society.

REGULATIONS.

(1) The "Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal" shall be awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan Archæology or History, in accordance with the subjoined conditions.

(2) The competition shall be open to scholars in any part of the world.

(3) Competitors shall submit a thesis on any subject chosen by themselves relating to Deccan Archæology or History. The thesis should be an unpublished work, or, if published, it should not have been published more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal.

(4) Thesis for the first competition will be received up to the end of October 1918, and subsequently in the October of every third year, i.e., in October 1921, 1924, and so on.

(5) If the selected thesis is an unpublished work, the Society, at the recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the Society's *Journal*.

(6) If in the opinion of the Council none of the thesis submitted in any year are of special value, the Medal shall not be awarded in that year.

(7) If thesis is written in any language other than English, the competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof.



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[PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Hiuen Tsang's Route in South Bihar : An identification of the Buddha- vana Mountain and a discussion of the most probable site of the Kukkutapadagiri.

By V. H. Jackson, M.A.

The Eighth Book of Hiuen Tsang's Records of the Western World, which contains the first part of his account of the country of Magadha, concludes with a long and detailed account of Bodh Gayā. The Ninth Book opens with a description of the places of interest to Buddhist pilgrims in South Bihar, starting from Bodh Gayā and reaching Kusāgārapura or Old Rājagriha. About this part of the itinerary there are difficulties which have been much debated by archaeologists, but not yet finally settled. From Bodh Gayā itself, across the Nairanjana (Nīlājan) river to Bakraur and thence to the east bank of the Mahi (Mohāna) river, the route is clear enough. Later on, the Yashtivana, or "forest of the staff," was reached, in the midst of which was a stupa built by Asoka, and in which the "exceedingly simple-minded and moderate" Jayasena read with his pupils, and

"amused himself amid the forests and hills, dwelling in a sort of fairyland, whilst his mind wandered amid the limits of truth".¹ This must undoubtedly have been, as General Cunningham first suggested,² somewhere in the neighbourhood of the modern village of Jethian, in the valley between the parallel ranges of hills which run up with scarcely a break to Rājgir and terminate at Giriak. This is clear from the fact that the "two warm springs" in which the water was "very hot", which can only be the well-known hot springs at Tapoban, were, according to Hiuen Tsang, "south-west of the Yashtivana about ten li (two miles) or so, on the south side of a great mountain". Moreover, Sir Aurel Stein, the only archæologist who has published a detailed account of Jethian and its neighbourhood, has drawn attention to the fact that the name Yashtivana itself still survives as Jeshtāban, "a small undulating plateau, partly grassy, partly covered with low jungle, at the west foot of the hill which is the last offshoot of the Handia ridge in this direction".³ I hope to be able to discuss Stein's identification of this site, and of the others mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as far as Old Rājagriha, in a future paper dealing with the antiquities of Jethian and its neighbourhood. All that need be said at present is that the Yashtivana must have been either on this site, an ancient settlement about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east of the village of Jethian, said by the villagers to have been the residence of a Raja of Bhaluahi, or between this site and Jethian itself.

UNSOLVED PROBLEMS—KUKKUTAPADAGIRI, BUDDHAVANA.

Before arriving at the Ya-htivana, however, Hiuen Tsang describes two hills, neither of which has as yet been conclusively identified. These are the Kukkutapādagiri, or Cock's-foot Mountain, also called Guru-pādāh, and the Buddhavana Mountain. Dr. D. B. Spooner has kindly supplied me with the following strictly literal translations of the data given by Hiuen

Beal's translation, Vol. II, page 146.

² Arch. Survey Reports, 1871-72, Vol. III, page 139, 1873.

³ Stein, Tour in South Bihār and Hazāribāgh; Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, page 62, February 1901.

Tsang for ascertaining the position of these hills, and has drawn attention to the fact that there is no important variation in these data in any of the numerous Chinese manuscripts which have been collated in the preparation of the standard text of the Si-yu-ki:—

- (1) "Mahi river east enter large forest wild, go hundred and more li, reach Cock-foot mountain,"
- (2) "Cock-foot mountain east north go hundred and more li, reach Buddhavana mountain,"
- (3) "Buddhavana mountain empty valleys midst east go three tens and more li, reach Yashti-grove."

The attention of archæologists has been hitherto mainly directed to the fascinating problem involved in the determination of the true site of the Kukkutapādagiri. This is only natural, because not only are its position and physical features described with apparently considerable definiteness, but also because the great Kāśyapa, the president of the First Council held after Buddha's death at the Sattapanni stone house near Rājgir, is associated by Hiuén Tsang with this hill, and with the remarkable legend that he still lies covered over by the three peaks which "rise up into the air".⁴

"In future ages, when Maitreya shall have come and declared the threefold law, finding the countless persons opposed to him by pride, he will lead them to this mountain, and coming to the place where Kāśyapa is, in a moment Maitreya will cause it to open of itself, and all those people having seen Kāśyapa, will only be more proud and obstinate. Then Kāśyapa, delivering the robe, and having paid profound reverence, will ascend into the air and exhibit all sorts of spiritual changes, emitting fire and vapour from his body. Then he will enter Nirvāṇa. At this time the people, witnessing these miracles, will dismiss their pride, and opening their minds, will obtain the fruit (*of holiness*). Now, therefore on the top of the mountain is a stupa built. On quiet evenings those looking from a distance see sometimes

⁴ Beal, Vol. II, page 144.

a bright light as it were of a torch ; but if they ascend the mountain there is nothing to be observed ”

KUKKUTAPADAGIRI EITHER SÖBHATH OR GURPĀ.

Of the three different sites which have been suggested as a possible site of the Kukkutapadagiri the earliest, namely, General Cunningham's identification with the low Pathraura ridge about a mile N.N.E. of the large village of Kurkihar, ⁵ must be dismissed as impossible, as Stein has already remarked. There remain therefore Stein's own identification with the Söbhnāth Hill about four miles S.S.W. of Wazirganj, ⁶ and Babu Sri Gopāl Bose's identification with the Gulpā Hill, about a mile south of the station of that name on the Grand Chord Railway, which was supported by Babu Rakhal Das Banerji and Dr. Bloch. ⁷ The arguments for and against these sites have been summed up with much fairness by A. W. Keith, ⁸ who after careful inspection of both hills came to the conclusion that “Söbhnāth and not Gulpā was the site shown to Hiuen Tsang”, although it was “quite possible that in late Buddhist time Gulpā may have been a rival site, shown to pilgrims, among others Ma Tuan-li, ⁹ as the resting-place of Kāsyapa”. In coming to this conclusion, however, Keith appears to have been much impressed by the fact that all the Buddhist remains, etc., at Gulpā, were small and portable :—

“The inscriptions at Gulpā are all on pieces of stone easily carried. None have been found cut on the rock itself, so they are useless in indicating the age of Gulpā as a sacred place. The bricks and stones of the two shrines (on the summit of the hill)

⁵ Archaeological Survey Reports, 1861-62, Vol. I, pages 15-16 ; and 1879-80, Vol. XV, pages 4-6.

⁶ Stein, loc. cit., pages 86-89.

⁷ An account of the Gulpā Hill, by R. D. Banerji, J. A. S. B., Vol. II, New Series, 1906, pages 77-83.

⁸ Keith : Notes on some Buddhist Remains in Magadha ; Bengal : Past and Present, Vol. VI, July-September 1910, pages 57-68. The reference to Ma Tuan-li is corrected in the next number.

⁹ Watters, Vol. II, page 147.

obviously belonged to some other building, and there are no signs of any stupa ever having existed on the peak itself."

This makes it evident that he did not notice the ruins of a stupa on the peak, to the north-west of the two small shrines which he mentioned, but quite close. The foundations are, as R. D. Banerji says, quite distinct and are composed of large bricks, like the other Buddhist stupas on the hills in the neighbourhood of Jethian which will be described and illustrated in another paper. In this important respect, therefore, the remains on the Gulpā Hill are at least as distinctively Buddhist as those on Sōbhnāth, which as Keith admits may have been "adapted in later years to serve as a Brahmanical temple."

Until quite recently the opinion which I had formed, after independent consideration of the problem for eight years and after several visits to the localities concerned, was that, on the whole the balance of probabilities inclined in favour of the Gulpā Hill. The close correspondence of the remarkable fissures in the rocks, by which alone access to the eastern summit of Gulpā can be obtained, with the passages which Kāsyapa is said to have opened by striking the rocks with his staff in order to enable him to reach the mountain peak, seemed almost decisive, especially because there is nothing remotely resembling these narrow passages on Sōbhnāth. For reasons mentioned later on in this paper, it now seems to me probable that Hiuen Tsang intended to describe Sōbhnāth when he wrote his account of the Kukkutapādagiri. A rival site for this mountain may have existed at Gulpā even in his time, and the confusion thus caused would explain why he seems to have mixed up the characteristic features of Gulpā with his description.

THE DATA FOR THE BUDDHAVANA MOUNTAIN.

The real reason why the opinions of experienced observers differ in this manner in that somewhere or other the bearings and distances between Bodh Gayā and the Yashtivana given by Hiuen Tsang are wrong, and must be modified, and that until a satisfactory site can be proposed for the Buddhavana Mountain

little or no help in the task of discriminating between Sōbhnāth and Gurpā can be obtained by working backwards along his route, from the Yashtivana to the Kukkutapādagiri. A study of the map will show that the Yashtivana is only 30° north-east of Sōbhnāth, and practically due north of Gurpā, while the corresponding distances in a bee-line are about 12½ and 25 miles respectively. How then could the Yashtivana (Jethian) be reached from the Kukkutapādagiri (Sōbhnāth or Gurpā) by going first of all about 20 miles to the north-east and then another six miles or so in an easterly direction? Such a course from either hill must lead a long way to the east of Jethian, and in fact to the south-east of the Bawangunga-Giriak ridge, the most easterly portion of the whole range; and deductions from the distances mentioned, such as "one-fourth required to compensate for the excess measurement on ordinary roads from village to village"¹⁰ would only make matters worse. As it is quite certain from the account given by Hiuen Tsang that the Buddhavana Mountain was somewhere in the Jethian-Rājgir-Giriak range, all that can be inferred is that a pilgrim following Hiuen Tsang's directions from Sōbhnāth would not go so far astray as he would from Gurpā.

I now believe that the Buddhavana Mountain can be satisfactorily identified, and that Hiuen Tsang's account only needs a simple and not unnatural correction in order to clear up all the difficulties. Before discussing this in connexion with previous attempts at identification, his description of this mountain must be quoted in full¹¹ :—

"Going to the north-east of the Cock's-foot Mountain about 100 li, we come to the mountain called Buddhavana, with its peaks and cliffs lofty and precipitous. Among its steep mountain cliffs is a stone chamber where Buddha once descending stayed; by its side is a large stone where Sakra, king of Devas, and Brahma-rājā pounded some ox-head sandal-wood, and anointed Tathāgata with the same. The scent is still to be

¹⁰ Stein, *loc. cit.*, page 89.

¹¹ Beal, Vol. II, page 145.

perceived on the stone. Here also five hundred Arhats secretly dwell in a spiritual manner, and here those who are influenced by religious desire to meet with them sometime see them, on one occasion under the form of Samanēras just entering the village to beg food, at other times as withdrawing (*to their cells*), on some occasions manifesting traces of their spiritual power in ways difficult to describe in detail.

"Going about 80 li to the east, amongst wild valleys of the Buddhavana mountain, we come to the wood called Yashtivana."

It is important to notice that almost immediately afterwards Hiuen Tsang gives a very similar description of another "stone chamber" in the side of a hill¹² :—

"To the north-east of the solitary hill [of the Rishi Vyāsa] there is a small hill, also standing alone. In the side of this hill (*has been excavated*) a stone chamber. In length and breadth it is enough to seat 1,000 persons or so. In this place Tathāgata, when living in the world, repeated the law for three months. Above the stone chamber is a great and remarkable rock, on which Sakra, king of Devas, and Brahma-rājā pounded some *ox-head* sandal-wood, and with the dust sprinkled the body of Tathāgata. The surface of the stone still emits the scent of the perfume."

Now this second stone chamber has already been identified by Stein as the well-known Rājapind cave, high up on the precipitous north face of the hill called Chandu in the Jethian valley, and rather less than two miles north-east of Jethian itself.¹³ Although this hill can hardly be described as "small" and "standing alone" (being in fact a portion of the high and almost level ridge which runs up transversely for several miles to connect with the hill called Chhatagiri which separates this valley from that of Old Rājagriha) Stein's identification is placed beyond all possible doubt by the existence of a road nearly a mile long, which has been constructed to lead with an easy gradient up to the cave from the plain

¹² Beal, Vol. II, page 148.

¹³ Stein, loc. cit., pages 82-83.

below. This road is also described by Hiuen Tsang, and attributed by him to King Bimbisāra of Rājagriha. This being so, it may reasonably be assumed that the "stone chamber" in Buddhavana was also a cave similar to the Rājbind, even if perhaps not so large, and similarly situated amongst "steep mountain cliffs".

BUDDHAVANA NOT BUDHAIN.

The first site for the Buddhavana Mountain was suggested by General Cunningham.¹⁴ Led almost entirely by the resemblance between the names, which is certainly remarkable, he considered that it was Budhain, "one of the stations of the Indian Survey, 28 miles to the north-east of Buddha Gaya and 8 miles to the south-west of Rājagriha".¹⁵ But as he himself indicated in his "Map of Magadha showing the Routes of Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang",¹⁶ Budhain is several miles east or north-east, i.e., on the wrong side of Jethian, and he made no attempt to explain this discrepancy. Since he never visited either Budhain or Jethian, his knowledge of the locality was vague, as his map itself shows. And such evidence as he could collect did not tell in favour of his site—"I could hear nothing . . . of the cave in the northern(?) face of the Buddhavana mountain. There are several holes or recesses on Budhain, but no cavern, either natural or artificial. This may have fallen in".

At the end of the account of Rājagriha in his paper on the Buddhistic Remains of Bihar,¹⁷ Mr. A. M. Broadley mentioned that he had visited "the rugged valley of Jetiban" and the hot springs of Tapoban, and he closed his third paper in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1872 with the words "I propose in the next part to trace the route of Hiuen Tsang amongst the hills and valleys to the west of Rājagriha".¹⁸ He was evidently on the track

¹⁴ Ancient Geography of India, 1871, page 461.

¹⁵ Archaeological Survey Reports, 1871-72, Vol. III, page 139, 1873.

¹⁶ Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. III, Plate XL.

¹⁷ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLI, Part I, 1872, page 250.

¹⁸ Indian Antiquary, Vol. I., April 1872, page 110.

followed twenty-seven years later by Sir Aurel Stein, but unfortunately the further instalment of his explorations which he promised did not make its appearance, and he seems to have left nothing on record.

If, in the autumn of the same year, Mr. Beglar had been able to carry out General Cunningham's instructions to explore the valley west of the old city of Rājagriha, he could not have failed to obtain valuable information. But he was deterred by the "pathless jangal" in the valley, and after making two unsuccessful attempts to penetrate it, confined his observations to the top of Baibhārgiri, whence with "a powerful binocular"—a rather unsatisfactory instrument for archæological research at the best of times—he worked out a series of identifications, which are quite erroneous and need not be discussed here.¹⁹

In his Notes on the District of Gaya, published in 1893, Sir George Grierson described several interesting features of the Jethian valley, but he did not criticize Cunningham's identification of the Buddhavana Mountain, owing apparently to a misreading of Hinen Tsang's route, for he says that "after leaving *Yashtivana* he came to the Buddhavana, the modern Budhain, four miles north of Jethian. Thence he descended into the Rājgir valley".²⁰

Thus it was not until October 1899, when Stein made his tour in South Bihār and Hazāribāgh, which remains the standard and almost the only authoritative account of this part of the country, that Cunningham's identification seems to have been seriously questioned. Going on an elephant through the valley south-west of Old Rājagriha, he notes²¹:—

"After a march of close on three hours I reached a rocky ridge which traverses the valley in the direction from north-east to south-west and culminates in the Handia Hill, marked as a Trigonometrical station (elevation 1,472 feet) on the Survey Map. The pass by which I crossed this ridge near its northern

¹⁹ Archæological Survey Reports, 1872-73, Vol. VIII, pages 86-87.

²⁰ Notes on the District of Gaya, page 23.

²¹ Stein, loc. cit, pages 61-62.

end, where it joins the main northern range of the valley, was called Budhain by the Ahirs who accompanied me. This name may possibly apply also to the high rocky eminence of the main range, which rises to the north of the pass. But a glance at the map will show that its *identification with Buddhavana of Hiuen Tsang is manifestly impossible*. The pilgrim tells us that he reached Yashtivana by going to the east, whereas *Jethian and the neighbouring Jeshtiban, which, as we shall see, corresponds undoubtedly to Yashtivana, lie to the south-west of Budhain*''.

Stein thus does not mention what seems to be a conclusive argument against Cunningham's identification. After finishing his description of the neighbourhood of Jethian, and reaching the stone chamber and Bimbisāra road identified with the Rājipind cave, Hiuen Tsang continues: "From this spot, proceeding eastward through the mountains about 60 li, we arrive at the city Kusagārapura . . . High mountains surround it on each side, and form as it were its external walls. *On the west it is approached through a narrow pass*". This is undoubtedly the pass now called Budhain, and it cannot be imagined that a traveller of Hiuen Tsang's calibre would describe the same place twice over, first as the Buddhavana Mountain and last as the neighbourhood of a pass leading away from the locality.

In two minor respects Stein's statement quoted above requires correction. Although, as he says, this pass and the hill to the north of it are called Budhain by the people of the district, the Survey station called Budhain is to the south of the pass, on the transverse hill which they call Chhatagiri. Also, this hill does not culminate in the Handia (Hanria) Hill as he supposed, and as a study of the maps available would indicate. The two are quite distinct, and are separated throughout by a narrow but deep valley choked with dense jungle, which provides an alternative though difficult route from Rajagriha to Jethian.

It is much to be regretted that when the Cadastral Survey of this neighbourhood was carried out in 1907-08 and 1913-15

this range of hills was not resurveyed. In archæological interest and importance these hills can scarcely have their equal in India, but with the exception of the portion between Rājgir and Giriak which was resurveyed by the Archæological Department under Sir John Marshall's orders between 1905 and 1908, they are almost unknown. Though, thanks to the Hon. Mr. Oldham, the form lines of these hills from the old Survey have been inserted in the Standard Sheets, they are hopelessly inaccurate in many respects, and contrast very unfavourably with the new maps of the Kharakpur Hills.

BUDDHAVANA PROBABLY NOT WEST OF JETHIAN.

The identification which Stein himself suggested for the Buddhavana Mountain is as follows ²²:—

"It appears to me highly probable that the Buddhavana mountain, 'with its peaks and cliffs lofty and precipitous,' must be looked for in that portion of the southern range which lies to the south-east of Jethian, near the point marked by the entry 'Shahpoor' in the Revenue Survey Map. Here the hills rise once more to a fair height, and project small transverse spurs all covered with jungle. The central and apparently highest point of this portion of the range is at a direct distance of about five miles from Jethian. My enquiries in the neighbourhood did not bring to my notice any local name that could be connected with Buddhavana, nor could I hear anything of the cave which Hiuen Tsang mentions on this mountain

In view of the vagueness of the topographical information here furnished, a personal search for this cave offered little hope of success within the limited time available. I accordingly decided to proceed from Jethian direct to Kurkihār, where a far more important question concerning the position of Hiuen Tsang's 'Cock's-foot Mountain' required close examination."

After identifying this with the Sōbhnāth Hill, Stein became emboldened, for he says ²³:—

"It only remains to point out that the distances and bearings given by Hiuen Tsang with reference to the 'Cock's-foot

²² Stein, loc. cit, page 88.

²³ Stein, loc. cit, page 89.

Mountain' are in full agreement with the position now ascertained for it After leaving the 'Cock's-foot Mountain' Hiuen Tsang counts about 100 li in a north-easterly direction to Buddhavana. Accepting the position I have above approximately marked for the latter locality, we find it a little over 11 miles and the bearing north-east. The slight difference here noticed in the two map values of Hiuen Tsang's '100 li' is easily accounted for by the fact that in proceeding to Buddhavana the pilgrim had to cross the southern Rājgir range at a point where it is comparatively high and rugged, as his own reference to 'peaks and cliffs lofty and precipitous' clearly indicates".

This cannot be regarded as a satisfactory explanation, as Stein would no doubt have seen if he had been able to visit the locality which he proposed. Shahpur is close to the place where the great Tapoban ridge commences, and is not *south-east* of Jethian, but *south-west*, Stein having evidently written *east* for *west* by inadvertence. Shahpur is not "north-east" of Sōbhnāth, but only 16° to the east of north. The direct distance from Sōbhnāth is not eleven miles, but only nine, and there is too great a discrepancy between this and "a hundred and more li"—especially when there is, as a matter of fact, no "comparatively high and rugged" range between Sōbhnāth and Shahpur—to be accounted for by any allowance like "one-fourth required to compensate for the excess measurement on ordinary roads from village to village". Between Shahpur and Jethian there certainly is a "wild valley" two or three miles long (not shown on the maps), but although I have not yet actually traversed it, the most careful enquiries have failed to give any information regarding any cave or other feature of interest in its vicinity.

Between Majhāuli and Chirīzwān Ghāts, two low gaps in the northern range, there is a large and prominent hill usually called Tetua from the large village of that name close to its northern foot. The highest part of this hill is about three miles north-west of Shahpur, and about six or seven miles west of Jethian,

while it is about eleven miles from Söbhnāth, though naturally its bearing is still nearer due north than that of Shahpur. In spite of the obvious discrepancies, it appeared to me for several years that this hill was a more likely site of Buddhavana. Its southern face especially is very precipitous, and the valley between it and Jethian, though now fully cultivated, might have been "wild" 1300 years ago. Its alternative name, Ghordaur, suggests that it is associated with local legend. But closer examination has brought to light no feature of interest. In December 1908 I searched it on all sides for a cave, but without success, and I have recently found that even on the top, which seemed to be a most likely site for an old Buddhist stūpa, there is nothing to be seen:

BUDDHAVANA AS THE HANRIA HILL.

These observations lead to the conclusion that there is no hill west of Jethian which answers to Hiuen Tsang's description of the Buddhavana Mountain, either in physical features or in distance and direction from the two possible sites of the Kukkuṭapādagiri. It will now be shown that if a single correction is made in Hiuen Tsang's account, making the Yashtivana about 30 li, or 6 miles, to the *west* of Buddhavana instead of *east* as he wrote, this mountain can be readily identified as Hānriā, the highest hill in the whole range, and a station of the Survey as mentioned by Stein in a passage already quoted.

This leads to the conclusion that, as the survey station marked Budhain in the map is only just over a mile W.N.W. of the station on Hānriā on the other side of the valley, the name Buddhavana still lingers not far from the immediate neighbourhood of the mountain itself; and that Cunningham's suggestion was not far wrong after all.

It also follows, if this identification be accepted, that the probabilities are in favour of Söbhnāth rather than Gurpā as the site of the Kukkuṭapādagiri, as described by Hiuen Tsang, because the direct distance from Söbhnāth to Hānriā is about 17 miles and the bearing just under 40° to the east of north, thus corresponding remarkably closely to Hiuen Tsang's distance,

100 li, and direction, north-east. From Gurpā the indications are less accurate, the direct distance being about 27 miles and the bearing only about 11° to the east of north.

This identification first suggested itself early in March 1916, whilst I was engaged in tracing the footsteps of Dr. Buchanan, as described in his hitherto unpublished Journal for 1811-12. I had previously assumed that the large cave described in Buchanan's Report, about six miles "east and north from Tapoban, and in the same ridge of the Rajagriha hills, at a place called Hangriyo" ²⁴ could be no other than the Rājṣind cave in the Jethian valley, and that the discrepancy in distance could be accounted for by supposing that he had approached it from Tapoban *via* Saffi Ghāt, which would involve a considerable detour. With the exception of a small cave high up on the south face of the Makariwān Hill just above Jethian I had failed to discover or hear of any cave on these hills except the Rājṣind; and this cave closely corresponded in its main features with Buchanan's description, although it seemed difficult to account for the fact that he did not mention the artificial platform in front, or the Bimbisāra road leading up to it. A closer study of the Journal revealed the fact that Buchanan never entered the Jethian valley, and that he had described an altogether different cave, in the Hānriā Hill. On 13th January, 1812, he says: "I went [from Giriak] 6 coses to Hariya but the road or path is very circuitous". On the next day his Journal begins: "In the first place, I went about a mile northerly to see the rock from whence *Silajit* proceeds. I ascended the hill to about its middle by an exceeding steep rugged path . . . I then came to an abrupt rock of white quartz . . . Scrambling along the foot of this perpendicular rock some way I reached the mouth of a considerable cave which has a wide mouth and may be 50 or 60 feet in diameter and 10 or 12 feet high where highest" ²⁵. Then follows an

²⁴ Eastern India, Vol. I, page 254.

²⁵ M. S. Journal, page 150.

account of the cave, etc., which has been incorporated without substantial alteration in the published Report ²⁶.—

“Immediately below this was a mass consisting of small fragments of quartz or hornstone, imbedded in a white harsh indurated clay like some of the kharis described in Bhagalpur The floor rises inwards with a very steep ascent; and the cave has no doubt been formed by large masses of the rock having decayed, or having been changed into the imperfect Khari above mentioned, and having then tumbled down the slope. The roof looks very threatening, and in its crevices shelters wild pigeons; while the cave is said to be an usual haunt of bears and tigers. It is perfectly dry, and near the mouth is cool and airy, but at its further side an aperture, twelve feet wide and four or five high, leads into another smaller cave, the heat and stench in which was so great, that I merely looked in, to satisfy myself that there was no farther opening. On approaching the mouth of this, on a cold morning in January, I was instantly thrown into a most profuse perspiration; but unfortunately I had not heard of any such circumstance, and I had no thermometer with me. The heat, I have no doubt, is subterraneous, the stench appeared to me to proceed from bats. I did not see any, but thought I heard them chattering among the crevices of the rock. The rock, in which the cave is, consists of a greyish siliceous hornstone, in some places stained red. The rock of imperfect Khari lying under this cave, and which has evidently fallen from it, confirms strongly the opinion mentioned in the Bhagalpur papers, of Khari owing its change from siliceous rock to the action of heat.”

After descending the hill, the Journal shows that Buchanan went towards the west about six miles to Tapoban, passing on the way “a deep recess in the hill like a broken crater, as it is funnel shaped,” and the gaps in the ridge now called Saffi and Jethian Ghâts. By an obvious slip, exactly similar to that made by Stein as regards Shahpur and to that attributed in this paper to Hiuen Tsang, the Journal states that this crater-like recess, easily

²⁶ Eastern India, pages 254-255.

recognizable at the place called Sarsu Ghāt, was *east* instead of *west* of Hānriā. This has been corrected in the Report.

THE HANRIA CAVE AND HILL.

The southern slopes of the Hānriā Hill are so far from any roads that they are perhaps the least easily accessible portion of the whole range. From the foot of the hill Buchanan's cave is hardly visible, and no information can be obtained from the people of the locality. This is on account of the fact that, just as Buchanan described, *silajit* is still collected from the steep rocks around the cave during the months of Paus and Magh, by the Musahars living in or near the village of Hānriā, and is a valuable commodity, said to sell in the neighbourhood for medicinal purposes at one rupee a tola. Not unnaturally, therefore, the exact localities and the method of collecting the *silajit* are kept as secret as possible.

The ordinary path mentioned by Buchanan which leads up the hill is easily found, and though very rough, shows signs of considerable traffic. About halfway up the hillside it skirts the westernmost of the precipices at the foot of which Buchanan's cave, or the cave of the five hundred Arhats, is to be found. A side track much overgrown with jungle leads eastwards and upwards to the cave itself. There are in reality three caves here, close together, of which the centre and much the largest one is evidently Buchanan's. Very little remains to be added to his description. Immediately in front of the caves the slope is extremely steep, and the general appearance cannot but suggest his theory that portions of the hillside have slipped out from underneath and fallen down precipitous slopes. It is singular that all caves in the neighbourhood of Jethian show this family resemblance. Though Buchanan did not associate the formation with the effect of water, the "mass of small fragments of quartz or hornstone imbedded in a white (or red) indurated clay" in front of the cave so strongly resembles the curious concrete-like masses found in Old Rājagriha, where water is present, as immediately to suggest that the long-continued percolation of water has been the cause.

The upward slope of Buchanan's cave is not remarkably steep, and though its roof is lower, it is on the whole considerably larger than the Rājṇind cave. Immediately on entering it, one is impressed by the sensation of hidden life and movement due to the swallows, pigeons, owls, and especially bats, which with an occasional jackal, hyaena, or bear inhabit this cave in large numbers. It is easy to account for the effect produced on the mind of a superstitious pilgrim more than a thousand years ago which led him to ascribe these things to the supernatural agency of Arhats, particularly if he, as Fa Hien mentions regarding the Kukkuṭapādagiri, paid his religious worship in the evening—"if any should happen to be distressed with doubts, directly the sun goes down the Arhats arrive and begin to discuss with (*the pilgrims*) and explain their doubts and difficulties ; and, having done so, forthwith they disappear." ²⁷

Though no definite foundations of ancient buildings can be traced, it is noteworthy that both inside the cave and on the steep slopes underneath it there are large bricks about ten inches square, of the type usually seen in the ruined stūpas on these hills. These are not apparently to be found in other places on the Hānriā hill itself.

Buchanan ascribed the "most profuse perspiration" into which he was thrown when he explored the inner recesses of this cave to subterranean heat. This if correct would be an observation of considerable importance in connection with the nature of the rocks in these hills, and with the origin of the hot springs which issue in three localities at their foot. It is quite true that at the back of this cave, as also at the back of the Rājṇind cave and the Gidhadwār cave near Giriak, a sensation of most oppressive warmth is felt, which causes an immediate outburst of profuse and prickly perspiration at all seasons of the year. This sensation is, however, not due to any physical cause, such as high temperature, but merely to physiological causes, owing to the fact that the air is stagnant and extremely foul. On 3rd March 1916, the temperature in

²⁷ Beal, Vol. I, page lxvii.

the shade at the mouth of the Hānriā cave was 80·8° Fahr. but the air seemed quite cool and pleasant. At the farthest end of the cave, where the sensation of oppressive heat was almost intolerable, the temperature was only 82·0°. Without a thermometer I would have guessed that the temperature was at least ten or even twenty degrees higher than this, and that Buchanan's theory was correct.

Returning to the ordinary track, this winds over the precipices to the crest of the ridge. Here it joins an ancient road more than a mile long, which does not appear to have been noticed by any previous observer. This road was evidently constructed in order to provide easy means of communication between the valley of Old Rājagriha and the system of fortifications on the top of Hānriā Hill. From the valley the road ascends the northern side of the ridge in a westerly direction. On the ridge it turns sharply to the east, continuing to ascend until it joins a large flat-topped stone fort, of the type common in all the hills surrounding Old Rājagriha, built on the south side of the more or less level summit of the hill. The platform containing the Survey mark is about fifty or sixty yards north of this *garh*. From the fort, which commands a fine view of the plains of South Bihar, a massive stone wall evidently intended to guard the summit proceeds first to the west and thence to the north until it drops to a precipice so steep that evidently no further defence to this hill—the farthest outwork of the defences of Old Rājagriha on the south-west—was considered necessary.

The ancient road from the valley to the top of the Hānriā Hill is quite broad and still comparatively level. It is of course much overgrown with jungle, but the gradient throughout is very gentle and uniform, and there is no difficulty in tracing it on account of the stability of the massive stone foundations resembling walls on which it has been carried. In all essential respects it resembles the other roads ascending hills from the valleys of Rajgir and Jethian, which were ascribed by Hiuen Tsang, whenever he saw them, to King Bimbisara of Rājagriha. I now know at least ten roads of this kind.

AN EXPLANATION OF "OX-HEAD SANDAL-WOOD".

So far, no theory of any kind has been advanced by Stein or other archæologists in order to explain the scent of the "ox-head sandal-wood" which Hiuen Tsang describes as still lingering on the rocks by the side of or above the "stone-chambers" now identified with the caves in the Hānriā and Chandu Hills, where it had been pounded by Sakra and Brahma-rājā in order to sprinkle the body of Tathāgata. The observations of Dr. Buchanan suggest a very probable explanation, namely, that Hiuen Tsang was describing the *silajit* which still undoubtedly exudes from the rock above the mouth of Hānriā cave during the cold weather months, and probably also under favourable conditions from the rocks above the Rājipind cave. Buchanan's object in visiting the Hānriā cave was "to see the rock from whence *silajit* proceeds", and his account of this is as follows ²⁸ :—

"Looking up from before the cave, I saw, about 30 feet above my head, the *silajit* besmearing the face of the rock, and proceeding from the edge of a small ledge, in which, I am told, it issues from a crevice in the hornstone. It was impossible for me to inspect the place, which is only visited by one old man of the Musahar tribe. Before venturing on the peril, he fortified himself with some spirituous liquor, having previously made a libation to the ghosts (*vira*) of the vicinity. An active young man in my service attempted to follow him. Going along the foot of the rock, they found a projecting ledge, along which, supporting themselves by the roots of trees, they advanced, until they had reached about 40 or 50 feet above the place from whence the *silajit* exudes. Here the young man's heart failed, while the old Musahar descended the naked rock by little crevices and projections with which he was well acquainted, and, having collected as much of the *silajit* as he could scrape from the rock in a leaf, he returned by the same way. A very moderate ladder, placed where I stood, would have saved all this

²⁸ Eastern India, Vol. I, pages 255-256.

danger; but the old Musahar perhaps considered that such a means of facilitating the route might interfere with his gain. I was told that the old man generally ascends three times a month during *Paus* and *Mugh*, and visits as often another place about a quarter of a mile farther east, which I did not see. He says, that in the season he does not collect above two pounds weight, and perhaps gives no more to the owner, Ray Khosal Singha of Patna, who sends it in presents, as it is considered a valuable medicine. When fresh from the rock, *silajit* is of a dirty earth colour, and is always mixed with impurities, that crumble into it from the precipice above. It is then about the consistence of new honey, and has a strong rather disagreeable smell [somewhat like that of cows' urine, but stronger] although it cannot be called very offensive. When kept in a bottle with a glass stopper for some months, it acquires a deeper brown colour, and becomes thicker; and, exposed to the air, it may soon be made into pills. It seems to be very different from a substance which, in Nepal, is called by the same name. From the hot springs in the vicinity and the heat of the cave below, I suspect that it exudes from the action of subterraneous fire. The natives pretend that monkies eat it, and attribute the small quantity procured to their depredations; but I think that the circumstance is doubtful, and have no doubt that, with care and a ladder, several pounds might be procured, should it be found useful: but it owes its celebrity among the natives to its being supposed to possess the imaginary quality of an aphrodisiac. When placed on burning charcoal, it swells a little and smokes, and when heated red, is reduced to white ashes, without emitting flame. It cannot, I presume, therefore be considered as a bituminous or inflammable substance, the only class of minerals to which it has any resemblance."

In March 1916 nothing resembling Buchanan's description could be seen. Parts of the precipice above the mouth of the Hanriā cave were stained black or brown, but these patches were all quite dry and dusty, and the interior and roof of the

cave were also quite dry. This tallies with the statements made to Buchanan, and also by a Musahar from Jethian who accompanied me, to the effect that *silajit* always dries up after the month of *Magh*. In December 1916 the appearance was quite different, and resembled Buchanan's account. The *silajit* was readily distinguishable as a black glistening exudation, spreading over several square feet of the rock, including the ledge which he mentioned. Unfortunately a sample could not be obtained for analysis, as the place where it occurs is quite inaccessible from below without a ladder, or from above without a rope. The whole of the roof at the back of the cave was found to be wet, and drops of water were falling from several places. Even in the month of December I have never seen anything so definite as this at the Rājṇind cave, but portions of the perpendicular rock above the mouth of this cave are also stained in exactly the same way, and I believe that *silajit* is also collected in the immediate neighbourhood, if not at the cave itself.

Summary.

It is clear, therefore, that in all important respects except one the Hānriā Hill corresponds to the Buddhavana Mountain. It fits in most accurately with one of the two possible sites of Kukkuṭapādagiri. It contains "among its steep mountain cliffs a stone chamber" so similar to the other "stone chamber" now known as the Rājṇind cave that Buchanan, in describing it, was until recently supposed to have described the latter. The fortification on the top of Hānriā and the great road constructed up to it, show that considerable importance was attached to the hill. And lastly, the valley underneath, between the Makariwān-Hanriā-Sonagiri range on the south and the transverse Chandu-Budhain-Chhatagiri ridge is still an altogether wild and jungle-covered valley which may easily be identified as the "wild valleys of the Buddhavana Mountain." This valley ends five or six miles W.S.W. of the foot of the ancient road, just opposite the ruined stūpa near Saffi Ghāt known as Sahudrasthān, identified by Stein, and within two or three hundred yards of the site known as Jeshtīban, or Yashtivana itself.

Thus the only discrepancy is that the Yashtivana is about as far west of Hānriā as, according to Hiuen Tsang, it was east of the Buddhavana Mountain. In order to establish the identification of Hānriā with Buddhavana, it must be assumed that Hiuen Tsang wrote "east" instead of "west" by mistake, for as Dr. Spooner has pointed out, this cannot be accounted for by any error in the Chinese manuscripts used for the translation. It has been shown that both Buchanan and Stein have made exactly the same kind of error in their accounts of this neighbourhood.



APPENDIX.

THE NATURE OF *SILAJIT*.

Buchanan, who was acquainted with both varieties, considered that this Bihar *silajit* was very different from the *silajit* which is still exported from Nepal. The latter, according to the descriptions of J. Stevenson ²⁹ and A. Campbell, ³⁰ consists almost entirely of crude aluminium sulphate. The same kind of *silajit* was reported by Sherwill to be produced in small quantities from alum slate in the neighbourhood of the river Sone near Rohtas. ³¹ Buchanan's description of the Hānriā *silajit*, and the manner of its formation, suggest an altogether different explanation, which must, however, remain merely a hypothesis until a detailed chemical analysis can be made. This kind of *silajit* seems to appear some months after the close of the monsoon, and at a time when, as numerous recent observations not yet published have shown, the flow of the hot springs in the Rajgir hills is at a maximum in normal years, and when water is penetrating through the rocks at the back of the cave. Though these rocks are not stratified, they are split at intervals into horizontal layers, with a general downward slope roughly corresponding to that of the roof or floor of the cave. Should communication exist through these layers between crevices at the back of the cave and the outer face of the rock, as is probable, the water which accumulates behind would have to trickle through deposits of the excrement of bats, etc., before it could reach the surface. It would thus take up large quantities of organic and nitrogenous matter and probably dissolve out some of the silica and other constituents of the rocks themselves, and it would in this manner acquire the general characteristics of the substance which Buchanan describes.

Postscript.—Early in April, 1917, shortly after the explanation given above was written, the Hon. Mr. Oldham, who had been kind enough to interest himself in the matter, sent

²⁹ J. A. S. B., Vol. II, page 321, 1830.

³⁰ J. A. S. B., Vol. II, pages 482-484.

³¹ Note on the Geological Features of Zillah Bihar, page 17.

me a small quantity of *silajit*, obtained from the Hānriā Hill through the Sub-Inspector of Hisua at the rate of two rupees a tola, which he had received from the Subdivisional Officer of Nawādah. This has been chemically analysed by Dr. K. S. Caldwell, Professor of Chemistry, Patna College. It will be seen from Dr. Caldwell's analysis, which is printed in this number of the Journal, that the theory that this Hānriā *silajit* is of animal origin is fully confirmed. The peculiar and very persistent musky odour of small traces of this substance can hardly be said to resemble sandal-wood, but it is characteristic of the rocks in the Hānriā and Rājbind caves.

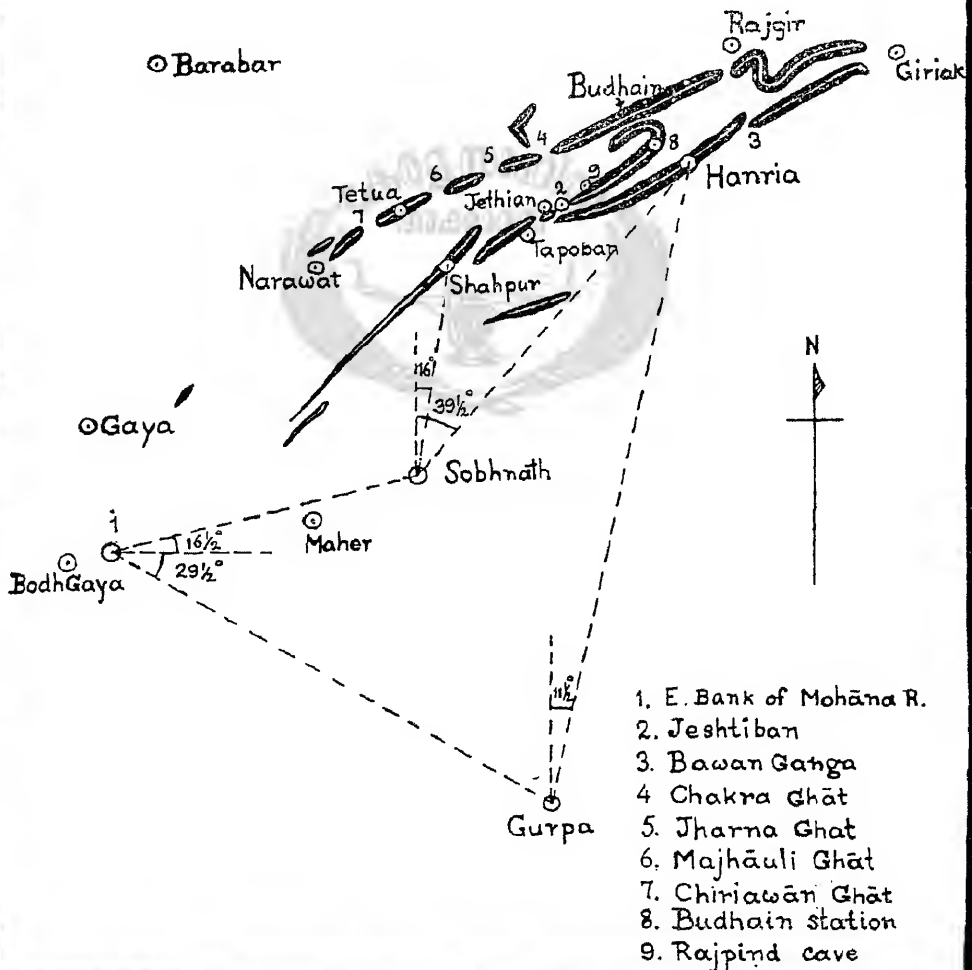


BODH GAYA TO RAJGIR

SITE PLAN

scale

Miles 0 1 3 6 12



II.—Chemical Analysis of Silajit from the Hanria Hill.

By K. S. Caldwell, Ph.D., F.I.C.

The specimen received for analysis was a semi-liquid viscous substance of a dark brown colour with a smell reminiscent of wet guano. It is, as will be seen below, mainly organic in nature, gives off ammonia readily on warming with alkalis and contains an organic acid soluble in alkalis and reprecipitated by hydrochloric acid. This acid contains nitrogen and is probably uric acid, though with the small quantity available I was unable to free it from the accompanying brown colouring matter which interfered with the usual colour reactions.

On ignition a nearly colourless residue is obtained which contained phosphate (about 13%), silica and calcium together with some magnesium and alkalis. The substance is mainly of animal origin, and the results of the analysis support the explanation of its formation suggested by Mr. Jackson in the previous paper.

Analysis.

Water ...	...	... =	20.4%
Inorganic residue on ignition	...	... =	13.5%
Organic matter	...	... =	66.1%
			<hr/>
			100.0
			<hr/>

8.24% of the organic matter is nitrogen, 1.36% being in the form of free ammonia and ammonium salts.

Composition of the inorganic residue.

Silica ...	=	13.4%
Phosphoric acid (P ₀₄) ...	=	13.1% (= 1.8% of original substance.)

The remainder being mainly calcium with some magnesium and potassium with small quantities of sulphate and chloride.

Alkalinity of the Inorganic Residue.

100 grms. of ash = 1969 ces. of normal NaOH.
= 98.5 gm. CaCO_3 .

As far as I am aware, no previous chemical analysis has been published. Dr. P. C. Roy in his History of Hindu Chemistry, gives the following quotation from Rasaratna samanchaya :—
“Silajatu (Bitumen) is of two kinds, one having the smell of cow's urine, the other resembling camphor. It oozes out in the heat of the sun at the foot of the Himalayas from the bowels of gold, silver and copper respectively”—and remarks that “the resin of Styrax Benzoicum and also a variety of bitumen, especially the latter, are referred to.”¹ The substance obtained from Hānriā Hill may well be that described as having the smell of cow's urine but, as the analysis shows, it is neither a resin nor a bitumen.

Campbell² mentions a Black Silajit—“a bituminous substance used in Nepal said to be exuded from rocks.” He says it resembles shale, but has much vegetable matter in it. He apparently made no detailed examination of it and remarks that he is ignorant of its nature. This substance may be similar to that analysed above, but evidently contained less water.

¹ History of Hindu Chemistry, page 47.

² J. A. S. B. 1831, Volume II, page 321.

III.—The Bhanja Dynasty of Orissa

By R. D. Banarji, M.A.

A number of copper plate grants of this dynasty having been brought to light during the last few years, it has become possible to consider the history of the dynasty. The majority of these grants were issued by Raṇabhañja. It has been generally accepted that these grants were issued by one and the same person though the names of the predecessors of the donors differ in different grants. The following genealogies are obtainable from these grants :—

A.—The Bāmanghati grant of Raṇabhañja^[1]—

Koṭṭabhañja.
|
Digbhañja.
|
Raṇabhañja.

B.—The Bāmanghati grant of Rājabhañja^[2]—

Koṭṭabhañja.
.
.
.
Raṇabhañja.
|
Rājabhañja.

C.—The Tapasaikera grant of Raṇabhañja^[3]—

Satrubhañja.
|
Raṇabhañja.

[1] *J. A. S. B., O. S., Vol. XL, 1871, pt. I, p. 165ff.*

[2] *Ibid., pp.*

[3] *See Ante, Vol. II, pp. 167—177.*

D.—Sonpur grant of Satrubhañja^[4]—

Sitabhañja.

Satrubhañja.

E.—Gumsur grant of Netrbhañja^[5]—

Satrubhañja.

Raṇabhañja.

Netrbhañja.

F.—Orissa grant of Vidyādharaḥabhañja^[6]—

Raṇabhañja.

Digbhañja.

Silābhañja.

Vidyādharaḥabhañja.

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar suggests the following combination of the scattered genealogies :—

Koṭṭabhañja.

Digbhañja or Satrubhañja.

Raṇabhañja.

Rājabhañja.

Digbhañja.

Netrbhañja.

Silābhañja,

Vidyādharaḥabhañja.^[7]

The identity of the Raṇabhañja of the Bāmanghati grants with that of the Gumsur, Tapasaikera, Sonpur grants and the grant of Vidyādharaḥabhañja seems to have been accepted without a challenge. The Bāmanghati grants only do not mention Satrubhañja as the father of Raṇabhañja. But the grant of Raṇabhañja mentions one Digbhañja, son of Koṭṭabhañja as the

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp.

[5] *J. A. S. B., O. S.*, 1837, Vol. VI, p. 667ff.

[6] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 272ff.

[7] *See Ante*, Vol. II, pp. 361—365.

father of Raṇabhañja. The grant of Raṇabhañja's son Rājabhañja, on the other hand, mentions Koṭṭabhañja immediately before Raṇabhañja. The wording of the Bāmanghati grant of Rājabhañja is not expressly clear on this point. A comparison of the first lines of the two Bāmanghati grants show that some words have been omitted in the grant of Rājabhañja. Koṭṭabhañja, the grand-father of Raṇabhañja, is mentioned here but the name of his father Digbhañja has been omitted by mistake. We have therefore two distinct Raṇabhañjas, one, the son of Digbhañja, and the other, the son of Satrubhañja. A palaeographical examination of the Bhañja grants show that Raṇabhañja, the son of Satrubhañja, came before Raṇabhañja, the son of Digbhañja.

Palæographically the Bhañja grants fall into two distinct groups :—

I.—(i) The Kumurukela grant of Satrubhañja.^[8]

(ii) The Sonpur grant of Satrubhañja.^[9]

(iii) The Tapasaikera grant of Raṇabhañja, the year 16.^[10]

(iv) The Baudh grant of Raṇabhañja, the year 26.^[11]

(v) The Baudh grant of Raṇabhañja, the year 54.^[12]

(vi) The Baudh grant of Raṇabhañja, the year 21(?).^[13]

The characters of the Gumsur grant of Netrbhañja are allied to those of this group, so we may add this grant also to group I.

(vii) The Gumsur grant of Netrbhañja.

II.—(i) The Bāmanghati grant of Raṇabhāñja, the Ganga year 288.

(ii) The Bāmanghati grant of Rājabhañja.

(iii) The Baudh grant of Kanakabhañja.

[8] *Ante*, Vol. II, pp. 429—435.

[9] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol.

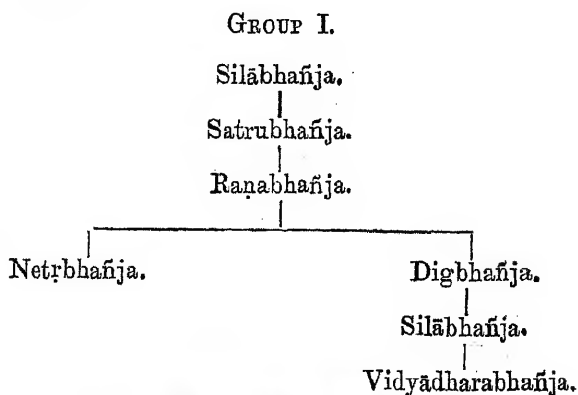
[10] *Ante*, Vol. II, pp. 167—177.

[11] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp.

[13] As yet unpublished, I am editing it for the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The following genealogical tables of these two groups may now be accepted :—



Kanakabhāñja, whose existence has been proved by the Baud grant of his third year,^[14] seems to be far removed from these two groups. He does not mention any of the members of Groups I and II as his relations or ancestors and his grant is silent about the origin of the founder of the clan. The descent of the Bhañjas from a man who sprang out of the egg of a peahen is mentioned specially in the Bāmanghati grants, but the other grants refer to the clan as the *andajavarṇsa* "the clan of the egg." The seal of Kanakabhāñja is also different from that of other Bhañja kings. On these grounds and on the basis of

[14] *Anta*, Vol. II, pp. 356—374.

certain local records about the foundation of the Daspalla State Mr. B. C. Mazumdar assigns Kanakabhañja to 1475 A.D.[¹⁵]

In my humble opinion such an assignation is absolutely impossible :—

(1) The Epigraphic script of Orissā as well as the current hand of the 13th and 14th centuries is settled from the Stone inscriptions of Anaṅgabhañja II (or III)[¹⁶] and the grants of Narasiṁha II and IV. I do not want to enter into a detailed Palaeographical examination (I am ready to do so if need arises), but it is absolutely impossible to place the Baud grant of Kanakabhañja after the Kenduapatna grant of Narasiṁhadeva II [¹⁷] and the Puri grant of Narasiṁha IV.[¹⁸]

(2) We cannot admit the existence of a Raṇabhañja in 1200 A.D., because the Raṇabhañja of the Bāmaṅghati grant was living in the third quarter of the 11th century according to Mr. Mazumdar and palaeography shows that Raṇabhañja, son of Satrubhañja is earlier than Raṇabhañja, son of Digbhañja.

The characters of the Baud grant of Kanakabhañja are not far removed from those of the Bāmaṅghati grants and we may safely place Kanakabhañja in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

[¹⁵] *Ibid.*, pp. 367.

[¹⁶] *Ipi. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp.

[¹⁷] J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV, 1896, pt. I, p. 235 ff.

[¹⁸] *Ibid.*, Vol., LIXV 1895, pt. I, p. 186 ff, 151 ff.

IV.—First English Factory in Patna, 1620—1621.

By E. A. Horne, M.A.

The early history of the English East India Company's trade with Patna is briefly as follows. In January, 1620, it was decided by the President and Council at Surat (in view of the demand for calico and other cotton piece goods) to send Hughes, one of the factors at Agra, with an assistant to Hajipur-Patna "or where else the amberteens are made."¹ Hughes arrived in Patna at the beginning of July and was joined by Parker in September. They left Patna to return to Agra in the autumn of the following year. In August, 1632, Fremlen, the chief factor at Agra, acting on instructions received from Surat, despatched Peter Mundy, who was second on the Agra establishment, to Patna to try to find a market for some quicksilver and vermilion unsaleable at Agra and to "make an investment in linnen."² It turned out afterwards that this journey of Mundy's was, in his own words, "but the effect of a mistake"; for the President and Council at Surat "acknowledged themselves in an error in writinge Puttana when they meant Semano [Samānā], a place within 40 course of Agra, where is much cloth made of that name."³ Mundy arrived in Patna in the middle of September 1632; and left again two months later, as he was ordered to be at Agra by the middle of January to accompany a caravan to Surat. The date of the establishment of a permanent factory at Patna is not known. It may

¹ Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, page 182.

² "The narrow cloth called amberte calicoes [*amriti*]" is described by the factors at Agra as "stronge, close-made and well conditioned, and hath noe fault but the narrownes." (Foster, page 161.)

³ *Travels of Peter Mundy* (Hakluyt Society), volume 2, page 139.

⁴ *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, page 156.

have been soon after the foundation of the Hugli factory in 1651; we know that there was an agent (Chamberlain) at Patna in 1658.

Peculiar interest attaches to the first visit of servants of the English East India Company to Patna from the fact that the letter-book kept by Hughes and Parker has been preserved. The documents were calendered in Foster's *English Factories in India 1618-21* (1906); and have now been edited by Sir Richard Temple, and published in full in the *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43 (1914).

It is proposed in this article to give some account of the enterprise as recorded in these letters, and of the conditions under which it was undertaken.

It must be remembered that the visit of Hughes to Patna in 1620 as well as Mundy's in 1632 was before the English East India Company had established themselves in any Bengal port;¹ and much of the ill-success of both ventures was due to the difficulties and the cost of land transport to Surat viâ Agra.

The principal object in view in sending Hughes to Patna was to obtain direct from the seat of manufacture the amberty calicoes which had been bought in Agra from Behar merchants and were favourably thought of. Robert Hughes, the factor entrusted with the mission, was a merchant of some standing. He was admitted to the Company's service in November, 1614; and after serving in Surat and Ajmere was posted to Agra in 1617. He returned to Agra from Patna in 1621, and died there the following autumn on the eve of his departure for England.² He is mentioned in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, having been presented to Jahāngīr by the ambassador as a "supposed

¹ Attempts were made to trade with Bengal, but not very successfully, by the factors at Masulipatam. Cp. their letter dated August 27th, 1621, to Surat (Foster, page 264), in which they say: "For silke of Pengala to be procured in this place I am wholly hopeless to effect, for the trade hether is most uncertaine; some yeares noe marchaunts, other whilst noe passadge; and the last yeare all taken or stranded by the Portugall."

² These facts of his career, and those given below for Parker, I have taken from Sir R. Temple's footnote, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, page 135.

painter." John Parker, the assistant who joined Hughes two months after the latter's arrival in Patna, was fourth on the Agra establishment. He returned to Agra as accountant. Early in 1623 he was appointed to be chief factor at Ahmadabad; but died on the road. Both Hughes and Parker suffered imprisonment at Agra in 1622; and this may possibly have told on the health of both men. Parker had already been seriously ill with dysentery while at Patna.

Hughes left Agra on June 5th, 1620. It would have been better if he had started three or four months earlier, as had been intended; but he waited, until it was decided that he ought to wait no longer, for the arrival in Agra of the factor (John Young) who had originally been named as his assistant. This meant that a great part of the year was gone, since the goods purchased in Patna for consignment to England that season would have to be despatched from Patna before the end of October. Peter Mundy was placed in the same difficulty, leaving Agra as late as August 6th. Hughes was 29 days on the road (a distance of nearly 600 miles), arriving in Patna on July 3rd. He brought no goods with him, unlike Mundy who came with eight heavily laden carts and in the middle of the rains, his journey occupying 44 days. Hughes was well received by the Governor or Sūbahdār of Behar, Mukarrab Khān, who was something of a connoisseur, and one who had had dealings with the Company in the past. "Your selves knowe him", writes Hughes, "to bee as free in payinge as in buyinge"; and it is interesting to note what the Nawāb particularly asked for, viz., "tapestrye, clothe of tishoo, velvetts, embrodaires, fethers, or anye other rich commodities to bee gotten", ¹ for it recalls a conversation recorded by Sir Thomas Roe in which Mukarrab told the ambassador that "the English carried too much cloth and had swords and scarce anything else, and therefore advised to forbear two or three years, and rather bring such rarities as China and Japan afforded, which would be more acceptable; and from England the best cloth of gold and the

richest silks wrought with gold and silver, but above all a good quantity of Arras hangings." ¹

Later on Hughes writes to the Surat Factory: "I praye remember our Governor with what fyne goods and toyes you maye spare of what you expecte in this fleete. Hee is verye earnest with mee to procure him some." ² The Nawāb was very well pleased with some bobbin lace that Parker brought with him; and amongst other things which he bought was a "parda or peece of tapestry, 300 rupes." ³ At one of their first interviews the Nawāb was so insistent in his demand for glass bottles that Hughes "was constrayned to give him the three small bottels out of my standisbe." ⁴

The Nawāb ordered a house to be found for the English merchants, "thoughe I feare", writes Hughes, "not rent free." ⁵ A month later he writes: "I have taken a house in the greate bazare, neare unto the Cutwalls chontrye [office]; the rent 6½ rupes per month". ⁶ Peter Mundy, we may note, lived in a "hired howse, which lay on the bancks of the river" from which "wee might oftentimes see, hard by the shoare, many great fishes... which did leape in the same manner as they doe att sea." ⁷ The first permanent factory, if we may believe Bowrey's account, was situated "adjoyneings to the citty"; ⁸ possibly on the spot indicated in Rennell's Bengal Atlas (1781) as the site of the old English factory, just outside the west wall of the city.

Hughes in his letters tells us very little of Patna itself. He speaks of it in his first report to the Company as "the chefest marte towne of all Bengala." ⁹ In describing the disastrous fire

¹ Pinkerton's *Travels*, volume 8, page 9.

² *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 76.

³ *Ibid*, page 100.

⁴ *Ibid*, page 72.

⁵ *Ibid*, page 70.

⁶ *Ibid*, page 74.

⁷ *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, page 158.

⁸ *Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1679* (Hakluyt Society), page 223.

⁹ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 82.

which occurred in March, 1621, he writes: "At the west parte of the subarbes belonginge to this citey, at least a course without the walles, in th' Allum gange, ¹ a tirable fier kindled, which havinge consumed al those partes, by the fource of a stronge andye [andhi], brake into the citte and within the space of two greese [ghari] came into the verye harte therof, where our aboade is; whoe beinge enviorned with neighboringe choperes [chhappar] (wherof indeede the whole cittye consistes), it was more then tyme to looke to our owne . . . From hence it prosceeded estward unto the verye scirtes of the towne, where, wantinge more combustable matter to mayntayne it selfe, was constreyned to stinke and goe out, havinge lefte behinde litell save ruines of olde walles, ettc. The infinite losses of all men by this disaster are almost incredible to bee reported, besides men, woemen, and children registerde sattaes [sati] upwards of three hundred."² The combustibile character of the building material employed in those days can be gathered from other sources. Ralph Fitch, who visited Patna in 1585, writes: "The houses are simple, made of earth and covered with straw."³ He says: "Patanaw is a very long and great tow n."⁴ And Tavernier says: "The houses are no fairer than in the greatest part of the other cities of India, being covered with bamboos or straw."^{5 6}

There is a reference to "Mendroo [? Mahendru] Seray" where the Patna goods were loaded on to carts for transport to Agra.⁷ Doubtless they were brought up from the city so far

¹In the Bengal Atlas, west of the city walls, are marked Colonelganj, Alamganj, and Bankipore at about equal intervals and in that order; so that "at least a course without the walles" is no exaggeration. There is a mahalla to the west of what is now known as Gulzarbagh still called Alamganj.

² *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, pages 100, 1.

³ *Pinkerton's Travels*, volume 9, page 414.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 413.

⁵ Tavernier, *Travels*, volume 1, part 2, page 53.

⁶ At the time of Buchanan-Hamilton's survey, on the other hand, we are told (Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. 1, page 35) that "many of the houses are built of brick, more however are built of mud with tiled roofs, but very few are thatched."

⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 110.

by river. There is no reference to Hajipur, although in the original instructions from Surat the factors were to go to "Hogrepore-patamia, or where elce the amberteas are made." Peter Mundy has the following note on Hajipur. "Haveinge accomplished my business, I crossed over the river to Hagepoore-Puttana . . . This place is verye auntient, and in former tymes much resorted unto as chiefe place in theis parts, all the traffique now reduced to Puttana which hath bene built and inhabited but of late. Att the westerne side close by the towne, issues out a great river into the Ganges, called Gunducke. Unto this place (as farr as I could heere) never yet arrived any English, although about 12 yeres since there were att Puttana Mr. Hughes and Mr. Parker, now both dead, whos came to see the state of this countrie, and to settle some traile heere, but in shorte tyme after they returned back againe to Agra."¹

There is a curious reference in a letter of Parker's, dated the middle of October, to the rainy season which in that year (1621) appears to have been particularly severe and prolonged. He writes: "Partly by reason of the longe winter (which yett is not ended) and the foulnesse of the wayes, I have not yett found oppertunity to send away the goods from hence."² This use of the word "winter" to describe foul (as apart from cold) weather may be paralleled in Fitch's *Voyage*, where he says: "The winter beginneth here [Golconda] about the last of May"; and afterwards of Burhanpur: "In their winter which is in June, July and August, there is no passing in the streets but with horses; the waters are so high."³

In his first letter Hughes reports that "there are some Portingalls at presant in towne, and more are latlye gon for theire portes in Bengala; into whose traffique I have made enquirye, and gather that theye usialye bringe vendable here all sortes of spices and silke stufes of Chyna, tyne, and some jewelleres

¹ *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, pages 135-6.

² *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 110.

³ *Pinkerton's Travels*, volume 3, pages 403-10.

ware; in lewe wherof theye transporte course carpets of Juna-pooore [Jaunpur], ambertyes, cassaes [khāssa, or fine muslin] and some silke."¹ He says further of them in his report to the Company: "The Portingalls of late yeares have had a trade here in Puttana, cominge up with their friggits from the bottom of Bengalla, where theye have two porttes; th'one called Gollye [Hūgli]², and the other Pieppulye [Pīplī], and therein are licenced by this kinge to inhabit. Gollye is their cheefest porte, where theye are in greate multitudes, and have yearlye shippinge both from Mallacka and Cochine . . . This cittye stands upon the river Ganges, whose swifte currant transportes their friggitts with such dexteritye that in five or six days theye usialye go hence to their portes, but in repairinge up agayne spend thrice the tyme."³

In reporting to the Company (Nov. 30th, 1620) on his first season's work Hughes writes: "The two mayne propes which must uphould this a factory is Amberty Callicoos and rawe silke, neither wherof are to be provided in anye quantityes without a continuall residence, for that theye requier great tyme, carre, and dilligence, th'one in the procuringe them whitted, and th'other in it's wyndinge of".⁴ Besides these two classes of goods he made some trial purchases of *sahān* (fine sheeting) and *hammām* (towelling) "brought from the lower partes of Bengalla in smalle parcells by Puttanes [Pathāns]";⁵ quilts "wrought with yellowe silke"⁶ from Satgāon (near Hūgli); *alācha* (silk cloth) from Baikanthpur, of which he says: "they are made five course hence, infinite quantityes, and are generallye bought up by the Mogolles for Persia";⁷ also "tusser stufes of Bengalla, of halfe

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 71.

² Cp. Fitch in 1586 (Pinkerton's *Travels*, vol. 9, page 414).
thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala."

³ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 83.

⁴ *Ibid*, page 83.

⁵ *Ibid*, page 70.

⁶ *Ibid*, page 71.

⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 73.

silke," halfe cotten."¹ In regard to the last-named Sir Richard Temple remarks that if any of these ever reached England, which is doubtful, they were the first *tasar* goods ever imported, and anticipated by about 60 years the trade initiated by Streynsham Master. Hughes, he adds, can claim to have been the first to introduce the word *tussore* into the English language.² Hughes also advised big investments in sundry wares for the Persian market to be procured from Malda, Bihar, Benares, and other places. Of saltpetre, which afterwards became the staple of the Patna factory, there is no mention. Mundy speaks of "indico, gumlacke, saltpeter, made hereabouts, although not very good, gumlack excepted"³; in another place he says: "wee can have it much better, and better cheape elsewhere."⁴ Hughes bought a certain amount of lac; also of lignum aloes.

Patna was looked upon as a market for investment rather than sale. The factors only received one consignment of any importance (from Agra), almost the whole of which they state "wee have sould into the Nabob's Circare".⁵ The goods included broadcloth, kerseys, hides, swords, and small wares; and those sold to the Nawab fetched Rs. 2,400. There was also some quicksilver, which sold at 4½ rupees per seer. This commodity formed the bulk of what Mundy brought with him; but he was not able to dispose of it at so favourable a rate, having finally to accept 3½ rupees per seer for the whole. In reply to enquiries from Surat, Parker reported a big demand for coral beads, which are, he says, "very well requested for transporte into Bengala, and great quantityes thereof will yearly vend, to say for 50 or

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 73.

² *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, page 373. I fear, however, there is no warrant for either statement. In a letter from Surat to the Agra factory, dated August 9th and 10th, 1619 (Foster page 112) mention is made of "a kind of Bengala stuff of silke or grasse called tessar"; and in a letter of the same date to Burhanpur the Surat factors enquire for "tessars," of which Nicholas Bangham took home some on his own account. (*Ibid.*)

³ *Ibid.*, page 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 151.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 79.

60,000 rup."¹ For amber beads, another commodity for which a market was sought, Parker reported a limited demand.

The "two mayne propes," however, which in Hughes's words, "must uphold this a factory" were amberty calicoes and raw silk, into the conditions for the supply of which he made full and painstaking enquiries. His keen, business-like determination to learn and master every detail stands out in strong contrast to Mundy's half-hearted and perfunctory efforts under the same circumstances. For the calicoes Mundy relied on second-hand information, which he thought discouraging; and raw silk he dismissed as among those commodities which "wee can have much better, and better cheape elsewhere."²

The "pente [penth] or fayer" for the amberty calicoes was Lakhāwar, "a towne 14-course from this place".³ The cloth was brought in by the weavers from the neighbouring villages; and the supply was reported to be as great as 1,000 pieces daily.⁴ Hughes notified Surat that an annual provision of 20,000 pieces was possible,⁵ representing an investment of Rs. 50,000;⁶ and orders were actually given for this quantity.⁷ There were difficulties, however. The cloth was delivered from the looms unbleached; and bleaching and starching occupied three months.⁸ Moreover, to reach Surat viâ Agra in time for the homeward sailings, the goods had to be sent off from Patna as soon as ever the roads became passable after the rains. This meant that it was necessary to put the business in hand as early in the year as possible; it was clearly necessary also to make

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 106.

² *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, page 151.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 70. Lakhawar is a village lying about 9 miles south-east from Jehanabad. There is nothing left to-day to show that it was once an important cotton manufacturing centre. The population (which includes a few weavers of Motia cloth) is not much more than half what it was even in Buchanan-Hamilton's day. Until as recently as 25 years ago, however, there is said to have been extensive cultivation of cotton, which was a very paying crop. It was abandoned eventually for opium. I am indebted for these facts to Mr. Rewland Chandra, lately Subdivisional Officer of Jahanabad.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, page 80.

⁶ *Ibid.*, page 74.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 107.

⁸ *Ibid.*, page 70.

advances to the weavers. Shortly after his arrival Parker was sent to Lakhāwar, where he "invested about 1,000 rups. amongst the weavers in white clothe."¹ With regard to his first year's investments Hughes reports as follows (November 11th, 1620): "Here in Puttana where buyinge them at the best hand, to saye from the weavers which bringe them readye whited to towne in small parcells, I could not with all my endeavors atayne to above a thousand peeces, wherfore was foured for the present to make up our Investments of that Commoditye partlye bought in Lackhoure and partlye from other marchants who bought them there rawe and whited them themselves, which Course tyme would not permitt us to take, comming hether soe late in the yeare, and wee perceaved for what the weavers bringe readye to towne is onely to serve the Bazare."² The next year, as will be explained more fully later, the factors were much embarrassed by shortness of funds; and Hughes, writing from Lakhāwar in August, reports them as "haveinge with noe little labour and toyle at present attayned to the provizion of 9500 pces"; of which upwards of two-thirds was bought at Rs. 2 a piece or under, as it came unbleached from the loom, and the remainder, which was finer and broader, at prices ranging up to Rs. 6.³ This was only half the amount aimed at; and it was a disappointment to Hughes that he was not able to manage at least 15,000 pieces.⁴

Mundy, who sent two messengers to Lakhāwar to make enquiries soon after his arrival in Patna, was informed by the leading broker in the trade that (on due notice being given, and allowing a month for bleaching) 2 or 3,000 rupees a month might be invested. This gives a total for the year of Rs. 30,000, as compared with Hughes's original estimate of Rs. 50,000 and his actual investment of half that. But Mundy adds: "Ambartees, or white cloth, which is that wee most require from this place, is now dearer then accustomed, by reason

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 78; see also page 73.

² *Ibid.*, page 79.

³ *Ibid.*, page 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 104.

this Governour is makeinge provision for the kings moholl, soe that most of the weavers are imployed in makeinge fine lynnem."¹

With regard to silk, the factors started with high hopes that for various reasons were hardly fulfilled. In his first letter, written ten days after his arrival in Patna, Hughes reports that he is promised delivery from the winders of 10 to 15 maunds per month. "Doubtles", he adds, "a greater quantitee therof maye bee procured, but then wee must venture out some monye before hande, which I resolve upon, findinge sutfient securitee for performance; and herupon have advised them at Agra to desist farther in its investment there, which per computation is at least 35 per cent. derer then here it maye bee bought."² Hughes quickly found, however, that the local dealers were not to be depended on either for due performance of their contracts or for winding the silk in the way required by the Company; and in his next letter, about a month later, he announces that "the Cheapest and surest dealinge is to buye the serbundy [cocoon] and wynde it of my selfe and theron have resolved, havinge bought about 6 mds. more. And at present have thirty men at worke theron, purposinge to increase them to a hundred, and if you approve therof and the price (which is $\frac{1}{3}$ cheaper then in Agra) I may have two or three hundred silkwinderes to worke in the house all the yeare."³ In his letter to Agra of September 3rd he states: "I have encreased my Cor Conna [kār khāna] to almost a hundred workmen, but here will stop untill I here further from Surrat."⁴ His proposals seem to have met with

¹ *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, page 151. In an account of "commodities procurable at Patna" (1661) it is stated that "at Benares, 12 course from Pattana [Bihar is evidently meant; Hughes mentions the 'caymeconyes' of Bihar] and Lachore, 16, theres white cloth fitt for Persia to be had called. Umbertees and Camsonp, from 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 rupees per piece in which commodities are invested by Armenian and Mogull merchants at least 10,00,000 rups per ann. Transported by land to Surat, and thence by shipping to Persia." (Wilson, *Early Annals*, volume 1, page 379).

² *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 71.

³ *Ibid*, page 74.

⁴ *Ibid*, page 75.

small support in Agra; in spite of which, however, we find him writing to Surat in November: "I cannot prescribe or advize of a better course to attayne quantitye therof at cheape rates then for our selves to buye the silke rawe, as it comes in serbandy from Bengalla, and wynde it of here in Puttanna into the condition the Companie ayme at . . . of which sortes fittinge England I can acirtayne you the provision of 30 mds. per mounth, which as yet is the most I dare afirm to, and that will requier a goodsome of monye to keepe us Continually in Implyment, and if but 300 maunds per Anno at 4 rupcs the seare of 33½ pice weight will requier at Leaste 50,000 rupcs. for its performance."¹ Surat, acting on this advice, placed an order for 100 maunds for the ensuing year;² but the provision actually made did not exceed 25 maunds.³ By the time of his next letter to Surat, dated January 31st, Hughes had evidently formed considerable misgivings both as to the skill of his winders and as to the advantage in price compared with Agra and Lahore. He writes: "The unacustomed wyndinge it of into so manye sortes in this place is a sutfient reason why not so well performed as in Agra and Lahore . . . And if what alredye provided shall induce you to animate us futturlye for anye large provisiones therin, our selves know not how to prescribe a better course for its procuringe in quantitye at esier rates then formerly advized you, unlese you would send into Bengalla, a hundred and fortye course from this place, to the citty of Mucksoudabad [i.e., Murshidābād] where it is made, which would bee worth bothe labor and charge, for wee are asured that there it maye be provided in infinite quantities at least twenty per cent. cheaper then in anye other place of India, and of the choysest stufe, wounde of into what condition you shall requier it as it comes from the worme; where are also innumerable of silkwynderes, experte workmen, and labor cheaper by a third then elce where."⁴ A month later a further untoward

¹ *Ibid.*, page 81.

² *Ibid.*, page 107.

³ *Ibid.*, page 108.

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 98.

event occurred. The price of the cocoon fell by 25 to 30 per cent., this of course seriously depreciating the value of the silk already wound. In April Hughes informs Agra that he "has ventured 500 rup. to Mucksoudabaude for samples of silke of the sortes wee provide, rather for experience of that place, then the necesitye thereof, beinge encouradged therunto by good liklyehood of principall commoditie and at much easier rates then theise partes afordes. The voyadge is but two monthes [*sic*], which when expired and returne made wee will advize you more of the event".²

Altogether three consignments of goods were despatched to Surat viâ Agra. The first, despatched on October 4th, 1620, in 26 bales, loaded on 4 carts, consisted of "1975 peeces Amber-tyes, 60 pes. sahannes and hammomes, 12 Courge of Tussres, 22 quilts of Sutgonge, 16 Courge 14 pes. Bicuntpoore Layches [*al-âcha*], 270½ seres Bengall silke, 600 rupes in Malda wares for Persia, besides diverse other goods for samples . . . the totall wherof Amounts to 7500 rups".³ The factors sent along with the goods "a cupell of prating birds called mynnas"⁴ as a present for the home authorities. The whole of this consignment was "robed and spoyled by the Decan's Army"⁵ on its way from Agra to Surat. The second (an interim) consignment was despatched on May 19th, of the following year, loaded on two carts; it consisted of "what goods wee had then readye, which were 13 bales silke and 4 balles Callicoos".⁶ The third and final consignment consisted of 9500 pieces of amberty calicoes, 12 score pieces of *sahan* or fine sheeting, 400 rupees' worth of lignum aloes, 50 mds. of gum lac (200 mds. were ordered), a little silk, besides many samples, representing an investment of some 30,000 rupees in all. These goods arrived in Agra, in the charge of Parker, on November 14th.

² *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 102.

³ *Ibid.*, page 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 78. Cp. *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, page 120: "They carrie from him to the kinge some 10 or 12 moynas, a bird of Bengala, which learneth to speake very plaine".

⁵ *Ibid.*, page 107.

⁶ *Ibid.*, page 104.

In a letter to the Company of November 7th, 1621, the factors at Surat write: "Your prohibition of Bengalla silke we have made knowne; as also of your desires of noe more then three or four thousand peeces amberta cloath yearely. Whereby wee have also dissolved the factorie of Puttana, and will write to Mesulipatan that they proceed no further in providinge Bengala¹ silke, although wee finde their prices to agree with your desires". In the resolution of the home authorities here referred to we have clearly the ulterior cause of the decision to close down the factory at Patna. The preference shown at this time for Persian silk is seen in what Pelsart, the Dutch factor at Agra, says in his "Tres Humble Remonstrance", 1627 (Thevenot "*Relations*"): "The English formerly had a factory in Pettena; but six or seven years ago they abandoned the trade, partly because of lack of funds to continue it, partly also because of getting Persian silks more cheaply". The lack of funds of which Pelsart speaks certainly interfered greatly with the success of the venture during the year in which the factory was dissolved. Writing to Surat on January 31st the factors complain that "wee have bine longe in expectation of suplye from Agra, which is not yet come, the defaulte wherof hath lost us four mounthes tyme wherin much good mought have bine done in this place".² And in reporting to the Company on their year's work in August they write: "The late arryvall of the last yeares fleet, with dyvers other hindrances and Impediments in Suratt, occasoned us unexpectedly to remayne here untill March last before they had meanes to remitt us monyes as pretended. . . In fine of March we received from Agra our first supplye in bills of exchange for 5000 rups, and since at severall times sondry other supplyes, in all bills for 32,000 rups., and therewith the transcript of a list from Suratt, which enordered the provizion of 100 mds. Bengala silk and 20,000 pees. Amberty Callicoos of Lackhoare, with further promise of meanes for itts accomplishinge. Butt it seemes them selves beeinge streightned at Suratt, they could

¹ Foster, *English Factories*, page 327

² *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 97.

not supply us as determynd, nor effect what once enordered for want thereof".¹

The orders closing the factory reached Hughes on June 1st ; and the same letter contained news of the death of Fettiplace, the chief at Agra, and instructed Hughes to leave immediately to take his place. Parker's prolonged illness made it impossible, however, for Hughes to leave until the end of the rains.²

Before the factors had actually left Patna fresh orders were received from Surat, recalling Hughes and leaving Parker in charge until the arrival of John Young. But they were not carried out. Parker writes to Surat on September 17th : " We apprehend your order for the future furnisheinge of this place with factors, and my stay here untill Mr. Youngs arryvall to discharge me, which before Mr. Hughes his goeing was considered of, and should have bin observed if had come sooner, butt having cleered all our busines, the Carts hyred, haveing noe rest in Cash, nor any imployment to occasion my stay, thought better to hazard your sensure in derogatinge from your order then to putt the Company to the charge of (as we conceive) my needlesse stay. "³

The change of governor may possibly have had something to do with the decision to leave Patna ; for so much depended in those early days on the favour of those in authority. Mukarrab Khān was recalled early in 1621 ; and there is a note of anxiety in Hughes's letter to Agra of April 11th. " Sultan Parvez is shortlye expected here, and if you intende a settled imployment, it would not bee enconvenient that you sent us somethinge wherewith wee might make causmana [khās nāma] with him, and (if so stored) somethinge for saile, it would bee a furtherance to the rest of our busines to make frends wherof, since

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 107.

² Even before the death of Fettiplace (who had been granted leave to return to England) it had been resolved at a consultation held in Surat on March 1st " that the Pattana factorie shalbe dissolved after this yeare untill the Company send sufficient factors to supply that and other occations", Hughes and Parker being transferred to Agra. (Foster, page 234).

³ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 109.

Muckrob Cones departure, wee are altogether destitute.”¹ On June 2nd he writes : “ The Princes [Prince Parwiz] arrivall here with so greate a retienewe hath made this place to narowe for his entertaynment, which hath caused the removinge diverse, as well merchants as otheres, from theire aboades, whose houses hee hath liberalye bestowed on his servants ; amongst which couppelment wee are displaced, and have bine theise ten dayes wandringe to cover ourselves and goods, though we but with grase, to debar the heate and raynes, now in excesse ; and which havinge now attayned throughe the helpe of Mr. Monye [by payinge a high price] wee endeavor agayne the plasinge our silkwynders . . . so you cannot but conceave the necesitye of frends, and us desitute wherewithall to make them”.² And again on August 7th : “ I have not yett provyded the gum-lacke, nor elce for musters, the merchants, brokers, shopkeepers ette., of the citty beeinge all in trouble for mony which the Prince requyers them to furnish him with ; Soe that none dares be seene to sell a pyce worth of goods”.³ Peter Mundy’s experience in this respect was still worse ; and on leaving he writes : “ We forsooke our howse in Puttana as willinglie as men forsake an infectious place by reason of the tyranny of the Governour, Abdulla Ckaun”.⁴

But it cannot be doubted that one grave objection to the continuance of a factory at Patna was the cost (not to speak of the danger) of transport. Mundy is emphatic on this point. “ The transporte of goods from hence,” he writes, “ is extraordinary farr, deare and daungerous ; but upon my advice there may come shippinge from Masulapatam to any porte hereabout ; and soe the goods might bee sent downe the river Ganges to the sea”.⁵ Hughes at first quotes $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per md. as the freight by bullock cart doing the journey in 35 to 40 days ; and in a letter to Surat of November 11th he repeats : “ The transporte of our goods from hence to Agra at $1\frac{1}{2}$ rups. per maund is no

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 102.

² *Ibid.*, page 104.

³ *Ibid.*, page 106.

⁴ *Travels of Peter Mundy*, volume 2, page 163.

⁵ *Ibid.*, page 151.

dearer then usialye all men paye for theire goods which goeth in Carravan and are 40 dayes on the waye.”¹ For their first consignment the Patna factors actually paid two rupees per maund stipulating that the journey should be completed in 30 days ; otherwise not more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees were to be paid. For their second consignment in May, 1621, they paid $1\frac{3}{4}$ rupees per maund. For their final consignment they experienced great difficulty in getting carts at all, owing partly to the unusually heavy and prolonged rains (which no doubt interfered with the inward traffic), partly to the removal of Prince Parwiz just at that time. They paid $2\frac{1}{4}$ rupees per maund. In addition to the freight they had to provide a small guard ; 10 men were so employed on the first occasion, 6 on the second, and 40 on the third, at wages of $4\frac{1}{4}$ rupees per head. Finally, there were custom charges to be met on the road, in reference to which Parker writes as follows on September 7th : “ Though the way betweene this and Agra is nott very daingerous for robbers, yett nott free of taxes as you may perceave by the transporte of our last goods from hence, which cost 14 rup. per carte, and since other merchants have paid 200 [*sic* ? 20] rup. per carte, soe that it is nott unrequizite that some Englishman accompany the goods, by whose presence the greatest parte or all may peradventure be saved, which I shall endeavour.”²

In conclusion, it may be observed that the letter-book of the English factors presents as a whole a faithful and wonderfully vivid picture of the tasks set before the early pioneers of English trade in India, and of the way in which these were tackled by a man of the keen business instincts and moral grit of Robert Hughes. It reveals Patna as “ the cheifest marte towne of all Bengala,” the seat of a very extensive cotton manufacture and an important entrepôt for Bengal silk 30| to 40 years before the English made it the headquarters of their saltpetre trade.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, volume 43, page 82.

² *Ibid.*, page 109.

V.—The Pirs ; or, The Muhammadan Saints of Bihar.

By Shams-ul-ulama Nawab Saiyid Imdad Imam.

MAKHDUM-UL-MULK.

The Muhammadan saints in Bihār are numerous, but the most notable among them are Pir Jagjot of Jethanli, Makhdum Yahya of Maner, Shah Sharf-ud-din Ahmad of Bihār, Saiyid Ahmad Chirmposh of Amber, Bibi Kamalo of Kako, Saiyid Ahmad of Nadra, Saiyid Jannati of Hilsa, Pir Damarya of Patna, Shah Arzani of Dargah, Makhdum Shaikh of Shaikh-pura and Makhdum Manjhan of Mira Bigha.*

Excepting Shah Sharf-ud-din Ahmad of Bihār, I have not been able up to this time to collect much authentic accounts about the above-noted Pirs. Accordingly I beg to present at first to the public a short life of that great saint bearing the lofty title of the Makhdum-ul-Mulk which means "The Lord of the Country."

MAKHDUM-UL-MULK.

This great saint, whose name was Ahmad, was born in the

Birth.

Hijri year 662 at Maner, the hereditary seat of his father Makhdum Shaikh

Yahya, himself a saint of marked renown. At the time of his birth Emperor Nasiruddin Muhammad, son of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash, held the imperial sceptre of India while Hakim Baummullah was the contemporary Arabian Caliph at Baghdad. The present Hijri year being 1334, a period of 772 lunar years has passed away since the birth of the above-named saint. He has been long dead, yet Makhdum-ul-Mulk's fame is still alive, and it will continue to be so long as the votaries of Islam exist in Bihār. His fame is not confined to the Province of Bihār, it

* The places named are in or about the Patna District.

has penetrated the remotest corners of India where there are Muhammadans among the population. His place of birth is Maner, a very old village near the mouth of the river Sone, the well-known tributary of the mighty Ganges. His sacred remains lie buried outside the town of Bihār.

Makhdum-ul-Mulk was a Shaikh from his father's side, his father tracing his genealogy to Ancestry. Abdul Matallib, grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad. This goes to show that the great saint was a Shaikh of very high origin. But his mother, Bibi Razia, was a true Saiyidani, which means a lady lineally descended from the Arabian Prophet.

The first of Makhdum-ul-Mulk's ancestors to come to India from Jerusalem was Taj Faqih, a Muhammadan theologian of great repute who settled down at Maner. His religious teaching attracted large numbers of Muslim devotionists from all parts of India. Maner in his time became a great seat of learning and sanctity. What led that holy man to migrate from his native country has hitherto remained unknown. It is a mistake to believe that Taj Faqih conquered Maner. He was a scholar, and no soldier. Long before his arrival at Maner the country had been overrun by Saiyid Husain Khing Sawar, the younger brother of the renowned Saiyid Husain Khing Sawar, who is buried at Taragarh, a hill fortress in the neighbourhood of the sacred town of Ajmer.

Makhdum-ul-Mulk's father, Makhdum Shaikh Yahya of Maner, was a holy man of very superior attainments. On the strength of his vast theological learning and acknowledged sanctity, he obtained the hand of one of the daughters of Pir Jag-jot (a Hindi title meaning "the Light of the World"), who besides being a saint of great renown, was also a lineal descendant of the Prophet. By that august lady, whose name was Razia as has already been mentioned, Makhdum Shaikh Yahya had four saintly sons, Makhdum-ul-Mulk being the third among them.

It stands recorded that the future great saint of Bihār received a rudimentary education at Maner under the immediate supervision of his Education.

distinguished father Makhdum Shaikh Yahya. But subsequently through sheer good luck, he got an admirable chance of completing his education by repairing to Sonargaon in the company of Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Abu Tamama, a very eminent scholar and educationist of his age. On political grounds that great man of learning was ordered by the then emperor to quit Delhi and go to Bengal. While on his way to his destination he made a rather long stay at Maner, where he was most hospitably received by Makhdum Shaikh Yahya. It was during his sojourn in the above-named town that the future Makhdum-ul-Mulk came under his good influence and decided to follow him in his exile. Shaikh Sharf-ud-din on leaving Maner proceeded to Sonargaon, which he made his home. His pupil, who was destined to be the great Makhdum-ul-Mulk, diligently applied himself to the study of the Arabian sciences, and in due course of time completed his higher education. He appears to have passed no less than twelve years of his life at Sonargaon.

It was during his stay there that he married the daughter of his master, the above-named Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Abu Tamama. From this marriage he had three children, of whom only one son, named Zaki-ud-din, was destined to live. On becoming aware that his father Makhdum Shaikh Yahya has already died, Makhdum-ul-Mulk at once started for Maner, taking his only son Shaikhzada Zaki-ud-din with him. (By this time he had lost his wife as well. He never married again.) Feeling anxious to visit his mother he asked the permission of his illustrious father-in-law to go back to the land of his deceased parent. The prayer being granted he hastened to Maner, where he presented himself and his little son to his worshipful mother. He passed some months in her company, and then asked her permission to go about in search of a deserving Pir, or spiritual guide.

On obtaining the required permission he left his son Zaki-ud-din at Maner as a source of consolation to his mother, and proceeded to Delhi where he presented himself before the

"Bay'at."

far-famed] spiritual leader His Holiness Nizam-ud-din Auliya. But that great man of mystic piety and learning did not see his way to accept the "Bay'at" or spiritual allegiance of Ahmad, the future great saint of Bihâr. In great disappointment that earnest seeker of truth and guidance left Delhi and proceeded to Panipat to visit the great saint of that city, Shah Sharf-ud-din. This pilgrimage gave no more satisfaction to the truth-seeking visitor, and he did not know what to do next. While labouring under great depression of mind, he was persuaded by his eldest brother Jalal-ud-din to return to Delhi and place himself under the spiritual guide of Najib-ud-din Firdausi, a Pir of no ordinary will-power and piety. The last-named saint accepted the "Bay'at" of his ardent visitor by making him a "Murid" of his Firdausi order. The words "Bay'at" and "Murid" mean "spiritual allegiance" and "spiritual follower," respectively.

After entering the said order, Makhdum-ul-Mulk left Delhi for his own country. He was full of
 Devotional career. Theosophical enthusiasm and every moment his love for God was on the increase. By the time he reached the wooded country in the vicinity of Bihâr in the Shahabad District he had lost all control of himself. Suddenly he left the company of his brother Jalal-ud-din and disappeared in the neighbouring wilderness. Nobody knew where he had gone to. It is recorded that he lived for twelve years in the Bihia jungle enjoying beatific visions. After the expiration of that period he moved on to the Rajgir hills and wandered about in other wild localities as well. Many stories are told about his wanderings and life. To all certainty they do not go to show that he had the common lot of mankind. When his wandering days came to a close he settled down in the town of Bihâr; still he would often go away to the Rajgir hills and other lonely places for the purposes of devotion.

After settling down at Bihâr he is said to have lived there no less than sixty-one years. During
 Settled life at Maner and preaching. this long portion of a very unusually long life (of about one hundred and

twenty-one) he was daily lecturing on the Arabian sciences of his age and imparting a variety of knowledge to all who came to him to receive his instructions. No doubt he was a man of great learning, and his thirst for knowledge was insatiable. But tasawwat, or Theosophy, was the chief object of his study and practice. The fame of his theosophical and theological teaching had travelled to the most distant parts of the then Muhammadan world and he was rightly looked upon as a chosen servant of the Lord.

His great learning, his exemplary piety, his high morals, his inimitable self-denial and his marked aversion to wordly greatness did not fail to attract truth-seekers from the remotest Muhammadan lands. He is known to have had a large number of disciples and adherents, among whom Chulahi and Maulana Muzaffar Balkhi are still remembered with profound respect and esteem.

Several years after Makhdum-ul-Mulk's making Bihār his permanent home, Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlak ascended the throne of Delhi in 725 Hijri. That monarch, who was a great admirer of learning and piety, issued a "firman" in the name of the local Governor, by which he conferred the Pargana of Rajgir on the great saint as his permanent jagir. A khankah, or monastery, was also built for him under the royal order. The truth is that Makhdum-ul-Mulk required no material assistance of any kind, but he did not like to offend his earthly sovereign by not accepting the royal boons. Accordingly he kept the jagir for some time, but ultimately he managed to have the grant withdrawn. With a view to this object, he journeyed to Delhi. The imperial courtiers conjectured that he had come to the royal court for some increase in his jagir, and great was their surprise when in the royal presence he produced the deed and requested that the grant might be withdrawn.

Be it remembered that the great Makhdum-ul-Mulk did not live in the materialistic days of the present age. In his time self-denial was a cardinal virtue. The moralists of the past as

a rule were quite free from every shade of avarice They had no love of gain. They knew and believed that

“ Man wants but little here below,

Nor wants that little long.”

But that age of spiritualism seems to have gone, and now it is simply impossible for the present generation to realize that man can ever be happy without wealth and without leading a “ productive ” life of perpetual gain. In my own wanderings I have come across human beings who required no house to live in, no clothes to warm their bodies, no pantry to keep delicacies and nothing in the shape of the so-called comforts of our life. Such men still exist, and will continue to exist as long as man’s love for God does not die out.

It is an undisputed fact that Makhdum-ul-Mulk was one of

the greatest scholars of his age. His

His learning.

numerous epistles support this statement.

Besides being a renowned theosophist and a spiritualist, he was a great metaphysician also. A pamphlet of his that treats of ontology amply proves that he was quite conversant with the Peripatetic Philosophy of the great Aristotle. In his religious views he was entirely free from the heretical tendencies of such philosophers as Averroes or Avicenna. He lived and died a full believer in Islam, holding the very refined views about divinity inculcated by that great monotheistic religion. He breathed his last in the Hijri year 782 at the age of 121 lunar years.

I have referred above to the theosophy of Makhdum-ul-Mulk.

History of Sufism or
Muhammadan Theosophy.

It will not be out of place to insert here

a few remarks on “ Sufism ” which has

been more or less the groundwork of the

religions of all the Muhammadan saints, who, like the Makhdum-ul-Mulk, have invariably belonged to the Sunni sect. Be it noted that the Shias simply follow the Imams of the house of Muhammad, and consequently stand aloof from Sufism as a matter of course. They consider the teachings of their Imams to be quite sufficient for their guidance, and look

upon Sufism as heresy, or an unnecessary innovation. The history of Sufism is that it was founded by a woman named Rabi'a who lived in the first century of the Hijra. Her doctrine was that God must be loved above all things because He alone is worthy of love, and that everything here below must be sacrificed in the hope of one day attaining union with God. This doctrine is not incompatible with that of the Shia school. But subsequently "Sufism" degenerated (I am using this term from the point of view of Muhammadan theology) into Pantheism and became a doctrine antagonistic not only to the teachings of the Imams of the house of the Prophet but also to those of the leaders of the Sunni sect. It obviously assumed the character of Spinoza's Pantheism.

After Rabi'a there flourished a certain Abu Saiyid bin Abul Khair, who went a step further and taught his disciples to forsake the world and embrace a monastic life. The renunciation was strongly recommended in order to enable them to devote themselves exclusively to meditation and contemplation. The followers of Abu Said wore woollen garments, and as the equivalent of wool in Arabic is Suf, they received the name of Sufis or the "wearers of the woollen garments."

Up to the time of Abu Saiyid the doctrine of the Sufis was not inconsistent with the teachings of Islam, nor did it differ much from the Neoplatonic ideas in respect of the union of the human mind with the universal mind of God. But subsequently as stated above, Sufism departed from its original purpose, and was gradually led towards Pantheism by argumentators who commenced to discuss freely the question of the Divine nature. Among such men in the reign of the Arabian Caliph Al Muqtadir was a Persian Sufi named Mansur Hallaj, who taught publicly that every man is God, an assertion obviously antagonistic to Islamic teaching. For this heresy he was put to a very ignominious death. Sufism had made great progress at one time in Persia, but it declined afterwards. However it has not disappeared from that country altogether.

The great Makhdum-ul-Mulk, although a Sufi of great distinction, was free from all pantheistic views. He always believed and taught that God was God and man was man. The Theosophy of the Makhdum-ul-Mulk. To the end of his life he never departed from the belief of monotheism ; he closely followed Sufism so far as it prescribes that God must be loved above all things, as He alone is worthy of love. Taking into consideration the purity of his soul and the elevation of his character, it will not be impertinent to remark that like Socrates the great saint of Bihar "lived and died as none can live and die."



VI.—Note on Prehistoric Stone Implements found in the Singhbhum District.

By C. W. Anderson.

Up to the present date there are few recorded instances of implements of the Stone Age being found in Singhbhum. The earliest was the discovery of some chert flakes and knives by Captain Beeching on the banks of the river near Chaibassa and Chakradharpur when on his way to quell a rising in Keonjhar in 1868.¹ Later, Professor Valentine Ball recorded the finding of a few flakes and axes,² but little or no information seems to have been given of the position of any of these relative to the alluvium from which they had been recovered.

The portion of Singhbhum dealt with in the present note is the valley of the Sanjai and tributary streams from a point about two miles west of Lotapahar Station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, north-eastwards to Sini, a distance of about 30 miles as the crow flies.

In April 1915 the attention of the present writer was attracted to the possibility of finding stone implements by the suggestive appearance of the soil on the banks of the Binjai River which joins the Sanjai a mile or two from Chakradharpur. The whole valley, at least within the limits above mentioned, is in a period of denudation. This is noticeable on the banks of the many streams which come down from the surrounding hills. With each wet monsoon more and more soil is washed down towards the rivers, leaving isolated plateaux or table-lands with more or less precipitous sides separated by rain gullies. These plateaux present an extraordinary appearance, and those connected with the main river sometimes extend half a mile from

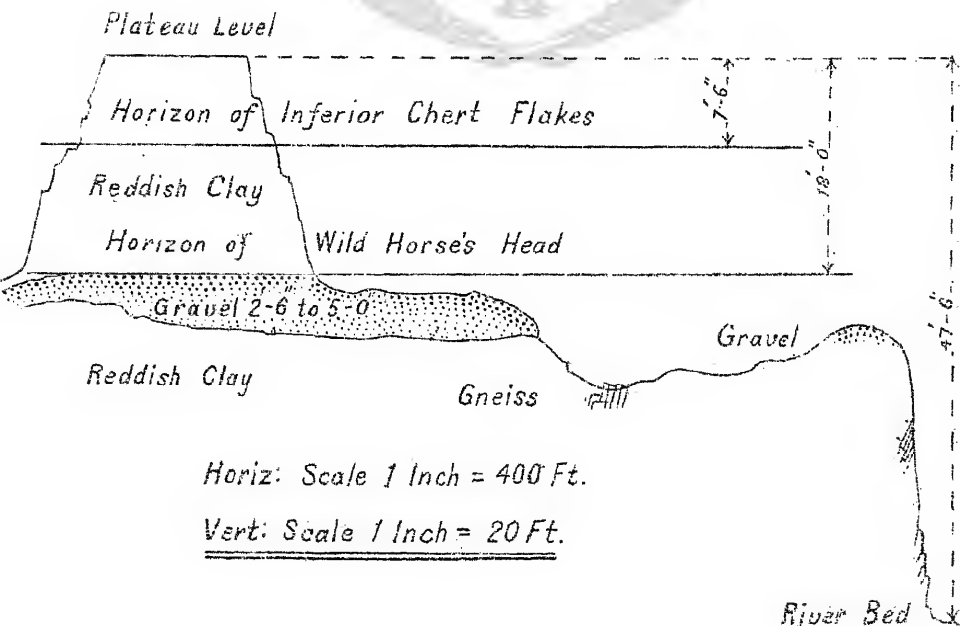
¹ Proc. A. S. B., 1868, page 177, 1870, p. 268.

² V. Ball: Proc. A. S. B., pages 118-120, Jungle Life in India, 1880 pages 473-5, App. B.

its banks. It will be seen that the conditions are extremely favourable for the collection of the relics of another age without the trouble of much excavation.

The surface of the valley is undulating and generally slopes downwards towards the Sanjai river before isolated plateaux are formed. The soil near Chakradharpur is, however, stable and the plain level at this point was compared with that of the largest plateaux left near the banks of the Binjai about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west and found to be substantially the same. As one or two relics were excavated from stiff and undisturbed clay at or near these plateaux, it is possible to fix without a doubt the minimum depth of soil which had accumulated since their deposition. A sketch of a typical plateau will serve to show the conditions.

Typical Section near Binjai River



The top soil is sometimes reddish and sometimes dark coloured, the latter having many of the characteristics of the black cotton soil of the Central Provinces. Gneisses, traps and schists outcrop in apparent confusion. With the exception of the trap the surface rocks are much decomposed, and the place of the black and red soil is sometimes taken by white schists or clays from decomposed granitic rocks. Wells sunk at Chakradharpur generally show a gravel bed of 9 feet to 10 feet thickness at depths varying from 12 feet to 23 feet from the surface, the overlying soil being black and the underlying strata being of whitish clay or schists. The top gravels, however, are not constant and in some places disappear altogether. At lower levels made visible by the Sanjai river there are other layers of gravel of varying thickness, and finally there is a compact layer 10 feet thick, of large water-worn pebbles at a height of about 10 feet above the level of the present river bed.

The level at which the stone implements were found coincides in the main with that of the last deposit of gravel. They are later than the gravel, for they are not in the least water-worn in the ordinary sense of the word; but, with a few exceptions to be noted later, they were evidently deposited earlier than the 18 feet of soil which covered that gravel. The evidence of this is absolute in the case of two finds near the Binjai river. The first was an animal's jaw-bone and teeth which were dug out of the solid clay near the foot of a plateau and at a depth of 18 feet from its upper surface; and the second was the fragment of pick or adze illustrated as No. 36, which was 19 feet from the same level and about a hundred yards to one side. These were undoubtedly in situ. The jaw-bone was extremely frail but the teeth were in fair condition. The whole fossil was sent up for identification by the authorities to the Indian Museum and pronounced by them to be part of a small wild horse or ass, which might be considered contemporary with some stone implements sent up at the same time. Mr. J. Coggin-Brown wrote as follows:—"Referring to your letter of 18th instant, I return herewith the horse skull and

teeth ; I have had the valuable advice of Dr. Pilgrim on it and have to report that it is a small horse closely related to the modern domesticated variety, but yet showing certain minor points of differences from it. Without further study on more material it is impossible to definitely decide the question, but I may say that it appears to *me* to show relationship with a fossil horse found in the Karnaul caves of Southern India and also with the wild ass. I venture the opinion that the skull may have belonged to a wild horse very nearly related to the modern one but this is only a tentative conclusion." There is also no reasonable doubt as to the horizon of the majority of the other implements, which were found at the same levels, either on the surface or half buried in the soil, the only difference being that very slight excavation was necessary.

It has been said that the level of the table-lands near the river Sanjai is not always that of the same formations farther from the main river. In some cases it is about 20 feet lower, and in such cases the level at which the implements are found is correspondingly lower. Worked chert flakes have been dug out at the expected level from a clearly marked line round the exposed sides of the plateaux. This line is also marked by a very thin deposit of gravel. The conclusion arrived at is that the valley undulated when the flakes and celts were made in much the same manner as it does now, and that about 18 feet of soil were subsequently deposited all over the valley after its occupation by the Stone Age men.

The method of search adopted strongly confirms this conclusion. It is only necessary to estimate with the eye an approximate depth of 18 feet or so below the highest point of the surrounding plain, and follow that contour round the plateaux. Outside of a few feet either way, higher or lower levels have been found barren. The exceptions to this rule, so far as "celts" are concerned, are few but Nos. 33, 42, 44 and 51 were found at 7 feet 6 inches from plateau level. The first three are thin celts of laminated slaty material which could only have been used for very light work. There is little sign of grinding except at the

cutting edge. No. 51 is a shallow bowl, dished for about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " diameter, and made of a coarsely crystalline dark greenish stones. It was probably used to hold sand and water for rubbing down the cutting edges of the stones. There are also large quantities of broken chert at this level but more finished flakes seem to be associated with the other implements lower down. A few chert tools may be found distributed amongst the others but in the main occur locally and in large numbers. The majority are apparently cast-offs thrown on to the spoil-heap as not worth proceeding with, but a search generally reveals a few specimens which have a definite form and were intended for a definite use. Leaf-like shapes, such as Nos. 12 or 17, are perhaps the commonest. There are also numerous small scrapers of the Nos. 10 and 14 type and a fair number of knives (Nos. 11, 16, 19) and points or borers such as 9, 13, 18. Burins or gravers like Nos. 15 and 20 are comparatively scarce. Retouching or secondary flaking does not appear to have been indulged in to any great extent but Nos. 15, 19 and 20 are good examples of this. The retouching on these makes a good surface for the finger pressure and is equivalent to the "knurling" of modern metal tools. An additional indication of the use to which No. 20 was put is a slight but distinct adjustment of the cutting edge at one end by grinding. (This is not visible on the drawing.)

No. 10 is also slightly retouched on both edges as a protection against breaking while in use.

The quality of the chert varies considerably. It is often of grey or brown material cutting in straight smooth line and more rarely approximates to the true flint with its characteristic conchoidal fracture (see *Fig. 11*). The place of the chert is sometimes taken by agate or chalcedony obtainable from the cavities of the surrounding rocks. Core No. 1 was evidently chosen for beauty rather than tractability, it is a many-coloured silicate so hard and brittle that it must have sorely taxed the skill and patience of the workman. It requires but little imagination to look upon some of these spoil heaps as the local jewellers' manufactories, littered as they are with pieces of variegated agate and

chalcedony and also fragments of the purest rock crystal; but as yet no beads or other ornaments have been found.

Figs. 21 to 24 are all fashioned of chert. *Fig. 21a, 21*, is a small but typical "boucher" or pointed oval probably used for boring holes in hides. *Figs. 22, 22a* show opposite sides of an end scraper. The first side having been shaped on the nodule, the second has evidently been formed by a single blow directed as shown by the arrow mark, the bulb of percussion and radiating striae being plainly visible. The scraping edge is slightly retouched.

Figs. 23, 23a, b, are three views of a beaked or keeled scraper. This implement is peculiarly interesting because precisely similar stones are characteristic of the earliest of the Upper Palaeolithic deposits of Europe called by Professor Sollas³ the Aurignacian period; and again something like them was also used by the Bushmen of South Africa. A small part of the original skin of the chert nodule has been left on the upper surface which has been roughly flaked to form a high keel, and finally the under-surface (not shown in the drawing) has been formed by one blow from the parent nodule in the same manner as the under-surface of No. 22. The scraping edge has afterwards been slightly re-touched. This stone has a very dense grey patina.

Figs. 24, 24a, is a good example of a discoid shaped to make a combined scraper and smoother.

The scraping edge is shown uppermost in the drawing. I have remarked on the local concentration of chert flakes. The concentration of the stone celts, axes, etc., is only a shade less remarkable and equally significant; though the conclusion I have come to is not the same. The great number of shapeless and apparently cast-off chert flakes point to the existence of workshops for the sole purpose of turning them out for the use of the community. The larger chert implements, such as the scrapers last described, are comparatively rare. The axes, chisels,

³ "Ancient Hunters," W. J. Sollas. See Fig. 139, Nos. 1 and 6 and Fig. 224c.

etc., are widely enough distributed—considering the comparatively small portion of ground laid bare—to point to a prehistoric population at least as numerous as that now inhabiting Singbhum. At the same time some sites are very prolific of implements and others quite barren. In at least two cases as many as 18 were found in a space of about 30 yards square. A quarter of a mile away or less three or four implements might be found, and so on.

The most favourable grounds for search are marked by a litter of broken stone of every description. This may seem to indicate the site of a workshop as in the case of the cherts, but from the great variety of the tools and intermittent spacing of the sites my impression is that they were the dwelling-places of a family or group of families.

The tools vary greatly in size, workmanship, quality of material, and treatment. Two extremes are shown in *Figs. 25 and 26*, *No. 25*, about $7\frac{1}{4}$ " long, is the largest complete stone in the collection. It is a rough unshapely adze made of trap, and in section and general appearance is much the same as *No. 36*. (For section see *36c*.) *No. 26*, on the contrary, is symmetrical and though of the same material has been ground to a fine finish.

No. 28 is a portion of a hammer or possibly a pestle and is made of a translucent apple-green stone—apparently a quartzite—with red veinings. The neck portion is very finely ground.

No. 29, which is 6" long, is another fairly symmetrical tool made of trap, very hard, but with thick patina of decomposition.

Fig. 30 is typical of a large number of flat tools—always broken—which seem to have been for rough use and in the manufacture of which little time has been wasted. The end of the one illustrated has been slightly smoothed, as a rule they show no signs of grinding. The material is trap.

No. 31 (which seems to be the progenitor of the present-day "cold" chisel), *Nos. 32 and 35* are fine examples of skilful chipping. Grinding has, except for the cutting edges of the first two, had little part in the finishing of them. Only the toughest

and finest-grained trap seems to have been used for this class of tool. As may be seen by the end view of 32*b*, the edge of a good tool was often ground and re-ground until it had lost all symmetry. Some times they were eventually used as hammers (see *Fig. 27*).

No. 34, of similar material, is quite a common implement. Its shape will be familiar to those who have seen Professor Valentine Ball's communications.⁴

No. 33 has already been mentioned as one of the thin slaty stones found at a higher level.

No. 36, a trap adze or pick, would, when complete, be much the same size as *No. 25*, though rather more splayed out at the broad end. Grinding has had very little part in the shaping of this implement.

No. 37 is an example of a very unsymmetrical though polished tool.

No. 38, on the other hand, has been both symmetrical and highly polished. *No. 39* is quite the reverse and an example of very indifferent workmanship. The ridges on the upper face indicate the method of grinding on a flat stone transversely. The devices for grinding seem to have been various. Large fragments of flat or slightly dished stones have been found, on which the implements have been rubbed down like *No. 39*, and it is possible that the dish shown in *Fig. 51* was also for rubbing down the cutting edges.

Fig. 41 is a side view of a small honing-stone which could be held between the thumb and fingers. It has three smooth sides—one curved and two nearly flat. The flat rubbing stones found are of trap and sandstone, the dished one of a coarsely crystalline hornblendic stone and the small three-sided stone is of trap, very fine in texture.

The axe to which *No. 41* is shown applied is the only one of its kind found and looks a formidable weapon. It has been highly finished.

⁴ Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, Vol. 6, 1875, page 118, No. 8.

No. 45 is possibly a chisel like No. 31 and has been similarly treated but with much greater finish and polish.

No. 46 is a thin tool of laminated material with less than the usual patina.

No. 47 is a fragment of a soapstone dish. The fragment is too small for anything but tentative speculation as to the use to which the implement was put, but it bears a remarkable resemblance to a modern Eskimo lamp. *Fig. 48* is a reproduction of a drawing of an Eskimo lamp by Professor Sollas⁵ who looks upon the Eskimos as the modern representatives of Magdalenian man, and while drawing other analogies compares their lamps with those found in the Magdalenian deposits of France. The lamps were generally of soapstone or fine sandstone.

Figs. 49 and 50 are fragments of ringstones, supposed to have been used by the women for weighting digging sticks. In the first-named perforation has been commenced at both sides and then abandoned.⁶ This is a peculiarity of these stones which has been attributed to sudden panic. If we are to believe the drawings of Mr. E. T. Reed and other artists, there were many sources of panic in those days; but a simpler explanation would be an early human dislike for hard labour. The ringstones are by no means the only implements which have been abandoned before completion. Incidentally this unfinished stone gives a clue to the reason for the bevelling of the perforation.

The work was carried on from both sides until the centre was broken through. The concave bevel which was the natural result of the method of work was then slightly rounded off and made convex where it met the outer faces. The material was sandstone.

Fig. 52 is difficult to give a name to. It is of sandstone and the underside has at one time been smooth. Possibly it is a form of rubbing-stone, but more likely it was a small anvil for breaking small fish-bones upon.

⁵ "Ancient Hunters" pages. 465, 498.

⁶ Idem cf. Remarks on *Fig. 252*, page 459.

The drawings have been made as typical as possible of some hundreds of implements or fragments of implements found. There are, however, no two exactly alike, and there are many gradations between one type and another. For the most part the stones are fragmentary. Exposure to sun and rain seems to have cracked a large number; others have been battered by use; and others again have been discarded before completion. Most of them are decomposed on the surface, and have a buff coloured patina varying with the soil in which they have been lying. Where "kankar" is present in any quantity the patina is perhaps specially thick and light-coloured. The favourite material is the trap of varying quality which is so common in the district but the composition of some of the stones is obscure, and owing to the depth to which the decomposition of the surface has extended, cannot be exactly ascertained without sacrificing the implement.

Period.—Geologists may be able to form an opinion of the date of the stones from the depth of the soil which overlaid them, but it may not be without value to draw inferences from the analogy of the discoveries to similar finds in other parts of the world. In Professor Sollas' work, already quoted, he attempts a system of chronology which very greatly increases the interest attached to this form of research and which may go far to eventually remove the uncertainty hitherto felt.

The newer and older Stone Ages recognized are the Neolithic and Palæolithic; the latter being divided into upper and lower. Sollas subdivides these with their approximate dates as follows :—

MIDDLE OF PERIOD.			
Upper Palæolithic	{	Azilian Stage	... 7,500 years from present date
		Magdalenian	... 10,000 to 13,000.
		Solutrian	} 13,000 to 17,000, including
		Aurignacian		part of the Mousterian Period.

Lower Palæolithic	{	Mousterian	...	17,000 to 27,000.
		Acheulean	...	
		Chellean	...	27,000. Close of Chellean.
		Strepyan.		
	{	Anglian.		

It is true that this system is based largely upon European discoveries and particularly upon those of the Somme Valley, where extraordinary facilities for the distinction of periods exist. But stages of culture in the Stone Industries existed all the world over, although in any particular place there may be only one stage represented ; or, what has more significance, a gap in the sequence of stages. For a jump from, say, the Aurignacian to the Magdalenian implements would in all probability involve not merely the development of Man but the migration of the first race and its replacement by another of quite different characteristics. Sollas finds remote traces of the Mousterians in the Australian Blacks, strong affinities to the Aurignacians in the Bushmen of South Africa, and equally strong affinities to the Magdalenians in the Eskimos, with whom possibly the Red Indians may be included. Customs, paintings, implements, and the formation of the skull all go to build up his theories.

The fact that all these races still use stone and other implements which, making allowance for the passage of time, have a strong resemblance to those used by prehistoric man of course vitiates, or, rather, discounts the application of Sollas' chronology to the present case unless borne out by geological evidence, since an industry may survive its originators many thousands of years and only be terminated by the extinction, absorption, or development of the race which practised it.

The extinct Tasmanians, and the still surviving Bushmen, Red Indians, Eskimos, and other races all prove this.

The age of the Singhbhum relics, therefore, seems to rest mainly on the Geologists' estimate of the time required to deposit about 18 feet of the soil described in the Valley of the

Sanjai. Nevertheless an examination of some of the stones provides food for interesting speculation. If we come to the conclusion that the stones are all of one age it is difficult to reconcile the roughly chipped No. 36 with the highly finished little stone immediately underneath it or with 26, 28 or 29. The fact that a few stones were found on higher horizons seems to point to at least two different periods and alternate local accretion and denudation of the soil might eventually bring stones of different periods to lie side by side. But it is at least equally probable that the difference in the majority was due to a difference in purpose. The workmen would naturally spend more time over a tool intended for delicate work than over one which they knew would be very shortly broken. There is little doubt that No. 30 is an example of the last-named. Individual workmanship also varied just as much as it does to-day.

Generally speaking the trap implements may be classed as what Mr. Logan calls mesolithic⁷—intermediate between neolithic and palæolithic. This definition would bring them into line with Professor Sollas' Azilian stage if the assumption be made that there was an uninterrupted sequence of industries. But this is by no means a necessary assumption and such implements as can be compared with European collections rather point to an origin contemporary in stage of culture, if not in age, with the Magdalenian. The lamp (if it is a lamp), see *Fig. 47*, is Magdalenian. The ring-stones (*Figs. 49 and 50*) are characteristic of the Magdalenian period and so are the anvils (*Fig. 52*).

There is perhaps more chance of direct comparison when the cherts are examined. An expert on the various periods would draw valuable conclusions from the "retouching" alone of the knife and gravers (*Figs. 19, 15 and 20*), as this was distinctive for each of the Aurignacian Solutrine and Magdalenian periods. The Solutrian may, I think, be dismissed, as flint implements of this period reached a level of workmanship and finish which is

⁷"Old Chipped Stone of India", A. C. Logan.

quite absent here. The pointed borer (*Fig. 21*) might belong to any of the palæolithic periods. *Fig. 22* has counterparts in both Aurignacian and Magdalenian deposits while the keeled scraper (*Fig. 23*) has already been commented upon as being strongly characteristic of the Aurignacian period; and as being also made by a later people (the Bushmen) whose slow migration from the shores of the Mediterranean southwards until they eventually reached South Africa in diminished numbers has been traced with some show of probability of their direct descent from Aurignacian man.

It is interesting to speculate on the comparative value on the one hand of similarity of environment and consequent needs, and on the other hand of similarity of race as a factor in the perpetuation of an implement of such a peculiar and distinctive type. Race would seem to have accounted for it in the case of the Bushmen but the question is complicated by the reappearance of these stones or their derivatives after a long interval at the very end of the Magdalenian period and even among neolithic stones in France. To return for a moment to the smaller chert flakes, there is no evidence that they can be classed as Azilian, for they lack the geometrical forms which characterized that period; but any of them might be Magdalenian. If as Sir Edward Gait thinks,⁸ the so-called aboriginal tribes now inhabiting Chōtā Nāgpur are the direct descendants of the men who made the stone implements in this district, it is hoped that this short note may some day form a small link in the eventual elucidation of the mystery of the origin of those tribes. Professor Valentine Ball has already commented on the similarity of certain peculiarly shaped implements found in Singhbhum and in Burma and adjoining countries.⁹

Babu Sarat Chandra Roy has shown that the investigations of philologists connect the language of the Kolarian tribes in India with other scattered tribes, including two aboriginal tribes of the Straits of Malacca and also the Annamese.¹⁰

⁸ Preface to "The Mundas and Their Country" Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

⁹ Proc. A. S. B., June 1875.

¹⁰ "The Mundas and their Country," page 22. Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

To one who has lived in a Mongolian country, as I have, the semi-Mongolian appearance of some of the Hos, especially the women, is very striking. Ethnologists do not seem to agree as to the possibility of a Mongolian strain in the race, but be this as it may, there is nothing inconsistent in this theory with the direct descent of this tribe from a Magdalenian race of stone-implement makers. The Ho himself gives no assistance in solving the puzzle: To parody the poet:—

“The *patthar* by the river’s brim

“A simple *patthar* is to him

“And it is nothing more,”

except perhaps a thunder-stone and useful as medicine.



All Natural Size

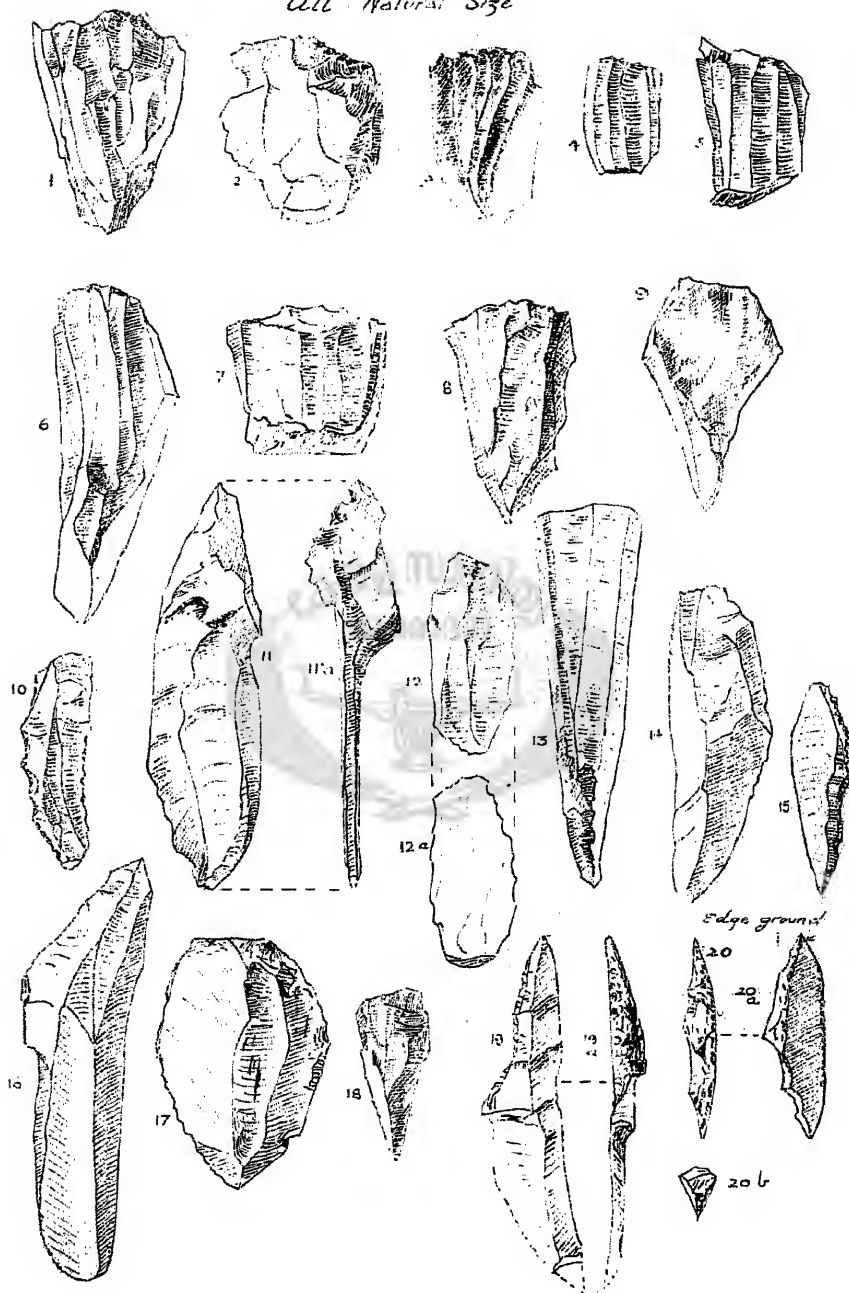


Plate I.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

All Natural Size except N^o 24 which is $\times \frac{2}{3}$

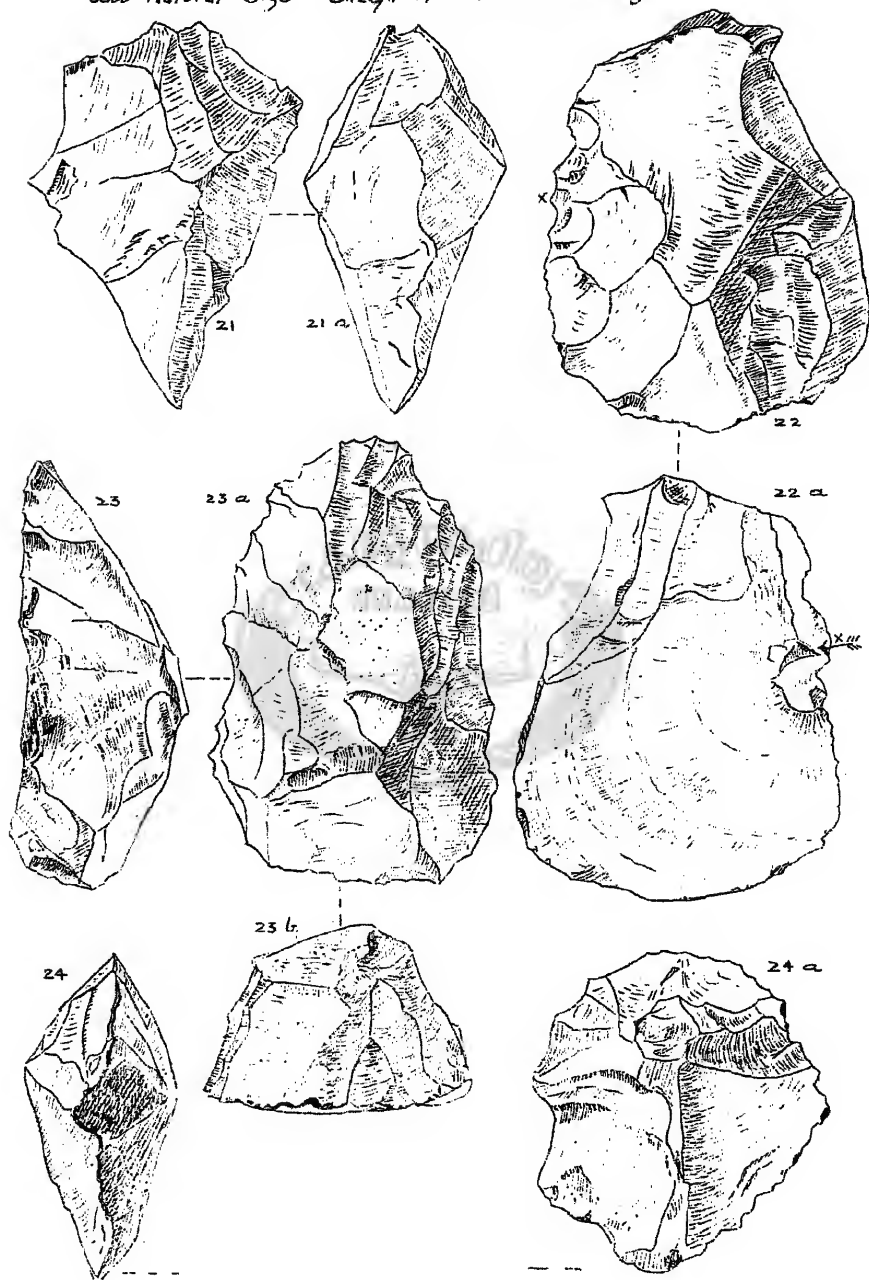


Plate II.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

all Half Size

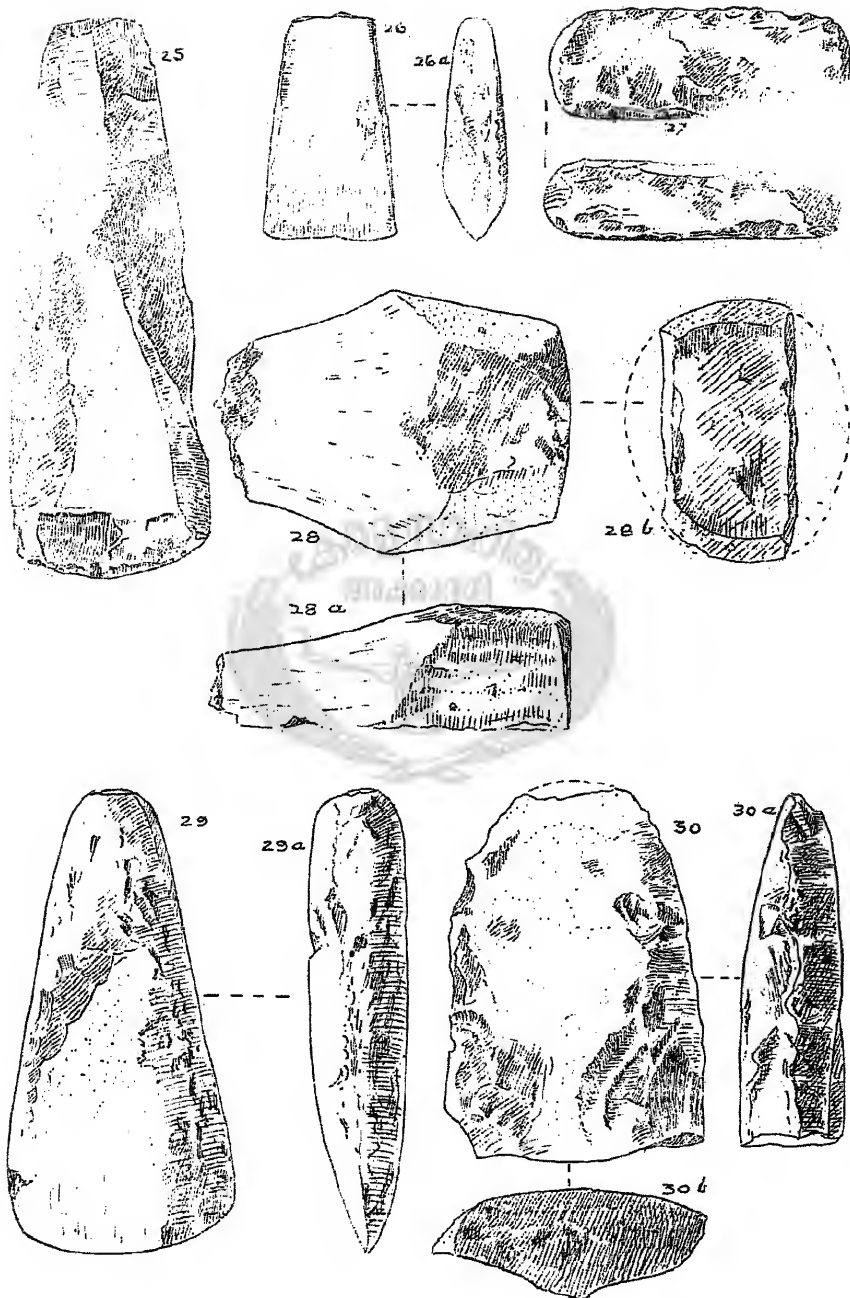


Plate III.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

All Natural Size

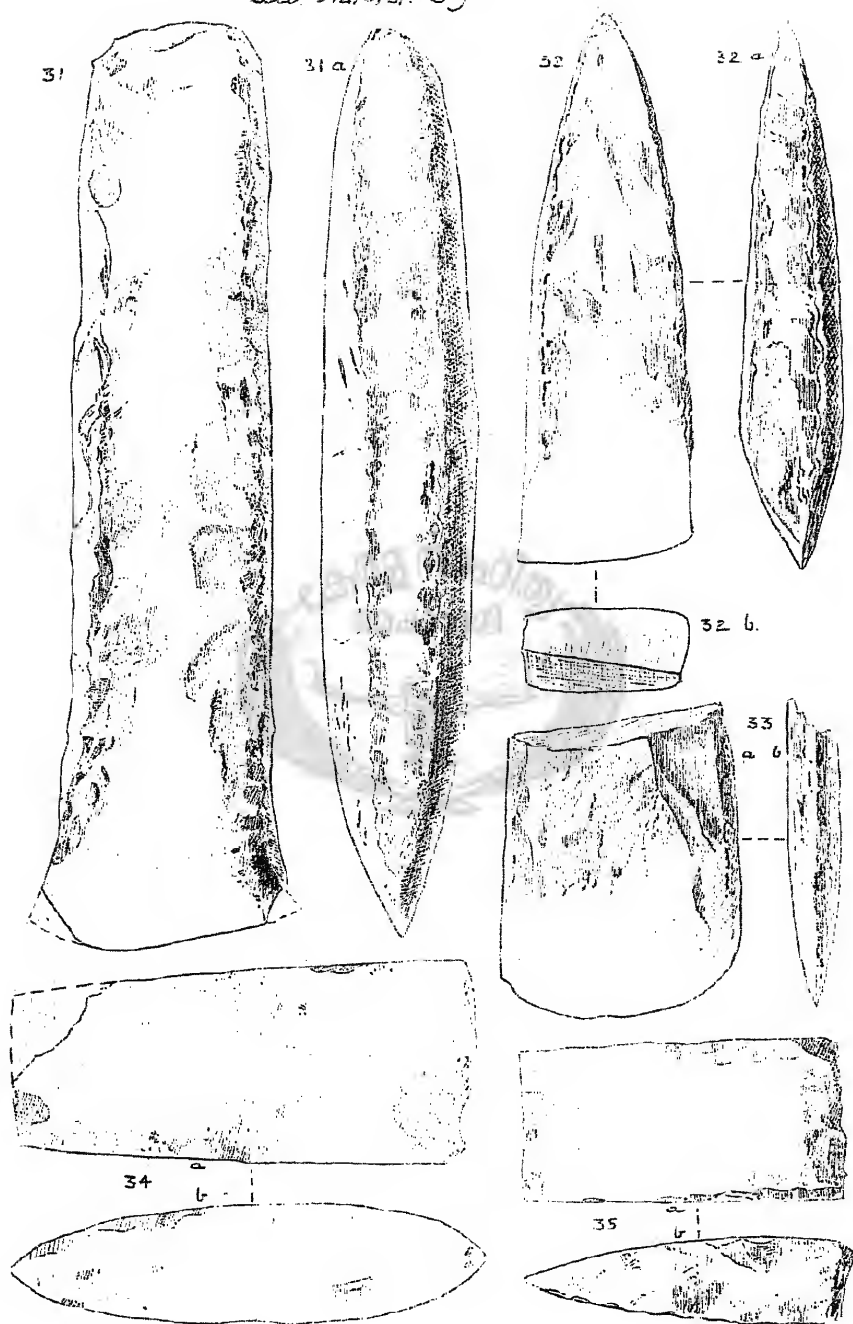


Plate IV.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

All Natural Size except N° 38 which is $\times \frac{2}{3}$

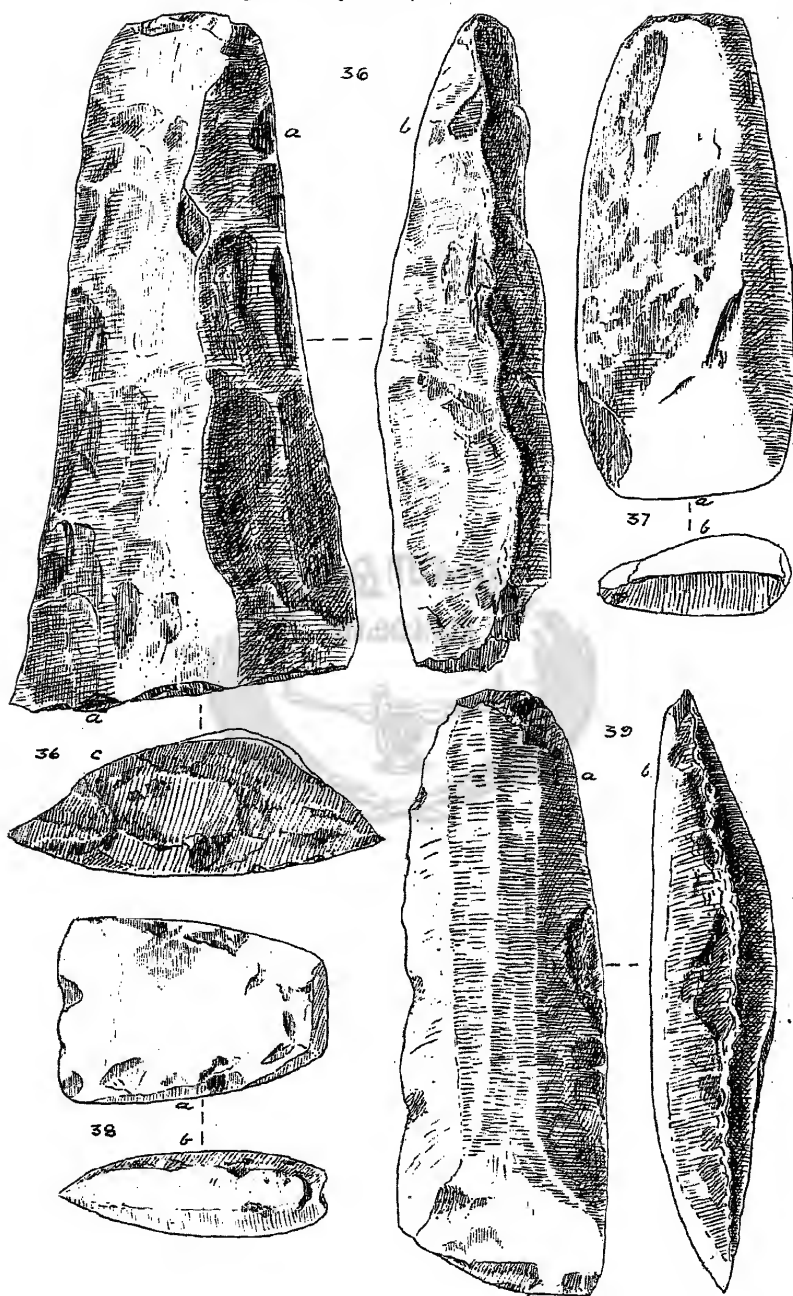


Plate V.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

All Natural Size

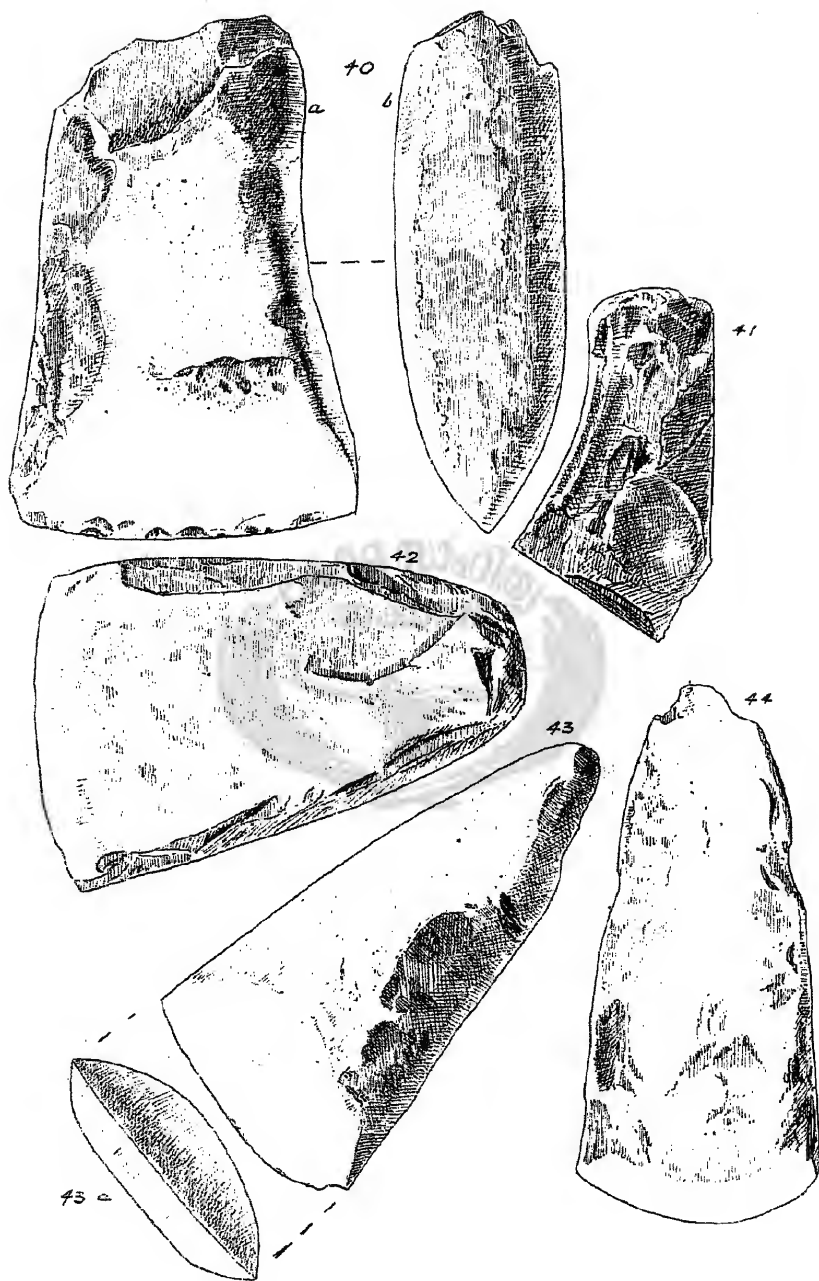


Plate VI.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

All Natural Size except N° 48 which is by about $\frac{1}{3}$

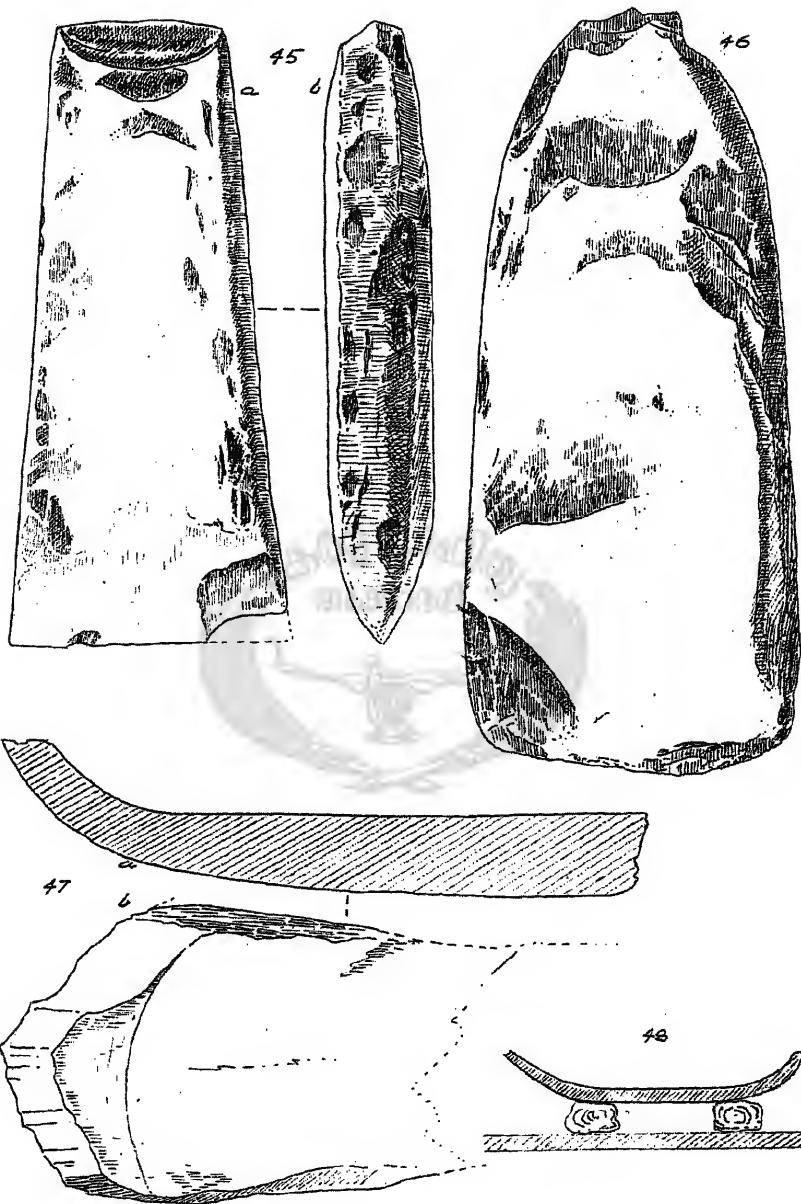


Plate VII.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

Natural Size

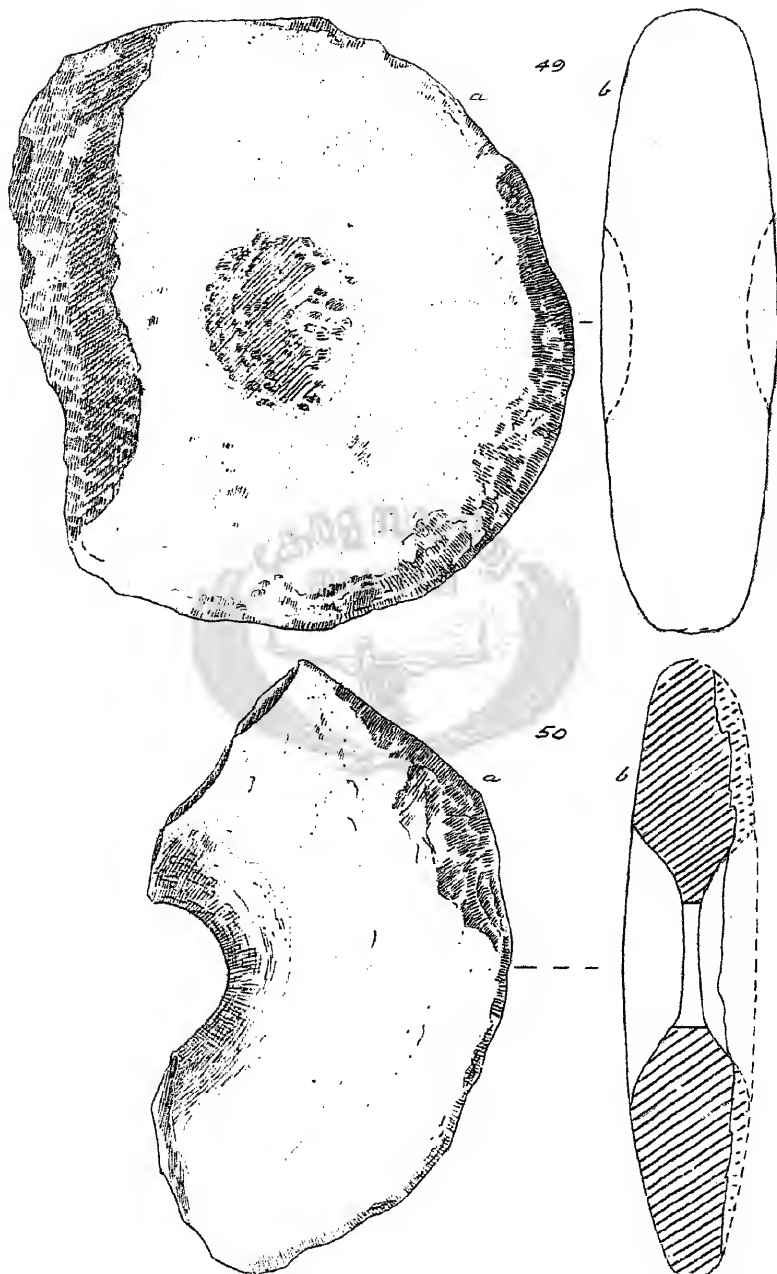


Plate VIII.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

N° 51 is $\times \frac{1}{2}$. N° 52 Natural Size

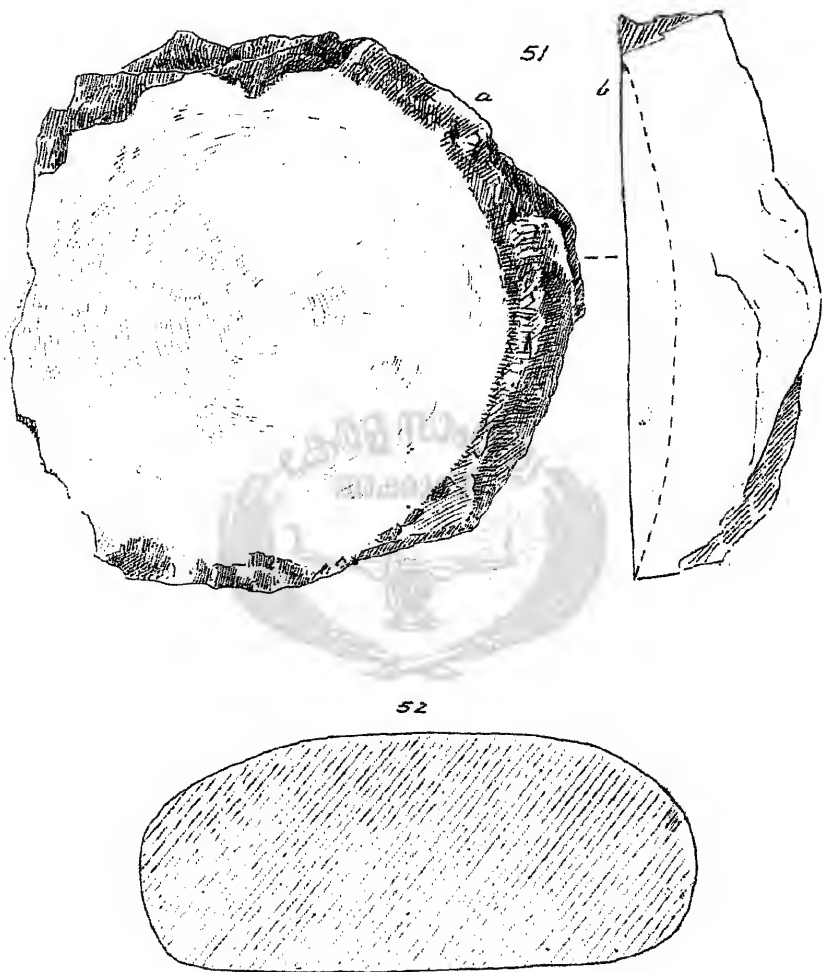


Plate IX.—Prehistoric Stone Implements.

VII.—Social Organization of the Birhōrs

By Sarat Chandra Roy M.A.

Such social organization as the Birhōrs possess is of a rudimentary type. They have, at the present day, a two-fold organization, namely, an organization for purposes of food-quest and another for purposes of marriage and kinship. I shall in the present paper deal with the former.

The tribe, as we have seen, is divided up into scattered communities, each consisting of from three or four to at most nine or ten families who move about as one band from jungle to jungle in search of food or live together in or near some jungle as a comparatively settled local group.

Each group has a headman, supposed to be supernaturally elected. This headman is called the *Nāyā*, a name probably derived from Sanskrit *Nāyāk*, a leader. Although the *Nāyā* is primarily the priest of the group, he is regarded also as its secular headman. He is chosen of the guardian spirits of the settlement, and he alone can propitiate them and keep them in order and thereby avert mischief or misfortune and secure good luck to the community. Although he is regarded as the "mālik" or lord of the settlement, his position is only that of a chief among equals. On the death of a *Nāyā* the will of the spirits as to his successor is ascertained through the medium of a ghost-doctor or *Māti* of which there are one or two in almost every local group. The *Māti* frantically swings his head from side to side and works himself up into a state of ecstasy, and in that state of obsession reveals the will of the spirits. The spirits, however, appear invariably to prefer a son of the late *Nāyā*, so that the post of the *Nāyā* in every Birhōr *ṭāṇḍā* is practically hereditary. When the *Māti* gets into a state of obsession, the spirit supposed to have

possessed him is asked by the people: "Whom will you have for your *Nāyā*?" The spirit answers through the *Māti*, "We want a man of such and such an appearance. He has so many children; we shall obey him." When a new *Nāyā* is selected, his first act is to take a bath in some spring or stream. On his return he is conducted to the sacred grove known as the Jilu-Jāyār where the hunting-nets of the settlement have been placed in a heap. There he offers rice to the spirits, and the men of the *ṭāṇḍā* go out for a hunt to test the correctness of the selection. If the hunt proves successful, there is rejoicing in the *ṭāṇḍā*. If, however, it has been a failure, the *Māti* is called upon for an explanation. And the *Māti* again works himself up to a state of ecstasy and finds out what spirit has been standing in the way of success. On his declaring the name of the spirit and the sacrifices he requires, the new *Nāyā* proceeds to conciliate the unfriendly spirit and thus puts himself right with man and spirit. As it is through the sacrifices offered by the *Nāyā* that success attends a hunting party, the *Nāyā* receives the neck (*khāṇḍi*) and half the flesh of the back (called 'bisi') of every animal killed at a hunt by the men of his *ṭāṇḍā*, whether the *Nāyā* attended the hunt or not. If he attends the hunt he gets in addition to his special share, the usual share allotted to each hunter. When any such game has been sold by the hunters, the *Nāyā* is given two annas as price of the 'bisi' and 'khāṇḍi'.

The *Nāyā* appoints a man of his local group as the Kōṭwār or Diguār whose duty is to call people to the hunt, to attend at the sacrifices and make all necessary arrangements for them. Even if he fails to attend a hunt, he is given a share of the game, equal to what each of the hunters receives.

The position of a *Māti* is different from that of the *Nāyā* or of the Kōṭwār. The *Māti* is neither elected nor appointed. And in fact there may be, and often are, more than one *Māti* in a *ṭāṇḍā*. And, again, there may be a *ṭāṇḍā* without a *Māti*, in which case (which is however rare) recourse has to be had to the

Māti of some neighbouring *tāṇḍā* whenever required. It is only a person, generally a nervous person, who feels a call to the vocation of a *Māti*, and by observing the strict rules as to diet and worship, attains, or is believed to have attained, the requisite occult powers, who is recognized as a *Māti*. Such a person is believed to have the power of second sight. The function of a *Māti* is to find out which particular *bhūt* or *bhūts* are causing any sickness or other misfortune to the community and what sacrifices are required to propitiate them, and it is the duty of the *Nāyā* to offer the requisite sacrifices. When there has been a new birth in a *tāṇḍā*, certain hills [which may not stand pollution (*chhūt*)] have to be avoided by a hunting party of that *tāṇḍā* until the purification or *ṭhaṭhi* ceremony of the child is celebrated on the seventh day from the birth. It is the business of the *Māti* to discover and declare which hills [would] resent such contact.

The association of each *tāṇḍā* group is, as we have seen, **Inter-tanda associ-** based on the need for association in **ation : Hunting.** the food-quest. The principal occupation of the Birhōr is to secure food by hunting. And, as is but natural, his social organization as well as his religion and his system of taboos are essentially concerned with success or 'luck' in hunting. Any case of 'ill-luck' to the community either in respect of food, health or other elemental concern of life is attributed to the infringement of some taboo by some member of the community and the consequent wrath of some ancestral or other spirit. It is not only the *tāṇḍā* organization that is based on the necessity for association for purposes of securing food by hunting; once a year may be seen a larger association in which almost all the able-bodied men belonging to a number of *tāṇḍās* situated within a day's journey from one another, come together for purposes of hunting. In this annual hunting expedition known as the *Disūm-sendra* (or country hunt), we meet with a rudimentary form of association in larger [wholes] than the *tāṇḍās*. The *Nāyās* and other elders of the different groups act as umpires in any disputes regarding game between the hunters of the different *tāṇḍās*, and consult

one another in other matters connected with the expedition. This expedition starts on the Sunday before the full moon in the month of *Buiśākh*. The *Diguārs* of the different *ṭāṇḍās* communicate the information at the markets that the *Disūmsendra* will be held at such and such a hill or jungle, and at the same time notify the date to all the *ṭāṇḍās* concerned. In each *ṭāṇḍā*, on the night preceding the date so fixed, the *Nāyā* and his wife have to observe strict sexual continence. On the morning of the appointed day, the *Nāyā* goes to a neighbouring stream or spring, and there bathes, fills a jug with water, and brings it home. Then after changing his loin-cloth, the *Nāyā*, in company with one or two elders of the *ṭāṇḍā*, proceeds with a handful of *āruā* rice and the jug of water to the *Jilu-Jāyār*^[1] which his wife has already cleaned with mud or, if available, with cowdung, diluted in water. The *Diguār* has already carried to the *Jāyār* and placed in a heap all the nets of the intending hunters of the *ṭāṇḍā*. Before this heap of nets the *Nāyā* stands on his left leg with his right heel resting on his left knee, and with his face to the east and with arms extended forward, pours a little water three times on the ground and invokes all the spirits by name for success in hunting as follows :—
 “Here I am making a libation in your names. May blood of game flow like this.” Thus is magic blended with primitive religion. The *Nāyā* then sits down before the nets and puts three vermilion marks on the ground before them, and on these vermilion marks sprinkles a little *āruā* rice, and addresses the spirits as follows :—“To-day I am offering this rice to you all. May we have speedy success. May game be caught in our nets as soon as we enter the jungles.” Then they return home leaving the nets at the *Jāyār*.

In the evening, the intending hunters take an early meal, and proceed to the *Jāyār* and each takes up his own net. Every hunter also takes with him a club and two *ṭainis* or bamboo poles for fixing the net. Axes are also carried. Bows

[1] The sacred grove *Jayar* where Chāṇḍī puja is held for success in hunting (jilu-flesh).

and arrows are not ordinarily used, but if the party intend going to a great distance, they sometimes take bows and arrows. There is no prohibition against meeting women while starting on the expedition nor against carrying copper coin or other metal. But no woman carrying an empty vessel must be seen by any of the hunters while leaving his village. During the absence of the hunters from the village, the females of the settlement are required to maintain strict sexual chastity, as otherwise the party is sure to be unsuccessful at the hunt. On the way, parties of hunters from other *tāṇḍās* come and join the expedition. When all the parties have arrived within a certain distance of the particular hill or jungle where they intend to hunt, a ceremony known as *bāiberā*, is performed by one of the *Nāyās* present for the success of the hunt. The ceremony is as follows :—The hunters all sit down on the ground and their nets are arranged in a row before them. The *Diguār* selected for the purpose touches each of the nets with a *tiril* (*keond*) twig which he then hands over to the *Nāyā*. This is known as *Thāpāberā*. The *Nāyā* holding the *tiril* twig in his hand sits down with his face towards the direction from which the party came and makes *bāiberā* by addressing the Deity (*Singbongā*) as follows : “*Sirmārē Singbongā Rājā, okoe lelculkenā inia med dātāmōchā lāgāo jānā inā tihingdō bānāoberāe-kānāing. Jaisē sendrā benōkānātē gāṛādā lekāgē hoikōkā, Tihing do arhādātā sarpālā tiril-dahura bānāo berai kānāing.*”

“Thou in the sky, *O Singbongā*, king, should anybody [of our *tāṇḍā*] have cast an evil look, and [his or her] evil eye, evil tooth, or evil mouth, has fallen [on our party], may that be withdrawn. I am setting at rest (*bānāoberā* or *bai-bera*) all evil influences. May [blood of] game flow even as the water of a river flows. I am neutralising the effects of the evil eye, etc., with this *tiril* twig.” As the *Nāyā* goes on with his invocation, he passes the *tiril* twig under each of his hips alternately three times. Then he places the twig on the path by which they came pressed down under a stone so that all evil influences in the shape of the evil eye, etc., may be set at rest. While reciting the invocation,

the *Nāyā* mentally names by turn every individual man and woman left behind in the *tāṇḍā*, for who knows but some one amongst them may be the unconscious possessor of the evil eye and thus unintentionally hinder success in the hunt?

Arrived at their destination, two men are told off as 'beberā' or leaders of the beaters who are twelve or more in number. ⁽¹⁾ They drive each from a different side all the animals on towards the nets spread out in a line. The hunters kill the animals caught in the nets by striking them with their clubs or hacking them with their axes.

Whenever a deer is killed by one of the groups of hunters, the *Nāyā* of the group smears a number of *sāl* leaves with a little of the blood of the slain animal, and holding the leaves in his hand sits down with his face to the east and offers by way of a solatium the blood-stained leaves or rather the blood in the leaves one after another to the different spirits of "the hills and streams" (naming them), saying:—"To-day we are taking away your 'goat', and so we offer you this sacrifice". Deer, it may be mentioned, is euphemistically termed the 'goat' of the spirits.

If success is delayed, the *Mati* either lightly strikes the ground with a stick or divining rod, or takes up a handful of myrobalan (*āmlaki*) leaves and intently cons them to see what particular spirit or spirits are hindering success in the hunt. When he has discovered this, he hands over the leaves to the *Nāyā* who now makes 'bāiberā' (as described above) with these leaves instead of with *āruā* rice, and offers the myrobalan leaves at the spot to the spirits named by the *Māti*. The *Nāyā* also offers a pinch of powdered tobacco to the *hāprom* or ancestor spirits of the community and particularly to the spirits of such of the members of the community as died on hunting expeditions,—for such spirits are believed to be particularly active in hindering success in hunting. If this fails to secure success in hunting the party has no doubt but that some sexual taboo has been infringed by the people of the *tāṇḍās*.

⁽¹⁾ The other beaters are called respectively *bajhur*, *ba basar*, *atomda*, *atōāh* and a number of *jhōrehda s*.

When the hunting party return home, the wife of each hunter first washes the feet of her husband, and then all the women proceed with oil and water to the house of the *Nāy* and there each woman washes his feet and anoints them with oil.

A very interesting ceremony is in the meanwhile performed by the wife of each hunter in whose net an animal has been caught. This is the *chumān* or kissing ceremony, and is a copy of the *cūmān* ceremony of the bridegroom and bride at a wedding. She cleanses a space in front of her hut with mud or cowdung and water, and on this spot the slain animal is laid. She then takes up a plate on which are placed an earthen lamp, a few blades of tender grass-shoots, and a little unhusked rice. The plate is waved three times round the head of the deer, then a few grains of paddy and a few blades of grass are thrown on its head, and finally the woman warms her hands over the flame of the lamp, touches the cheeks of the deer with hands thus warmed, and kisses the hands herself. On the second or third day a fowl is sacrificed to the "*Gōrkhiā bhut* of the deer" (the spirit that tends deer like a cowherd) and another fowl to the ancestor-spirits *Chowrāsi hāprom* and milk to the mother goddesses *Devi* and others.

All the animals killed at the hunt are finally taken to the *Jilu-Jāyār* and there skinned, dressed, and chopped into pieces. The heads of the animals are roasted and eaten by the men alone, excluding those whose wives are pregnant. Should such a man eat any portion of the head of game, he has to give or pay the price of three fowls that will be required to propitiate the spirits known as *Sikāri bhut* (spirit of hunting) and *Chowrāsi Hāprom* (the eighty-four spirits of the dead ancestors). Unless these sacrifices are offered in expiation for the infringement of the taboo, the men of the *tāndā* will have no success in future hunting expeditions. The remainder of the flesh is divided in the following manner:—The neck, and the flesh of one side (*bisi*) of the back, will (as already noted) be the *Nāyā's* perquisite over and above his usual share as a member of the community. The man in whose net any game was caught will receive in

addition to his usual share, one knee-joint and the flesh of the other side (*biss*) of the back. Of the two leaders of the beat, each gets one of the front legs, and the *Diguār* gets one knee-joint, in addition to their usual shares. The rest of the meat is divided in equal shares amongst all the families in the *tāṇḍā*, even if owing to illness or to the absence of any male member in any family such a family was unrepresented in the hunting expedition. In ordinary hunts as distinguished from the great annual *Bisu sikār*, with the exception of the *Nāyā* and the *Diguār*, no one who was not a member of the hunting party receives a share of the game. This exception is made in the case of the *Nāyā*, because it is through his services in offering proper sacrifices that game is obtained; and the same exception is made in favour of the *Diguār*, because he attends to the requirements of the *Nāyā* at the periodical sacrifices. Even when any game is sold by the hunters the *Nāyā*, as we have seen, must be paid a sum of two annas as price of his special share, besides his usual share of any money or grain obtained as the price of the game. So also the *Diguār* will receive half an anna as price of a knee-joint.

In the ordinary daily hunts of each separate *tāṇḍā*, generally the same procedure is adopted as in the **Informal Hunts.** *Disum Sendrā*, with the following differences. The *Nāyā* is not required to observe continence as in the night preceding the *Disum Sendrā*. Two men are selected as *beberā* or beaters. These drive, each from a different side, all the animals towards the nets spread out in a line. There is no prohibition against the sale of game caught in these informal hunts as there is in the case of the game killed at the *Disum Sendrā*. When any game has been sold and not brought home, a little hair or, if possible, a bit of its skin with the hairs on, is brought home and the *chumān* or kissing ceremony is performed over it by three women as is done over the game itself after the *Disum Sendrā*.

Although women may not join the *Disum Sendrā*, they may accompany (except during their monthly course) the hunters at these informal hunts in which they follow the *beberas* as



Figure 1.—Type of Birhōr adult male (Front view).

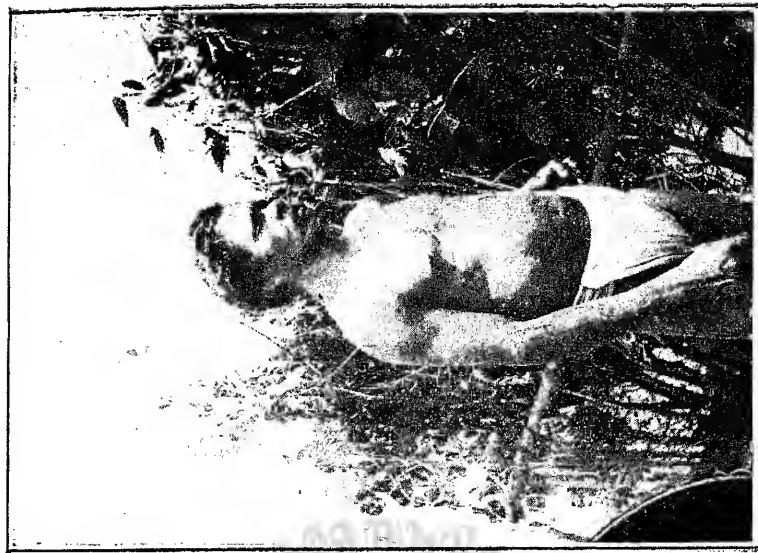


Figure II.—Profile of Figure I.

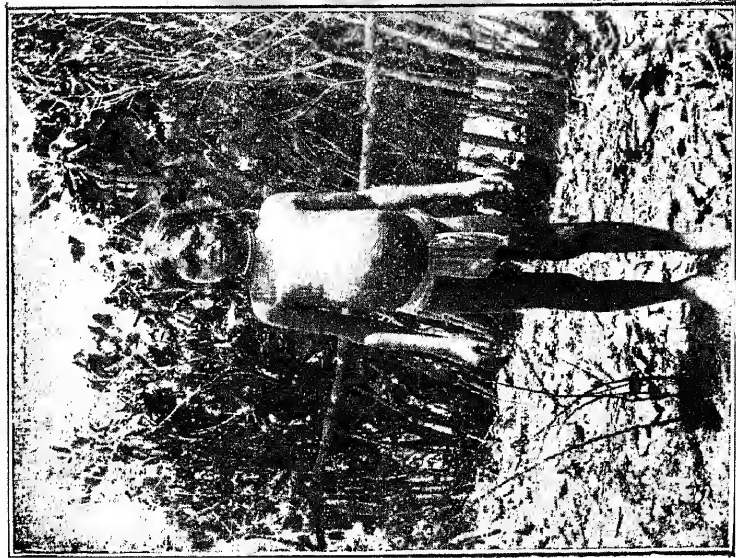


Figure III.—Type of Birhōr boy (Front view.)

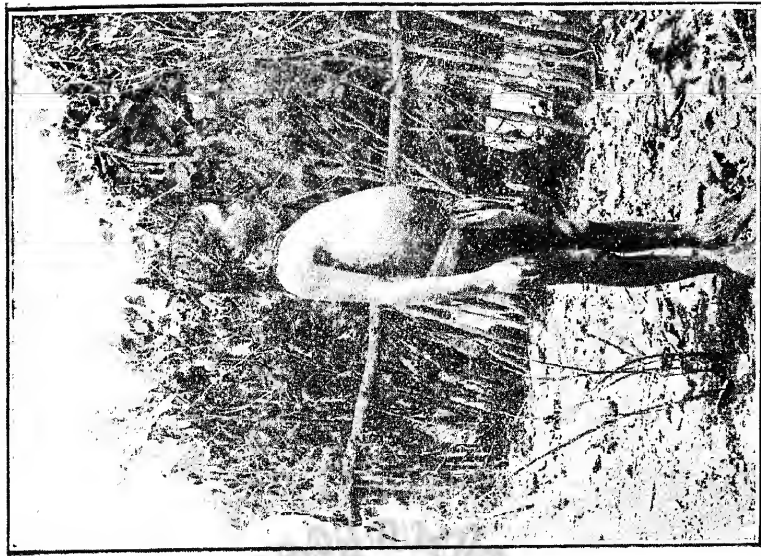


Figure IV.—Profile of Figure III.



Figure V.—Birhōr type.

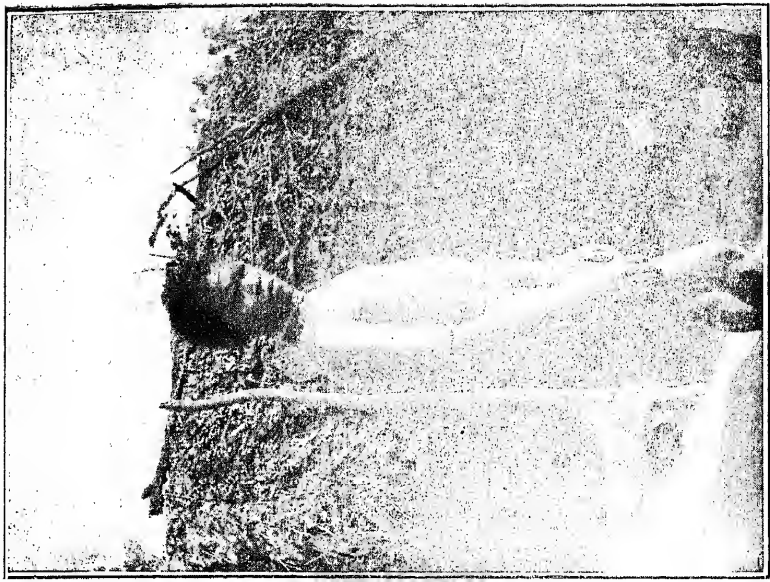


Figure VI.—Birhōr type.



Figure VII.—Birhōr dance.



Figure VIII.—A Birhōr leaf-hut. The girl standing in front of her hut is twisting rope, and the old woman in the middle is weaving a carrying-net.



Figure IX.—Chāṇḍī Pūjā at the jīlu-jāyār (sacred grove.) The priest (Nayā) is seated with rice-grains in a leaf-cup in his hand, his assistant sits beside him with a lota of water before him.



Figure X.—A Birlhøj settlement.

Jhōrekḍās (without nets). They beat bushes with their *lathis*. When a hunting party return home unsuccessful, the *Nāyā* asks the *Diguār* to bring him the hunting nets of each family in the *tāṇḍā*. When they are brought, he takes out a bit of thread from each of the nets, makes up all the bits into a small bundle, buries the bundle in the ground and sits down by its side with his face to the east, and taking up some grains of rice in his hand goes on muttering *mantras*, all the while fixing his gaze intently on the rice in his hand. After a time he declares that he has found out which spirit or spirits are preventing success in the chase, takes out the bundle of thread which he had buried beside him and exclaims: "Here is the bundle which these spirits have secreted. That is why no game could be had. Now that I have taken out this impediment to the chase, it will henceforth be all right." Then addressing the spirits he says, "I shall sacrifice fowls to you. Do not offer obstructions any more. From to-day may game be caught in plenty in our nets". Saying this, he sacrifices a fowl by cutting its neck with a knife.

Besides the inter-*tāṇḍā* association for purposes of hunting at the *Disum Sendrā*, the only other occasions on which representative men from a number of *tāṇḍās* gather together are at weddings and *panchayāts* in which breaches of tribal rules, particularly with regard to the sexual taboo, are discussed and punished. The Birhōrs have no tribal organization in the sense of an association of the different clans of the entire tribe of which every member or family is regarded as an unit. Even each separate clan making up the tribe can hardly be said to have attained any consolidation or to maintain a feeling of solidarity. All the various scattered groups or *tāṇḍās* of a particular clan never come together as units in one clan organization. The rude beginning of such an amalgamation may perhaps be seen in the practice of members of a clan occupying a particular *tāṇḍā* inviting members of the same clan who live within an easy distance from them to attend the periodical clan-ceremonies in which sacrifices are offered to the clan deities known as *Buru Bongās* or *Orā Bongās*.

VIII.—Notes on Mangalkot.

By Maulavi Abdul Wali, M. R. A. S.

Mangalkot—said to be an outpost of the Sadgop Kingdom is situated on the Kunūr, in the Katwa Subdivision of the Burdwan District. The ancient Mangalkot is connected with the Rāja of Ujani and the legendary Dhanapati and Srimanta Saudagars. Like Pandua in Hugli, Mangalkot too, was a famous place for Muhammadans. I visited the place and some of its ruins, on the 30th June 1915. My only regret is that for want of time I could not make a more thorough and extended inquiry about the various Mosques and their inscriptions.

TRADITIONS.

There was a Rāja, known as Bikarmājīt (Sanskrit, Vikramaditya) who ruled at Mangalkot, then a large township. The quarter of the village, called Bataktala, was then covered with jungle, where lived at that time a Muhammadan Darvish named Shāh Mahmūd, who used to cry, five times daily, the hours of prayer (Āzān) ; and whose tomb is at Ārwāl. At this time the Rāja received a letter in Arabic, said to be from the Khalifa of Baghdād. As none of the employés of the Rāja could read it, the Rāja was told that there lived in the jungle a "Jabar," who was in the habit of calling to prayer five times daily, and who would be able to read and explain the letter, if sent for. There was one difficulty. According to his wont, the Rāja would, on no account, look into the face of a Musalman. The difficulty was overcome in this way. A screen was put between the Rāja Bikarmājīt and the 'Jaban' Shāh Mahmūd. The latter, who keenly felt the affront, read and explained the letter. The reply which the Rāja dictated, was not, however written. Instead of it, Shāh Mahmūd wrote that the Rāja of the place was

a bigoted *gabr* and it was the duty of the Khalifa to wage jihad on the Rāja. In consequence of the receipt of this letter the Khalifa sent an army to fight with the Rāja. In the army there were 18 saints, including the aforesaid Shāh Mahmūd. A battle was fought. It is said that there was a reservoir called 'Jiban Kund' where the corpses of Hindu soldiers who fell in the battle were thrown, and as many genii as the number of dead bodies were thrown in would emerge therefrom to replenish the Hindu Army. At last the Muslims won the victory. Mangalkot is full of graves of the Muslim dead and holy persons.

AHMAD-I-SĀLĀR.

Of the old families, the Qāzis of Mangalkot are well known. They trace their descent from one Ahmad-i-Sālār, otherwise called Qāzi Ziyāu'd-Dīn, who came to Bengal with Shāh Safī'ud-Dīn Sultān, and was his teacher of archery. Ahmad-i-Sālār's tomb is said to be within the compound of Shāh Safīud-Dīn's shrine at Pandua in the Hugli District. The Sālār's progenitor was Qāzi Qadwat-u'd-Dīn, who came to India from Rūm, in the reign of Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Altatmish. The Qadwais of Oudh and the Qazīs of Mangalkot are, therefore, descended from the aforesaid Qadwālū'd-Dīn. The latter's forefathers were jews who traced their descent to Prophet Moses.

MUHAMMADAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS.

There are several tanks and Mosques in Mangalkot, none of which is in its original state of preservation.

1. *The Masjid of Mukhdum Vilāyat Panāh.* (One of the Dargishes of Mangalkot) was rebuilt long ago by the late Diwan Inayatullah of Salar, in the District of Murshidabad. It has lately been repaired by Maulavi Musa of Chaugbaria in Burdwan.

2. *Firoz Shah's Mosque.* The Mosque, built in the reign of Firoz Shah of Bengal, has been lately rebuilt by a Muhammadan lady of Mangalkot.

It is not known if the above Mosques have any inscribed slabs. I cannot determine under which Firoz Shah of Bengal, the latter Mosque (No. 2) was built.

3. *Mian Muazzam's Jami Mosque*, built in 930 H. (1624 A. D.) during the reign of Abu'l Muzaffar Nusrat Shah, son of Husayn Shah the Good, had an inscribed slab. The late Professor Blochmann published the inscription in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1873, Part I, page 296. I could not find where the slab now is.

4. *Husayn Shahi Mosque*.—It is situated at Barabazar in Mangalkot and is in a dilapidated state. The Mosque has an inscribed slab, the front part of which is broken and with it the first line of the inscription disappeared. Parts of the opening words **قال الله** and the letter **ل** with its two dots, and the word **حسنه** at a little to the left are intact. The second and the third lines show that the Mosque was constructed in the year 916 H. in the reign of Abul Muzaffar Husayn Shah. After it fell down, the slab was kept lying near Maulana Hamid Danishmand's Mosque, but was removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in July 1912, in spite of the protest of the local Muhammadans, who were told that the Mosque would be repaired and the inscribed basalt restored but nothing has yet been done. The slab in the Museum is numbered as N. S. 2225.

I give below the text of the inscription and the probable words of the first line missing, based on the words still remaining intact and the context of the entire inscription. The verse of the Qurān quoted by me also occurs at the beginning of an inscription to a *Sagya* (drinking-place) dated 922 H. constructed by the same Husayn Shah and noticed in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1861, page 390*.

TEXT.

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بني هذا المسجد السلطان
العالم العادل المعظم المكرم علاء الدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان
بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه رسلطانه في سنة ست وعشرو تسعماية
قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنا هذا الستاية السلطان العالم ابدال
المعظم المكرم الخ

* The opening words of the *Sagya* are as follows:—

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنا هاشمية السلطان العالم
العادل المعظم المكرم الخ

TRANSLATION.

Saith God Almighty, "He who doeth good work for him will be tenfold recompense." This Mosque was built by the learned, the just, the Great and the Good Sultan Alaud-Dunya-wad-Din Abul Muzaffar Husayn Shah the Sultan, son of Sayyad Ashraf-ul-Husayni, May God perpetuate his kingdom and his Sovereignty, in the year 916 H. (1510 A. D.)

5. *The Tomb and Masjid of Maulānā Hamīd Dānishmand.*—

Some years ago the dilapidated mosque was dismantled, and on its site a very ordinary mosque was constructed by subscription. The inscribed basalt of the old mosque is refixed into the eastern wall of the new mosque. The tomb of Shaykh Hamīd, commonly called Dānishmand, attached to the southern wall of the Mosque is in utter ruins; only one of the walls is still standing, which if not soon taken care of, will fall down.

I have taken some pains to make myself acquainted with the life of Maulānā Hamīd Dānishmand of Mangalkot. Ahmad-i-Salār otherwise called Qazi Ziyān'd-Dīn, referred to above, was his ancestor. According to the Hazaratu'l-Quds by Maulānā Badru'd-Din, Maulānā Hamīd was educated at Lahore. As a student he used to see occasionally the celebrated Saint and Savant Shaykh Ahmad Fāruqī of Sarhand, better known as the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sāni (the Reviver of the second Millenneum). When he studied the 'Ilm-i-Kalām or Metaphysics, he turned a hater of Sufis, and discontinued visiting his Holiness of Sarhand. After completing his education he put up in the house of Muftī Askari at Dehli. At this time the Mujaddid-Alf-i-Sāni arrived at Dehli and resided at the same muhalla where Muftī 'Askari was living. Having heard this news Maulānā Hamīd spoke thus to his host, "I can live no longer here, as I am acquainted with Shaykh Ahmad. If I do not see him, it will be against the etiquette; if I do, it will be against the Shar." Having said this, he left the house with his books and papers. He had left behind a book by mistake. He came immediately after to fetch it, when came in the Mujaddid Sāhib to see the Muftī Sāhib. "I

have to ask you one or two questions” said the Mujaddid. “What’s the necessity” said Mufti ‘Askari, “as you are at once the exoteric and esoteric knowledge.” “It’s good to act according to the decision of the Mufti” was the reply. The Saint then looked towards Maulānā Hamīd and said, “Hamīd, you are here” and got up. Mufti ‘Askari said “Bread is ready”. “I do not require it now” was the reply. The Mufti Sāhib went with the Mujaddid Sāhib to some distance. On his return, he searched for Maulānā Hamīd Dānishmand, but he was nowhere to be found. It was then ascertained that he followed the conveyance of the Saint. The Mujaddid did not allow Maulānā Hamīd to approach him for six months. After that he was initiated in the Naqshbandi *tariq* (path) which he acquired in the course of one year. “He was not,” says Maulānā Badru’d-Din, “the disciple (Murīd) but the object desired (Murād). This journey of the Saint to Dehlī was to entrap him.” Maulānā Hamīd Dānishmand completed his *suluk* (theosophical practices) and was about to come home when his spiritual guide said to him, “Take away what you wish.” He took a pair of his murshid’s shoes, wrapped them with his head-dress and did not turn his back, when departing, towards him.

There are half a dozen epistles addressed by the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sāni to Maulānā Hamīd in the Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbāni Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sāni, who is there called Shaykh or Maulānā Hamīd Bangali or simply Maulānā Hamīd, I do not know how or when the unusual title of “Dānishmand” “the wise” was given him.

I am told that the Emperor Shāhjahān came to Mangalkot to complete spiritualism and walked with a single attendant from his camp, which was pitched at a distance of 4 miles from the place, in a jungle. At his order a madrasa, a mosque, and a shrine were built in honour of Maulānā Hamīd Dānishmand for which he granted forty thans and bighas of land at a rent of one anna per bigha. Shāhjahān might have come to Mangalkot as a prince, but his coming to Mangalkot after he had been crowned, cannot be historically true. Shāhjahān came to Bengal in 1033H.

(1624 A. D.) after the death of the Mujaddid Sahib by 9 years. He might have known the Saint of Sarhand as a Prince. Jahāngīr was really a contemporary of the Saint. Jahāngīr had the Saint imprisoned, but afterwards became one of his admirers. The mosque was a private one, built perhaps by Shaykh Hamid's descendants. The celebrated Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani was born in 971H. and died in 1024H. (1562-1615 A. D.) Shaykh Hamid was his contemporary and disciple.

Text of Maulāna Hamid Dānishmand's Mosque.

قال النبي عليه الصلوة والسلام من بني مسجد الله بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة
بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان الاعظم والخاقان الاكرم صاحبقرآن ثاني شهاب الدين
محمد شاه جهان بادشاه غازي اذا سئلت عن تاريخ بنائه فقل هو البيت العتيق
سنة ١٠٩٥ هجري

TRANSLATION.

Saith the Prophet, on whom be peace and blessings, "He who buildeth a Mosque for God, God will build for him an abode in Paradise." This Mosque was built at the time of the Great Sultān and the Generous Khaqān, Sahibqirān, the second, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shahjahān Badshah Ghāzi. If thou art asked as to the date of its construction, say "It is the ancient House (or the Ka'aba)."

NOTE.

The following manuscripts have been consulted:—

- (a) The Mir'ātu'l-Asrār by 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Chishtī 'Ab-bāsi 'Alavī.
- (b) The Hazarātu'l-Quds by Maulāna Badr'ud-Dīn: Manuscripts of it are very rare. An extract therefrom supplied me by Maulavi Mumayyizu'l-Haq of Mangalkot was used.

IX.—A Folk-tale of a New Type from North Bihar and its Variants.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

There are several folk-tales widely current all over Northern India, which have for their theme the illustration of the truth that the trials and tribulations of man—the sorrows and sufferings he has to experience in this mundane existence—are the result of sins committed by him in a previous stage of existence. I have recently come to know that a folk-tale of this group is current in the district of Sāran in North Bihār, and, so far as my knowledge goes, does not appear to have been published before. It has been narrated to me in Hindi by my Bihāri servant, a resident of a village a few miles off to the north of Chapra; and I have translated it into English as follows:—

An old woman had an only son who was of a young age. She used to bring him up most carefully and affectionately in the hope that, under her careful nurture, he might grow up vigorously and rapidly, and so support her in her old age. One day, the Bhagwān—the Supreme Deity of the Universe—assumed the guise of a Brāhman, came to her, and asked from her something to eat. She told him that she had nothing to offer him except some *chuppāties* which she had prepared by way of a meal for her little son who had gone out. But the Brāhmaṇ would take no refusal and insisted upon partaking of these unleavened griddle-cakes. Whereupon she made him sit down and treated him to a good square meal of the same.

When the Brāhman was about to leave her place, he told her that he would give her boons as recompense for the meal she had treated him to. Then he departed.

Thereafter the old woman began to prepare *chuppāties* afresh for her son who was expected home soon. While she was so

engaged, the lad arrived home and enquired of his mother the cause of the delay in the preparation of his meal. She told him that a Brāhman had come and demanded from her something to eat, and that thereupon she had fed him upon the griddle-cakes she had kept ready prepared. She also told him that the Brāhman had promised to grant her boons by way of recompense for the meal he had been treated to. Having apprised her son of these facts she set the dish of *chuppāties* before him and asked him to eat the same. But the lad refused to do so, saying that he would not touch a morsel of food, unless and until he had got the promised boons. He would, therefore, go and have an interview with the unknown Brāhman and exact from him those boons. So he started on his journey to the unknown land where the Brāhman stranger dwelt.

When he had travelled far, he came to a country of which the Rājā was building a bridge which, after being built during the daytime, fell down in the evening. Seeing the lad, the Rājā asked: "My good lad! where are you going to?" The latter replied: "O Rājā Sāhib! I am going to interview the Supreme Deity Bhagwān and obtain boons from Him". Thereupon the Rājā said: "My lad! I am now fallen into a great trouble. I am building this bridge. While it is being built during the daytime, it remains all right. But, as soon as the shades of evening fall, it topples down from its foundations. If you find out his deityship, please enquire from him what sins I have committed that, as the result thereof, my bridge is toppling down". The lad agreed to do so, and then started therefrom.

When he had proceeded far, he reached a forest wherein dwelt a *sādhu* and his wife, both of whom appeared to be ill-fed and ill-clad. Seeing the lad, the *sādhu* asked: "My good lad! where are you going to?" The latter replied: "O *sāthubābā*! I am going to interview the Supreme Deity Bhagbān and obtain boons from Him". Thereupon the *sādhu* said: "Look here! we have fallen into great trouble. Nobody become our *chelā* (or disciple). We have nothing to eat, nor have we got any stitch of clothing on our backs. If you find out his deityship,

please enquire from him what sins we have committed that we are doomed to undergo so many privations". The lad agreed to do so, and then started therefrom.

When he had proceeded far, he came to a place where there were two *pākur* trees (*Ficus infectoria*), one of which had withered up and the other was living and green. Seeing the lad, the withered tree enquired: "My good lad! where are you going to?" The latter replied: "O tree! I am going to interview the Supreme Deity Bhagwān and obtain boons from Him". Thereupon the tree said: "O lad! we are two brothers. I am now dried up. But my brother tree is living and green. People come and sit under its shade, while nobody comes near me. If you find out his deityship, enquire from him what sins I have committed that have brought about my present condition". The lad agreed to do so, and then started therefrom.

When he had proceeded far, he came to a forest wherein he found an elephant whose proboscis had got stuck to the branch of a tree. Seeing the lad, the elephant asked: "My good lad! where are you going to?" The latter replied: "O elephant! I am going to interview the Supreme Deity Bhagwān and obtain boons from Him". Thereupon the elephant said: "Look here, my lad, my proboscis has got stuck to the branch of a tree, and I cannot free it therefrom. If you come across his deityship, do be good enough to enquire from him what sins I have committed so that my trunk has got stuck to a tree and cannot be released therefrom". The lad agreed to do so, and then started therefrom.

When he had proceeded far, he came to a forest where the Supreme Deity Bhagwān, assuming the guise of a Brāhman, appeared before him. Seeing the lad, the Brāhman enquired: "My good lad! where are you going to?" The latter replied: "O sir! I am going to have an interview with the Supreme Deity Bhagwān and obtain boons from Him". The Brāhman said: "My good lad! the forest is full of wild beasts which are prowling about. Don't proceed any further. Otherwise you will be eaten up by them. Do be

good enough to go back home ". But the lad rejoined : " Sir, I won't go back home until I have seen Bhagwān and obtained the boons promised by Him ". Then the Brāhman said : " My lad ! I am Bhagwān ". Thereupon the boy asked : " How can I believe that you are Bhagwān Himself ? ". Then the Brāhman threw off his disguise and appeared before the lad in the true form of Bhagwān "

Thereafter the lad informed his deityship of the persons, the tree and the beast he had met with on the way and of their respective sorrows and troubles, and enquired of Him the causes of their sufferings. In reply to his queries, Bhagwān said : " My lad ! it is the duty of an elephant to carry men on his back. But since his birth, the elephant, whom you met with on the way, has not done his duty. It is by way of punishment for his dereliction of duty that his proboscis has got stuck to the tree. Go and tell him that, if he should henceforth carry men on his back, his trunk will be released from the tree. The *pākūr* tree has withered because there are ten *gāgrās* (or jars) full of gold mohars hidden under its roots. Go and tell the tree that, if it would give these ten *gāgrāfuls* of mohars to anybody, it would regain its life and verdure. The *sādhu* (or ascetic) is miserable and poorly off because he has not taken in any *chela* (or disciple) and communicated his learning to him. Go and tell him that, if he should take in a disciple and teach him all the *śāstric* lore he knows, that if he should abjure pride, his poverty and troubles would come to an end. The bridge which the Rājā is building falls down every evening, because he has got a marriageable daughter whom he has not yet given away in marriage. Go and tell him that if he would give away his daughter in marriage forthwith, his bridge would stand firm on its foundation."

Thereafter the lad prayed to his deityship to grant the boons. He had promised to his mother by way of recompense for the meal of *chuppāties* she had treated Him to. To this Bhagwān replied : " Go home, my lad ; and you will get the promised boons." Hearing the Deity's words, the lad started on his journey homewards.

When the lad came to the elephant, he communicated to the latter what Bhagwān had told him about the cause and the remedy of the latter's trouble. Hearing his words, the elephant said : " My good lad ! do be good enough to get upon my back, and I will carry you home." The lad did as he was requested to do, and thereupon the elephant's proboscis got released from its fastening to the tree.

Thereafter the lad, riding upon the elephant, came to the withered *pākūr* tree and communicated to it what Bhagwān had told him about the cause and the remedy of its troubles. Hearing his words, the *pākūr* tree said : " My good lad ! do be good enough to accept the ten *gāgrāfuls* of gold mohars I am offering you, and carry it home with you upon the elephant's back." The lad did as he was requested to do ; and thereupon the dried *pākūr* tree regained its vitality and verdure.

Thereafter the lad, riding upon the elephant's back and carrying with him the ten jars of gold mohars, came to the *sādhu* (or ascetic) and communicated to the latter what Bhagwān had told him about the cause and the remedy of his sorrow and troubles. Hearing his words, the *sādhu* said : " My good lad ! do be good enough to become my disciple, and I shall teach you all the *śāstric* lore with which I am conversant." The lad did as he was requested to do ; and thereupon the *sādhu* and his wife became happy and prosperous.

Thereafter the lad, riding upon the elephant's back and carrying with him the ten jars of gold mohars, came to the Rājā and communicated to the latter what Bhagwān had told him about the cause and the remedy of the latter's trouble. Hearing his words, the Rājā said : " My good lad ! do be good enough to accept the hands and heart of my daughter whom I am giving in marriage to you, as also the dowry I am giving with her." The lad very gladly complied with his request ; and thereupon the bridge, which his father-in-law was building, stood firm as a rock upon its foundations.

Thereafter the lad and his wife came home with the ten *gāgrāfuls* of gold mohars and the rich dowry his father-in-law had

given him, and lived with his old mother happily ever afterwards.

The "story-radical" deducible from the foregoing folk-tale is as follows :—

1. The hero goes to the Supreme Deity to obtain boons promised by Him.

2. On the way, he successively meets with two persons, a tree, and a beast, all of whom request him to enquire from the Deity the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles and sorrows.

3. The hero learns from the Deity the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles and communicates the same to them.

4. The suffering persons, the tree and the beast, having adopted the remedies, are freed from their troubles and suitably reward the hero.

5. Thus the hero gets the boons promised by the Deity.

I should now try to find out if there is any other folk-tale current in Northern India into which the foregoing story-radical fits. Fortunately, I have not to search for it far and wide. For there is current, in the district of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, a legend of which the story-radical bears a striking similarity to that of the North Bihari folk-tale published *supra*. It is recited by the priest to the celebrant ladies on the occasion of the ceremonial worship of the deity Lakshmi-chandra, which is performed in every Hindu household in Chittagong on the full-moon day in the month of Paus (December-January). The version of it, which I have come across, forms the theme of an old Bengali poem composed by one Sri Rāmcharan Nāth in the Maghi year 1145 which corresponds to circ. 1783 A.D. It existed in the manuscript form till about the year 1910 A.D., when the *Bangiya-Sāhitya-Parishad* of Calcutta published the bare text of the poem in Bengali characters in its *Journal*, Volume XVII., pages 61—64, without any elucidatory remarks on the noteworthy ethnographical facts contained therein. I have, therefore, transcribed its text into Devanāgarī characters and translated the same into

English. The transcript in Devanāgarī characters, the English translation and the notes on the remarkable ethnographical facts contained therein are given below :—

अथ लक्ष्मीचन्द्रव्रतपाञ्चालिः ॥

- १ । प्रनमोह गनपति देव लक्ष्मोदर ।
सिन्धुरे सोभित जङ्घ सर्व्वकलेवर ॥
- २ । बन्धम मुद्द लक्ष्मीपति देव नारायण ।
सङ्क चक्र गदा पद्म गरुर बाह्वन ॥
- ३ । लक्ष्मी शरन्वति बन्धम जगत पुजित् ।
याहार क्षपाय धन शास्त्रेते पण्डित् ॥
- ४ । सङ्कर भवानी बन्धम हैआ एकमन ।
अन्य २ बन्धम मुद्द देवेर चरण ॥
- ५ । शुद्धिश्चिर जिज्ञासिल श्री कृष्णेर स्थान ।
लक्ष्मीचन्द्र व्रतादन केमन विधान ॥
- ६ । पूर्व्वे केवा कैल व्रत केमन वेवहार ।
कोनेवा आनिया कैल मथ्येते प्रचार ॥
- ७ । सर्व्व विवरण प्रभु कहत आमारि ।
कहिते लागिला प्रभु शास्त्र व्यवहारे ॥
- ८ । पूर्व्वे भद्र नामे एक ब्राह्मण आकिल ।
सुव्रता पति तान धर्म मति किल ॥
- ९ । लक्ष्मीचन्द्रेर व्रत द्विज करे विधिमते ।
पुत्र पौत्र धन हैल व्रतेर महर्त्ते ॥
- १० । एक दिन सेइ बिप्रेर देवेर लिखने ।
चारिकर्म उपस्थित पूर्णमासि दिने ॥
- ११ । पुष्करनि प्रतिष्ठाजे पितृश्राद्ध हवे ।
हैवयोगे पुत्रेर विवा हइल तवे ॥
- १२ । तिन कर्म कैल द्विज हरप्रित हैया ।
ना पूजिल लक्ष्मीचन्द्र मने पासरिया ॥
- १३ । ते कारणे ब्राह्मणेर लखौ गेल कारि ।
जेइ यथा गेल पुनि ना आसिल फिरि ॥

- १४ । सब धन नाथ हैल दारिद्र उपस्थित ।
दारा पुत्र आदि विप्र भिक्षार्ति दुःखीत ॥
- १५ । एइमते द्विजे भिक्षा मागिते लागिल ।
सुखेर अन्तरे बिधि एथ दुःख दिल ॥
- १६ । आर एकदिने विप्रेर भातिथे श्राद्ध कैल ।
निमन्त्रन आये विप्र भिक्षा ना मागिल ॥
- १७ । अवज्जा करिया विप्र ना कैल निमन्त्रन ।
बर अपमान हैल दुःखीत ब्राह्मण ॥
- १८ । लक्ष्मीचन्द्रेर व्रत आमि ना करिलाम हेथे ।
ते कारणे लक्ष्मी छारि गेला येकाथे ॥
- १९ । दिनद्वीन सखातर दुर्गाराम कहै ।
लक्ष्मीचन्द्र उद्वेष्टिया मरिसु निपचये ॥
- २० । भिक्षार्ति ब्राह्मण बोले जाइसु कारण ।
चन्द्र र उपरे बध भिक्षार कारण ॥
- २१ । एइमते चिन्ता करि कथ दूरे गेल ।
फलमूले पूर्ण एक च्युत वृक्ष पाइल ॥
- २२ । देखिया च्युतेर वृक्ष जिज्ञासि ब्राह्मण ।
तुमिनि पाइछ लक्ष्मीचन्द्र दरशन ॥
- २३ । सेइ विप्रे सेइ वृक्षे बोले ना देखीछि आमि ।
मोर दुःख निवेदिय देखा पाइले तुमि ॥
- २४ । मोर फल मूल गोसाइ ना करे भक्षण ।
धान्य ग्रहन्ति दिया विप्र करिल गमन ॥
- २५ । बत्स सने एका गाभि हण नाहि खाय ।
कृताञ्जली हैया विप्र तार स्थाने कय ॥
- २६ । ओहै गाभि तुमिनि देखीछ चन्द्रमुख ।
तान बार्त्ता कह मोर खण्ड्योणे दुख ॥
- २७ । गाभि बोले अहै विप्र ना देखिछी आमि ।
मोर दुःख निवेदिय देखा पाइले तुमि ॥
- २८ । हण खाइवारे नारि बत्सेर सहित ।
धान्य ग्रहन्ति दिया विप्र चखिल तरित ॥

- २९ । तार परे गाधा आर ठष हस्ति देखे ।
आर पुष्करनी दुइ देखील समुखे ॥
- ३० । तारा सब देखी बिप्र जिज्ञासिल बानि ।
तोमरा नि देखीयाछ लक्ष्मीचन्द्र पुनि ॥
- ३१ । तारा बोले ना देखीछि अहे बिप्रवर ।
देखा पाइले जिज्ञासिय दुःखेर खबर ॥
- ३२ । धान्य ग्रहन्ति दिया बिप्र करिल गमन ।
लण बाहकेर सङ्गे हेल दरशन ॥
- ३३ । बहु लण बहु तुमि किशोर कारण ।
तुमिनि पाइछ लक्ष्मीचन्द्र दरशन ॥
- ३४ । सेइ बोले अहे बिप्र ना देखी ना भुनि ।
मोर दुःख निवेदीय देखा पाइले पुनि ॥
- ३५ । ना नामे लनेर बोभा किसेर कारन ।
धान्य ग्रहन्ति दिया बिप्र करिल गमन ॥
- ३६ । चुन्नेर टोपर लैया बेराय एक जेन ।
ताहा देखी जिज्ञासिल दुःखित ब्राह्मण ॥
- ३७ । तुमिनि देखीछ चन्द्र प्रसन्न बदन ।
सेइ बोले नाहि जानि चन्द्र विवरण ॥
- ३८ । चुन्नाये बोले जिज्ञाशीय मोर दुःख भार ।
धान्य ग्रहन्ति दिया बिप्र गेल आगु सार ॥
- ३९ । मना सुन्न इच्छु रम्भ सिध्यक ताम्बुल ।
चिनि पुष्प दुग्ध आम्र यथेक श्रीफल ॥
- ४० । एइ सब देखी बिप्र जिज्ञासिल वात् ।
तोमरानि देखीयाछ लक्ष्मीचन्द्र नात् ॥
- ४१ । तारा बोले ना देखीछि चन्द्रेर आकार ।
देखा पाइले जिज्ञाशीय मोर दुःख भार ॥
- ४२ । एइ द्रव्य निया मोरा बेराइ स्थाने स्थान् ।
धान्य ग्रहन्ति दिया बिप्र करिल पयान् ॥
- ४३ । कथ दुरे गिया देखे रम्य सरोवर ।
अहं भन्न करे हेन देखील कुम्भीर ॥

- ४३ । पुढाझली हैया खब करेन ब्राह्मण ।
साम्य हैया पार कर तुमि महाजन ॥
- ४५ । चन्नेर उड्डेणे जाइसु पार कर मोरे ।
गथ शुनि कुम्भिरे द्विजेरे स्तव करे ॥
- ४६ । कोन महापाप फले ह्दसु कुम्भिर ।
जिज्ञाशिय द्विजवर मन करि स्थिर ॥
- ४७ । स्तव करि कुम्भिरे ब्राह्मण पार कैल ।
थान्य ग्रहन्ति दिया विप्र तथा होते गेल ॥
- ४८ । तदन्तरे निर्गम्य देखील द्विजवर ।
कण्ठ ओष्ठ शुखाइ परे भुमिर उपर ॥
- ४९ । निपतित मन्हीतले छैल द्विजवर ।
कृपायुक्त प्रयच्छ ह्दला प्रशधर ॥
- ५० । देखी लक्ष्मीचन्द्र रूप द्विज भद्र नाम ।
भूमिगत अष्टाङ्गीते करिल प्रनाम ॥
- ५१ । श्रीरामचरण नाथ दुर्गारामे कथ ।
अनाथ कातर सुइ तराओ समन भय ॥
- ५२ । अनाथ कृपादिन, संसारे मजिये क्षिण्य,
आमारि उद्धार लक्ष्मीपति ।
- ५३ । कृपा करि राज्ञापाय, राख मोरे सर्वदाय,
तुमि विने आर नाहि गति ॥
- ५४ । क्षेमा कर दिननाथ, अज्ञानिर अपराध,
क्षेम दोस ओढे दिनबन्धु ।
- ५५ । आमा अपराधहोते, क्षेम दोस लक्ष्मीनाथे,
तराइया नेय भवसिन्धु ॥
- ५६ । सर्वत्रेते गति तुमि, तोमा कि स्तविव आमि,
कि वोलिव तोमार महत्त ।
- ५७ । तुया पद रेणु सार, भवसिन्धु तरिवार ,
तुया पद जानिलाम तत्त ॥
- ५८ । तोमा पूजा ना करिया, लक्ष्मीगेल क्षारिया,
लोक निन्दा करय आमारे ।

- ५९ । ना जानि भक्ति स्तुति, सदाय चञ्चलमति,
आइलाम प्राण त्यागिबारे ॥
- ६० । कृपा कैला राजा पाय, तरिते समन दाय,
देखिलाम रातुल चरण ॥
- ६१ । सम्बत्सर दुर्गाराम, तरिते समन घाम,
छाया देय ऐ राजा चरण ॥
- ६२ । एइ मते द्विज जदि करिला स्तवन ।
तुष्टाहैया लक्ष्मीचन्द्र वर दिला ततः जन ॥
- ६३ । सदय हृदया चन्द्रे दिला तिन वर ।
धर्म वृद्धि हउक दारिद्र्य हउक दूर ॥
- ६४ । अन्तकाले द्विज तुमि पाओ चन्द्रलोक ।
गृहे गिया व्रत कर ना भाविष्य शोक ॥
- ६५ । पुनि चन्द्र स्थाने विप्र जिज्ञाशिला बानि ।
जेई जेई देखिलाम ताहा कह सुनि ॥
- ६६ । च्युत बृक्ष सबत्स धेनु वृष आर गाधा ।
हस्तौ पुष्करनी दुइ देखीलाम आधा ॥
- ६७ । लय चुन ईच्छ रत्ना जे ताम्बुल ।
बिनी पुष्प दुग्ध आर आम्रजे श्रीफल ॥
- ६८ । पूर्व भाष्य बहे अर्द्ध भक्त कृमिर ।
ताहार कारण किछु कहत सुधिर ॥
- ६९ । चन्द्र बले तुमि विप्र सुन विवरण ।
विप्र ना पाठाइके बृक्ष हेके ते कारन ॥
- ७० । बृषेह ना दिला नर कुला दिहिला तखन ।
ते कारणे कर्मभोग हइके एखन ॥
- ७१ । गाधा मिथ्यावादि क्लिष्ट हस्ति क्रोधानल ।
तारा क्लिष्ट पूर्वजन्मे मनुष्य सकल ॥
- ७२ । धर्म आर अधर्म दुई पुष्करनि ।
अधर्म पुष्करनीर जन्य कह ना खाय पानि ॥
- ७३ । लय आर चुन वाङ्मय दुइ जन ।
सुखे चुन देखिया ना कह कदाचन ॥

- ७४ । अति सकलैर द्रव्य मना मुज आदि ।
भित्ता कैल अति सबे नाहि दिल ॥
- ७५ । ते कारणे ताहारा वैराय स्थाने स्थान ।
अतिर सेवा कैले सबेर हडवे कल्याण ॥
- ७६ । कुम्भीर देखीवा सेइ पातकी बिस्तर ।
ब्राह्मणेर प्रवर्न^१ माला कण्ठेर उपर ॥
- ७७ । अह^१ जले अह^१ उपरे पापेर कारण ।
एइ सब कहिलाम बिप्र करह गमन ॥
- ७८ । तवे से हडवे मुक्त दिले ब्राह्मणेरे ।
एइ वार्ता जानाइय पापिष्ठ कुम्भीरे ॥
- ७९ । एइ सब कहिलाम गृहे जाय तुमि ।
सपति सहित प्रवर्न^१ आसिवाम आमि ॥
- ८० । विदाय हडया गेल कुम्भीरेर स्थाने ।
कुम्भीरेरे सम्बादजे कहेन ब्राह्मणे ॥
- ८१ । सेइ माला दिल कुम्भीर करि नमस्कार ॥
ग्रहन्ति मुक्त करि बिप्र चले आरवार ॥
- ८२ । मणि मुक्ता आदि करि यथ द्रव्य दिल ।
अति सकलेरे दिते ब्राह्मणे कहिल ॥
- ८३ । धान्य ग्रहन्ति मेलि बिप्र तथा होते गेल ।
चुन्नार निकटे गिया उपनिव हडल ॥
- ८४ । पर सुखे चुणा देखी ना कहिला वाणि ।
चुन्नार टोपरि माथे बह पुनि पुनि ॥
- ८५ । ग्रहन्ति मुक्त करि बिप्र तथा होते गेल ।
तृण वाहकरे स्थाने उपस्थित हैल ॥
- ८६ । परश्वरे तृण देखि ना कहिला वानि ।
सेइ पापे तृण बह ताहा आमि जानि ॥
- ८७ । धान्य ग्रहन्ति मेलि तथा सम्बाद कहिया ।
जार जार पार कथा कहेन बसिया ॥
- ८८ । गाभिर निकटे गिया दिल दरशन ।
पूर्व जन्मे निस्फल पुरी कैला दान ॥

- ८९ । धान्य ग्रहन्ति सुक्लं करि गेल ततःक्षन ।
 च्युत वृक्ष निकटे गिया दिस दरशन ॥
- ९० । विप्रे ना पाठाइछ तुमि गर्ब हैया ।
 ते कारणे फल तोमार ना खाय आसिया ॥
- ९१ । सुवर्ण कलस आछि तोमार अभ्यन्तरे ।
 भक्ति करि प्रवर्ण भाण्ड देय ता आमारि ॥
- ९२ । ताहा सुनि प्रवर्ण भाण्ड ब्राह्मणेरे दिस ।
 आपनार मन्दिरे विप्र शिघ्रगति गेल ॥
- ९३ । सत मुद्रा भाङ्गि व्रत करिल प्रचार ।
 दुःख दूर गेल विप्र प्रवर्ण घर द्वार ॥
- ९४ । जेबा एइ व्रतराजा करे चिरकाल ।
 पुत्रे पौत्रे धन धान्य वाडे टाकुराल ॥
- इति पाञ्चालि समाप्तः ।

एक्ष्मिणा छिद्रं कुर्यात् आप्रिवन—सूर्यार्थं दद्यात् ॥ इति ॥

सन १२६३ मघि तां १० कार्तिक रोज रविवार बैकाल बेला समाप्त ।

भीमस्यापि रणे भङ्गं सुनिनाञ्च मतिभ्रमः ।

यथा दृष्टं तथा लिखितं लेखको नास्ति दोषकः ॥

दुःखेन लिखितं ग्रन्थं चौरण्यं नियति यदि ।

सुकरीस्तस्य माता न पिता तस्य च गर्ह्यम् ॥

एइ पुस्तकेर अधिकार श्री जगबन्धु आचार्य सां माह्यापुर ॥

११४५ मघिलो बिरचित ॥

Translation.

The Story of the Ceremonial Worship of (the Deity)
 Lakshmi-chandra.

1. I bow to the fat-paunched deity (Ganesa whose whole body and thighs are painted red with vermillion.

2. I salute (the goddess) Lakshmi's husband—the god Nārāyaṇa (who bears in his hands) a conch, a discus, a club and a lotus and who rides upon the Garuḍa (bird).

3. I salute (the goddesses) Lakshmi and Saraswati who are worshipped by all the world and at whose (Lakshmi's) blessing (people get) wealth, and at whose (Saraswati's) blessing (people become) learned in the *śāstras*.

4. I salute (the god) Siva (and his spouse) Bhawānī with whole-hearted devotion. I salute the feet of the other gods.

5. Yudhiṣṭhira enquired of Srikrishna : "How is the ceremonial worship of (the deity) Lakshmīchandra performed?"

6. "Who performed this ceremonial worship in ancient times and according to what rites? Who introduced and spread this worship in this world?"

7. "O Lord! describe to me all these things." The Lord Srikrishna (thereupon) began to describe all the rites.

8. In ancient times, there lived a Brāhman named Bhadra. He had a wife named Subratā who was very pious.

9. The Brāhman performed the ceremonial worship of (the deity) Lakshmīchandra with all the prescribed rites. (And) under the influence of (the merit accruing from) this worship, he had sons and grandsons born to him and acquired great wealth.

10. According to the decrees of Fate, it so happened that, on one full-moon day, the Brāhman had to perform four ceremonies.

11. Namely, the consecration of a tank, the performance of the *srāddha* ceremony of his father; (and) it so happened that his son's marriage was fixed to take place on that very day.

12. The Brāhman very gladly performed the (aforementioned) three ceremonies. But he forgot to perform the ceremonial worship of (the deity) Lakshmīchandra.

13. For that reason, the goddess of wealth left the Brāhman and never returned. (That is to say, the Brāhman became very poor).

14. He lost all his wealth and was reduced to poverty. And he, his wife and children became veritable beggars.

15. So the Brāhman began to beg for alms, saying to himself: "O Lord! you have inflicted so much sorrow upon me after (the enjoyment of) so much happiness."

16. On one occasion, a relative of the Brāhman performed a *śrāddha* ceremony. So, in the hope of getting an invitation from him, the Brāhman did not beg for alms.

17. Out of contempt, his relative did not invite the Brāhman. So the latter, poor as he was, felt very much insulted.

18. (Saying to himself :) "Neglectfully I did not perform the ceremonial worship of (the deity) Lakshmīchandra, for which reason the goddess of wealth abandoned me."

19. The poor Brāhman (named) Durgārām (*alias* Bhadra) woefully says to himself : "I shall go out in search of (the deity) Lakshmīchandra and surely die in the attempt to find him out."

20. The beggar Brāhman says to himself : "I shall go and accuse the deity Lakshmīchandra of being the cause of my poverty."

21. Thinking in this way, the Brāhman journeyed far and came across a mango tree full of fruits.

22. Seeing the mango tree, the Brāhman asked it : "Have you seen (the deity) Lakshmīchandra.?"

23. The tree told the Brāhman : "I have not seen (the deity). If you find him out, communicate to him (the source of) my sorrow,"

24. "(Namely,) that holymen (*gosāins*) do not partake of my fruits." (Hearing its words,) the Brāhman tied up some paddy in a knot (in the hem of his *dhōli*—by way of a reminder) and went away.

25. (Having seen) a cow browsing off the grass unaccompanied by her calf, the Brāhman, folding the palms of his hands together, asked her :

26. "O cow ! have you seen (the deity) Lakshmīchandra ? Tell me the tidings about his deityship, so that, (hearing the same,) my sorrows may be alleviated."

27. The cow replied : "O Brāhman ! I have not seen (his deityship). If you find him out, communicate to him (the source of) my sorrow,"

28. "(Namely,) that I cannot browse off the grass in the company of my calf." (Hearing her words,) the Brāhman tied

up some paddy in a knot (in the hem of his *dhōti*—by way of a reminder) and went away hastily.

29. Thereafter he saw an ass, a bull, an elephant, and two tanks before him,

30. And asked them : “ Have you seen (the deity) Lakshmīchandra ? ”

31. All of them replied : “ O Brāhman ! we have not seen (his deityship). If you find him out, enquire from him the causes of our sorrows and troubles .”

32. (Hearing their words,) the Brāhman tied up some paddy in a knot (in the hem of his *dhōti*—by way of a reminder) and went away. He then saw a man carrying a load of grass upon his head,

33. (And enquired of him :) “ Why do you carry such a heavy load of grass (upon your head ?) Have you seen the deity Lakshmīchandra ? ”

34. The carrier of the load of grass replied : “ O Brāhman ! I have neither seen his deityship nor heard about him. If you find him out, communicate to him (the source of) my sorrow ,”

35. “ And enquire from him as to why I am doomed to carry this load of grass .” (Hearing his words,) the Brāhman tied up some paddy in a knot (in the hem of his *dhōti*—by way of a reminder) and went away.

36. Then having seen a man carrying a basket of quicklime (upon his head), the poor Brāhman asked him :

37. “ Have you seen (the deity) Lakshmīchandra ? ” The carrier of the basket of lime replied : “ I know nothing about his deityship .”

38. (“ If you find him out,) enquire from him the cause of my sorrow and trouble .” Hearing his words, the Brāhman tied up some paddy in a knot (in the hem of his *dhōti*—by way of a reminder) and wended his way.

39 & 40. Then having come across some persons carrying *manā*,* the *mung* pulse (*Phaseolus mungo* var., *aureus*), sugarcane, plantains, *sidhyak*,† betel-leaves, sugar, flower, milk, mangoes,

* I have not been able to make out the meaning of the word *manā* (मना).

† I have not been able to find out the meaning of the word *sidhyak* (सिध्यक).

bael fruits (*Egle marmelos*), the Brāhman enquired of them :
 " Have you seen the deity Lakshmichandra ? "

41. All of them replied : " We have not seen his deityship. If you find him out, communicate to him our sorrows and troubles ".

42. " And enquire from him the reasons as to why we are doomed to carry loads of these articles from place to place." (Hearing their words) the Brāhman tied up some paddy in a knot (in the hem of his *dhoti*—by way of a reminder) and went away.

43. Having journeyed further, he came across a lovely lake and a crocodile (living in it) and having half its body emerging out of the water.

44. Folding the palms of his hands together, the Brāhman addressed the crocodile as follows :— " O worthy crocodile ! leave off your ferocity and convey me across the waters of this lake."

45. " As I have to go in search of (the deity) Lakshmichandra." Hearing the Brāhman's request, the crocodile replied :

46. " O Brāhman ! (If you find out his deityship,) be sure to enquire from him what great sin I have committed so that, as the result thereof, I have been doomed to become a crocodile."

47. Having replied to the Brāhman, the crocodile conveyed him across the lake. (Hearing the crocodile's request), the Brāhman tied up some paddy in a knot (in the hem of his *dhoti*—by way of a reminder) and went away from there.

48. Thereafter the Brāhman, being unable to proceed any further on account of his throat and lips having become parched (with thirst,) fell down upon the ground.

49. (Seeing) the Brāhman fall down upon the ground, (the deity) Lakshmichandra took compassion on him and made himself visible to him.

50. The Brāhman named Bhadra, seeing the deity Lakshmichandra, made obeisance to his deityship with all his eight limbs, even though he was lying prostrate upon the ground.

51. The Brāhman Durgārām (*alias* Bhadra) then addressed his deityship as follows :— " O Lord Srīrāmcharan ! I am helpless and sorrow-stricken. Oh ! save me from the fear of death."

52. "O Lakshmipati! I am helpless and in need of your mercy. I am weak and thin on account of the worries and anxieties of life. Oh! save me."

53. "Oh! take compassion on me and keep me always at your red feet. I have no other means of salvation than yourself."

54. "O lord of the poor! pardon the faults of myse who am ignorant. O friend of the poor! pardon (my) faults."

55. "O (Lord) Lakshmināth! pardon my faults. Oh! convey me across the ocean of this world."

56. "You are, in all things, the source of salvation. How shall I eulogise you? How shall I extol your greatness?"

57. "The dust of your feet alone can carry (us) across the ocean of this world. I know that (the contemplation of) your feet is the only source of salvation."

58. "Not having worshipped you, the goddess of wealth has abandoned me. (For this) people are blaming me."

59. "I am quite ignorant of devotion and adoration. My mind is always restless. I have come to die."

60. "O lord of the red feet! you have taken compassion on me (and manifested yourself to me) in order to save me from the fear of death. I have seen your red feet."

61. "O lord of the red feet! you have given shelter, all the year round, to me—Durgārām—and saved me from (going to) the abode of death."

62. After the Brāhman had addressed his deityship in this strain, the deity Lakshmīchandra became pleased with him and gave him boons.

63 & 64. Feeling compassion (for the Brāhman), the deity Lakshmīchandra gave him the three following boons:—"O Brāhman! may your piety increase. May your poverty disappear. May you go to the 'world of the moon' (*Chāndraloka*) after your death. Go home. Forget your sorrows and troubles and perform the ceremonial worship (in my honour)."

65. Then the Brāhman asked his deityship to describe to him the accounts of the various sights he had seen.

66. (Namely,) the mango tree, the cow with the calf, the bull, the ass, the elephant, the two tanks (which he had seen while he was nearly half-way off on his journey),

67. (The carriers of the loads of) grass, quicklime, sugarcane, plantains, betels flowers, milk, mangoes and bael-fruits,

68. (And) the ferocious crocodile having half its body emerging out of the water and carrying a vessel full of water. Addressing his deityship further, the Brāhman said: "O placid-minded god! describe to me the reasons why these men and animals are doomed to undergo the sufferings they are doing now."

69. The deity Lakshmichandra thereupon replied: "O Brāhman! hear what I say. The mango tree did not give its fruits to a Brāhman. Therefore, its fruits are not eaten by any holy man."

70. "The bull did not render any assistance to a man at that time.* Hence the former is undergoing sufferings at present."

71. "The ass was a liar, and the elephant was of a very angry disposition. Both of them were human beings in a previous state existence."

72. "The two tanks were a pious and an impious man (in a previous state of existence). On account of its impiety, no body drinks the water of the tank."

73. "The carriers of the load of grass and the basket of quicklime, (in a former state of existence), did not speak with men who had marks of lime on their faces."

74. "Some (of my) worshippers begged for some *manā*,† *mung* pulse and the like from the carriers (or vendors) of these articles (which are used as food-offerings in my worship) in a previous state of existence. But the latter did not give them the articles begged for."

75. "For this reason, they have been doomed to hawk about these articles from place to place. If they now give these offerings to (my) worshippers, they will be rid of their sufferings."

* The meaning of the word *kuṭā* (कुला) is obscure. I have, however, translated it as meaning "shelter" or "assistance."

† I am unable to make out the meaning of the word *manā* (मना).

76 & 77. "In the crocodile which wears upon its neck the Brāhman's rosary of golden beads and which has been doomed to live with half its body immersed in water and the other half emerging therefrom, you will recognize one who was an arrant sinner (in a former state of existence). O Brāhman ! I have informed you of the causes of their sorrows and troubles. Now go away."

78. "Tell the scoundrel crocodile that, if he will restore (the rosary of golden beads) to a Brāhman, he will be released from his present state of existence."

79. "Now you have learnt all these from me. Go home. I shall come over with my wife (the goddess of wealth) to your house and bring you wealth."

80. Having taken leave (of his deityship), the Brāhman went to the crocodile and communicated to it what the deity had said about the cause of its sorrow.

81. Thereupon the crocodile made an obeisance to the Brāhman and gave him the rosary of golden beads. Untying the knot, the latter went away.

82. Then the Brāhman (met the vendors of) jewels, pearls and the like, and told them to give those articles to the worshippers (of the deity Lakshmīchandra).

83. Then, untying the knot containing the paddy, the Brāhman left that place and went to the carrier of the basket of quicklime,

84. And told him : " Seeing the marks of lime on another person's face, you did not speak with him. It is for this reason that you have been doomed to carry the basket of quicklime."

85. Then, untying the knot, the Brāhman left that place and went to the carrier of the load of grass,

86. And told him : " Seeing a load of grass on another person's head, you did not speak with him. For this sin you have been doomed to carry the load of grass—this much I know."

87. Then, untying the knot containing the paddy, he went to the other persons and communicated to them what the deity had told him about the means of their getting released from their present sufferings.

88. He went to the cow and told her that, in a former state of existence, she had made a gift with an insincere heart.

89. Then, untying the knot containing the paddy, he went to the mango tree,

90. (And told it:) "Being proud, you did not give your fruits to a Brāhman. For this reason, nobody partakes of your fruit."

91. "You have in your inside a jar of gold. So be devout and give me that golden jar."

92. Hearing these words, the mango tree gave the Brāhman the golden jar. Thereafter the latter quickly went home,

93. (And,) spending one hundred gold coins, celebrated the ceremonial worship (of the deity Lakshmīchandra). (Thereupon) the poverty of the Brāhman disappeared; (and) his house was transformed into a golden palace.

94. Whoever annually performs this chief of *vratas* (or ceremonial worships), the deity (Lakshmīchandra) blesses him with sons, grandsons, wealth and paddy.

[Here the legend ends.]

The *dakshinā* (or the customary fee to a Brāhman at the end of a ceremony) should be given in the month of Āswīn; and offerings should be made to the sun-god.

(The writing of this manuscript) was finished in the afternoon of Sunday, the 10th Kārtik in the Maghī year 1263.

Even (the heroic) Bhīma flies away from the battle. The sages also err in their judgments. The writer is not to be blamed (for any error that might have crept into this manuscript). He has written just as he has seen (in the original manuscript). If a thief should steal this manuscript which has been written with so much labour, may his father be an ass and his mother a sow. Sri Jagabandhu Achāryya, resident of Mahāngpur, is the owner of this manuscript. Written in the Maghī year 1145.

The story-radical deducible from the foregoing legend from Chittagong is as follows:—

1. The hero, being reduced to poverty, goes to the deity Lakshmīchandra to beg of him the boon that his poverty may come to an end.

2. On his way, he successively meets with a tree, several persons and beasts, and two tanks, all of whom request him to enquire from the Deity the causes of their troubles and sorrows.

3. The hero learns from the Deity the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles and communicates the same to them.

4. The tree gives the hero a jar of gold which is hidden in its inside.

5. The Deity having granted the boons to the hero, the latter worships him and becomes prosperous and wealthy.

If we compare the story-radical of the North Bihari folk-tale with that of the Chittagong legend, we find that all the leading incidents of both the stories are almost identical. In the Bihari folk-tale, the tree has ten jarfuls of gold mohars hidden beneath its roots; while, in the Chittagong legend, there is only one jar of gold hidden inside it. In the former, the source of the elephant's trouble is that its proboscis had got stuck to a tree; while, in the latter, the cause of the elephant's suffering is not mentioned.

Then we find that there is another legend current in other parts of Eastern Bengal, which is closely similar to the two foregoing stories. Like the tale from Chittagong, it is also recited on the occasion of the performance of the ceremonial worship of the goddess Aranyashashthī (अरण्यशष्ठी देवी) on the 6th day of the bright half of the month of Jaisṭha (May-June). It is as follows :—

A Brahman had no children. As soon as a child was born to him, the black cat, on which the deity Shashthī—the goddess of childbirth and children—rides, carried it off to her deityship. Being sorrow-stricken at the loss of his children, he made up his mind to interview the goddess and obtain from her the boon of the preservation of his children's lives. He therefore started on his journey to the place where her deityship lived.

When he had gone far, he met with a cow. Seeing him she asked: "O *ṭhākur*! I bow to thee. Where are you going to?" He replied: "I am going to have an interview with the goddess Shashthī and tell her my sorrows." Thereupon she said: "O *ṭhākur*! I am also stricken with a great sorrow. Look here,

my teats are full of milk. But neither any calf sucks me nor does any man milk me. I am therefore in great pain. Do be good enough to inform her deityship of the source of my sorrow." The Brāhman agreed to do so, and then started on his journey again.

When he had gone far and was much oppressed by the hot sun, he came across an umbrageous mango tree and sat under its shade to rest himself. Seeing him, the tree enquired: "O *thākur*! where are you going to?" He replied: "I am going to have an interview with the goddess Shashthī and tell her my sorrow." Thereupon it said: "O *thākur*! I am also stricken with a great sorrow. Look here, I am bowed down beneath the load of my fruits. But neither any man nor any bird eats of my fruits. Nor are they blown down by storms. This load of fruits is agonising me much. Do be good enough to inform her deityship of my trouble." The Brāhman agreed to do so, and then started on his journey again.

When he had gone far, he met with a woman carrying a load of straw and fuel on her head. Seeing him, she enquired: "O *thākur*! where are you going to?" He replied: "My good woman! I am going to interview the goddess Shashthī and tell her my sorrow." Thereupon she said: "I am also in great trouble. Nobody purchases my straw and fuel. It appears that I have been doomed to carry this load for ever and a day. So be good enough to inform her deityship of my trouble." The Brāhman agreed to do so, and then started on his journey afresh.

When he had proceeded further, he met with another woman carrying a potful of quicklime on her head. Seeing him, she asked: "O *thākur*! where are you going to?" He replied: "My good woman! I am going to interview the goddess Shashthī and tell her my sorrow." Thereupon she said: "I am also in a great distress. Nobody purchases my quicklime. It appears that I have been doomed to carry this potful of lime on my head for ever and a day. So be good enough to inform the goddess of my trouble also." The Brāhman agreed to do so, and then started on his journey again.

Thereafter he met with another poor woman carrying a child astride her hips, and having one of her feet upon a paddy-husking pedal. Seeing him, she asked : " O *thākur* ! where are you going to ? " He replied : " I am going to interview the goddess Shashthī and tell her my sorrow." Thereupon she said : " I have also fallen into a great trouble. Look here, I can neither withdraw my foot from the pedal nor can I take my child off my hips. So be good enough to inform her deityship of my distressed condition." The Brāhman agreed to do so, and then started again on his journey.

Thereafter the Brāhman reached a great forest wherein he met the goddess Shashthī and enquired from her the cause of his children's early deaths. To this she replied : " Your wife treats the children ill. They, therefore, do not live long. If you will make a solemn vow to me that henceforth you will treat them kindly and affectionately, I shall allow them to live with you long. Otherwise they will return to me soon." To this proposal he assented.

Then he enquired from her deityship the causes and the remedies of the troubles from which the cow, the mango tree, and the three women were suffering. To his queries the goddess replied : " A Brāhman had asked for some milk from the cow for offering it to a deity. But she did not give it to him. It is for this reason that she has been doomed to undergo her present suffering. If she would now give her milk freely to a Brāhman, she would be relieved of her trouble. A Brāhman wanted to pluck a ripe mango for offering to a god. But the tree did not permit him to do it. Hence is its present suffering. If it would now give all its fruits to a Brāhman, its trouble would come to an end. Even after seeing a bit of straw on another person's head, the woman, who carries the load of straw and fuel on her head, did not inform the latter of it. It is for this reason that she has been doomed to lead her present life of trouble and suffering. If she would now give all her straw and fuel to a Brāhman, she would be relieved of her present trouble. Even after seeing a stain of lime on another's face, the

woman, who carries the pot of lime on her head, did not inform the latter of it. It is for this reason that she is undergoing her present suffering. If she would now give the potful of lime to a Brāhman, her trouble would cease. The woman, having one of her feet stuck fast to the paddy-husking pedal, was, at one time, a maid-servant in a Brāhman's household and shirked work. It is for this reason that she has been reduced to her present distressful condition. If she would now work in a Brāhman's household diligently, she would be released from her painful situation."

Then, taking leave of the goddess, the Brāhman returned homewards. On his way, he met with the woman, having her foot stuck fast to the pedal, and informed her of the cause and the remedy of her trouble. Hearing his words, she said: "As you are a Brāhman, I shall now serve in your household." To this proposal he agreed.

Then he met with the two women, respectively, carrying the pot of lime and the load of straw and fuel on their heads, and thereafter came to the mango tree. He duly informed them of what the goddess had said about the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles. Hearing his words, they agreed to act as directed by her deityship, and said: "O *ṭhākur*! as you are a Brāhman, we will give you the pot of lime, the load of straw and fuel, and the mangoes." To their proposals he readily agreed; and thereupon they were relieved of their troubles. Thereafter he returned home and had a son born to him, who lived long and happily.*

The story-radical underlying the foregoing legend is as follows:—

1. The hero, being sonless, goes to the goddess Shashṭhi to beg of her the boons of the birth of a son and the latter's longevity.
2. On his way, he successively meets with a cow, a tree, and three women, all of whom importune him to enquire from the goddess the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles and sufferings.

* For an account of the *Aranyashashṭhi Vrata* and a more detailed version of this legend, see *Meyeli Vratākatha* (in Bengali) by Paramesh Prasanna Ray, B.A. 2nd Edition. (Published by the Ashutosh Library, Calcutta), pp. 33—43.

3. The hero, having learnt the same, communicates them to the suffering beast, tree and women, all of whom adopt the remedies and are at once relieved of their troubles.

4. The hero also obtains the boons from the goddess and has his heart's desires fulfilled.

If we compare this story-radical with those of the two preceding tales, we find that the suffering *pākur* tree of the North Bihāri folk-tale is represented, in the legends from Chittagong and Eastern Bengal, by a mango tree with this much difference only, namely, that ten jarfuls of gold mohars are hidden beneath the roots of the tree in the first tale, and only one jar of gold is hidden inside it in the Chittagong legend; while no such incident is mentioned in respect of the tree in the third tale. In the North Bihāri tale, the elephant has got his proboscis stuck fast to a tree. This beast is represented, in the legend from Eastern Bengal, by the woman whose foot has stuck fast to a paddy-husking pedal, and, in the Chittagong tale, by the crocodile which has half its body immersed in water, and the other half emerging therefrom. The cow, and the carriers of the pot or basket of quicklime, and of the load of grass or straw and fuel occur in both the legends from Chittagong and other parts of Eastern Bengal.

If we leave out the special incidents of the three foregoing tales, we find that the following generalized story-radical fits into them all :-

1. A hero goes to a deity to beg a boon.
2. On the way, he meets with several suffering persons and beasts, and a tree, all of whom importune him to enquire from the deity the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles.
3. The hero obtains his own boon and learns from the deity the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles.
4. He communicates the same to them, all of whom adopt the remedies and are at once relieved of their troubles.

On comparing this story-radical with the seventy types of folk-tales framed by the Folklore Society of London, * we find

* *The Handbook of Folklore.* By G. L. Gomme. London : David Nutt. 1890. pp. 117—135.

that it does not tally with any one of the same, and appears to be a new one. We have, therefore, classified the three foregoing tales in a separate group which we have named the "*Hero and the Deity Type*."

There now remain for discussion the two noteworthy ethnographical facts embodied in the legend from Chittagong. We have seen that, as soon as the Brāhman in this folk-tale was requested by a suffering person or beast to enquire from the deity the cause and the remedy of his or its trouble, the former tied up some paddy in a knot in the hem of his *dhoti*. The question arises:—Why did he do so? The answer is not far to seek. For this was done by him, so that the knot might serve him as a reminder. It also refers to the primitive method of counting. Even at the present day, whenever a Bengali lady forgets to do a thing, she ties up a knot in the hem of her *sāri* to serve her as a reminder for doing that thing. It should also be compared with the knotted strings used by the Santāls for the purpose of computing time,* and the knotted ropes used by the same people in taking the census of 1872,† and the *quippos* or the knotted cords of various colours used by the ancient Peruvians, Mexicans and other aboriginal races of South America for the purpose of recording events.

Also compare it with the custom of making the *lagan pūntli* or "*the bundle of marriage-day*" which is prevalent among the Bhumij of Chota Nagpur. When the father of a Bhumij bridegroom goes to the bride's house to bless her and bring what is known as the *lagan* or the day of marriage, some rice, one areca-nut, a piece of turmeric and some mango leaves and *durbā* grass are tied together in a piece of new cloth which has been previously dyed yellow with turmeric. As many mango leaves and blades of *durbā* grass must be put into this bundle as there may be days remaining to the coming-off of the marriage.

* Bradley-Birt's *The Story of an Indian Upland* (Edition 1905), p. 169 ; p. 265

Also see *The Journal of the Biha and Orissa Research Society* for September 1916, p. 311.

† *The Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1872, p. 192.

*It is also indispensably necessary to tie up the bundle with as many knots as there may be days remaining to the happening of the marriage. This is known as the lagan pūṅtli or "the bundle of marriage-day," which is made over by the bride's father to the bride who, in her turn, makes it over to her would-be father-in-law.**

We also find in the colophon to the MS. poem from Chittagong the curious statement: "If a thief should steal this manuscript which has been written with so much labour, *may his father be an ass and his mother a sow.*" Now what do these words signify? They constitute an imprecation which was used in the olden times in India for preventing trespassers from removing boundary-stones and deterring other persons from dispossessing Brāhmins from the lands which had been granted to them by way of gift. At the annual meeting of the Bihār and Orissā Research Society, held in January 1917, the learned President His Honour Sir Edward Gait referred to this curious imprecation as follows: "Amongst other things, we have obtained one of those curious Sambalpur 'boundary-stones' mentioned by Mr. Mazumdar in his account of Kauaka Bhañja's copper-plate. *These stones bear the figure of a donkey and a sow and are clearly intended to express the same idea as the imprecatory verse found in many Orissā copper-plates, in which any person dispossessing a Brāhman of land gifted to him is condemned in his next life on earth to be begotten of a donkey or a sow.* The sun and the moon depicted above the donkey and the sow, and the cow below those animals appear to be as witnesses of the transaction. There is a tradition that this particular stone was originally used to indicate an old boundary-line between the Sambalpur and Sarguja States which was fixed by a treaty on the conclusion of hostilities between the two Rājās. Mr. Walsh tells me that he has recently found a similar stone in the Manbhum District."

* *Vide The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for September 1916, pp. 276277.*

X.—Notes on Club Life in Ancient India.

By Jitendra Lal Bose, M.(A), B.L.

It is often remarked that Club Life is entirely foreign in India and so it does not flourish here, although we are beginning to consider it a very useful appanage of the social organization. I place the following facts before the readers and leave it to them to judge whether this opinion may be regarded as sound or not.

1.

About half a dozen Sanskrit words have to be considered in this connexion : viz. सभा (*Sabhā*), परिषत् (*Parīṣāt*), सद्ः (*Sadaḥ*), समाज (*Samāj*), गण (*Gana*) and गोष्ठो (*Goṣṭhi*.) All these words primarily signify assemblies of men and later on have acquired various secondary senses, all however connected with their primary meaning*. We meet with the word गणपति (*Gaṇapati*) in the sense of a president of an assembly in the Rig Veda (2·24), and we also find in it (1·29) the word सदस्यति (*Sadaspati*) which, though explained by Śaṅkara as the name of a God,

* It is interesting to note that while the word *Sabhā* is now used to denote a meeting, in the Pauranic times it used to signify pleasure-meets also, as we will see later on, and in the Smṛiti the word almost invariably signified a Legislative or a Judicial assembly, over which it was the duty of the king to preside. (Vide Viṣṇu, Ch. 3, 52, Yājñavalkya, 2, 3, Manu 8. 11-18). See also Mahābhārat, Śānti Parva, Ch. 83.

The word *Gana* likewise got different meanings and as Mr. Jayasawal rightly says, has been used in the sense of a republic in the Mahābhārata (vide J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I, Pt. 2, page 173.) In the Smṛitis and the Purans however it has been used to denote a hotel where cooking for a number of men used to be done. (Vide Viṣṇu, 48. 21, Manu, 4, 209-10; Yājñavalkya, 1, 14 and Kurma Puranam Uparibhaga Ch. 17, 4.)

The word *Sadaḥ* in course of time began to be used to denote a public meeting only, e.g., *Sadasī bahupatuta* power of expression in a public meeting.

(Vide *Panchatantra*.)

certainly means the president of a meeting and would be much more significant if it were taken as the adjective of Brahmanaspati, to whom the Sukta is addressed.

In the Yayur Veda गणयज्ञ (Gaṇa Yajna) has been prescribed as a sacrifice to be performed by a committee of men. This kind of sacrifice had a special name मरुत्स्तोम (Marutstom)* and it has been defined as "a sacrifice to be performed by either brothers or friends together."

(*Bhratrīnam sakhlīnam va kartavyah yajnah.*)

Vive Kātyāyana, *Srauta Sutra*, 22-11-12 and 25-13-29.

In this way promotion of fellow-feeling began in India even in the Vedic period, and it went on progressing through the successive stages of the growth of the Indian mind until the word सखा (Sakhā) "a friend" attained almost a hallowed significance, and to invoke the Supreme Deity as a friend became one of the settled modes of worship. It is remarkable that Yājñavalkya permits to a house-holder amidst all his diverse religious duties, the only relaxation of spending his afternoon in the company of cultured friends, thus implanting the germ of club life in the Indian mind, which, as we shall see, obtained full maturity in later times. (Vide Yājñavalkya. 1. 118).

The word गणचक्रक (Gaṇachakra) which has been defined as the sitting together of religious men or virtuous men to dinner, † deserves consideration as it would appear to be the forerunner of the modern club-dinner.

2.

These associations, the principal aim of which was religious culture, gradually became combined with societies aiming at literary or mundane culture, and thus sprung up the Goṣṭhī, which we find alluded to in the Mahābhārata (Birāt Parva ---6,

* There can be no doubt that the place of this yajna has now been taken by the Barwari Pūja, or religious festivals to be performed by twelve friends. In the days of Bātsyāyana, Marutstom had given place to देव यात्रा (Deva yatra) which was of the same character as the Barwari Pūja of modern times.

† धार्मिकानां सम्भूय भोजने (Dharmikanam sambluya bhojane).

Vide Vachaspathyam by Tara Nath.

quoted by Tārānāth in his Vāchaspatyam ; तत्र गोष्ठीषु रथ्यासु सिद्ध
घनजिज्ञेयुः । (Tatra goṣṭhisu rathyāsu siddhaprabrajitayṣucha.)
There in the goṣṭhis, highroads and places where successful yogis
resided.) These were therefore apparently very old institutions.
This class of Goṣṭhī has been defined as

Nānāsāstra visaradaih rasikata satkavya sammoditā,
Nirdōsaih kulabhūṣaṇaih parimitā purṇa kulajnairapi
Śreemadbhāgbatādi Kāranakthā susrusayā nanditā
Gatwabhīṣṭa mupaiti guṇijano goṣṭhī hi sāchochyatay.

“An association which has as its members men versed in
various sāstras and of blameless character and of respectable
families, having self-respect and which pleases by the good
humour and culture of good poetry pervading its atmosphere,
and is thus a home of happiness, and which can supply to these
men of culture, who wish to hear the Srimadbhāgabat and other
good books, their desired object is called a Goṣṭhī.”

It is not difficult to see that the modern Hari Sabhās and
societies similar to them are survivals of these Goṣṭhis. In the
days of the great Vaisṇava reformer Śrī Chaitanya, Śrī Basayr
Anginā became a Goṣṭhī of unique distinction. (Vide Śrī
Chaitanya Bhāgabat, Madhya. 8th Ch.). It is difficult to discover
whether there was any constitution in these Goṣṭhis, but the
occurrence of the word Goṣṭhipati suggests that there was at
least one important functionary, and the manner in which they
seem from the above quotation, to have been conducted, would
naturally lead to the inference that order was strictly maintained.

3

Side by side with these purely religious or religio-literary
institutions, there were institutions in India, from very ancient
days, the aim and object of which was to supply the pleasures

* नाना शास्त्रे विप्रारदे रसिकता सत्काव्य सम्मोदिता
निदोषैः कुलभूषणैः परिमिता पूर्ण + कुलजैरपि ।
श्रीमद् भागवतादि कारण कथा शुश्रूषया नन्दिता
गत्वा भीष्ट मुपैति गुणिजनो गोष्ठी हित्तोच्यते ॥

Vide Śabdakalpādruma “Goṣṭhipati.”

of art and games to the pleasure-seeking portion of the people. In the famous Sukta of the Rig Veda in which the Rishi Kabaṣa animadverts on the vices of gambling, there are clear references to play-houses. * In the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata, the Sabhā to which Yudhiṣṭhira was attracted by Duryodhana for playing dice has in it many of the characteristics of a play-house. †

In the Rig Veda is also traceable the growth of the drinking clubs or salons which appear to have been at one time very favourite institutions in India. Although there is no direct allusion to such salons in the Rig Veda, there is enough material in it to indicate that the sacrificial ground, or the place where the Soma was distilled was beginning to be considered, the drinking club of the Devas (gods). ‡ The vigorous praises bestowed on the soma in the 9th Mandala of the Rig Veda, leave no doubt in the mind that the ancient Indians had become very partial to its merits, and quite appreciated its life-giving properties. A careful distinction, however, seems to have been drawn between intoxicating liquors and exhilarating beverages, the drinking of the latter settling in course of time into a regular habit. Thus grew up the पान सुमि s (Pān-bhūmis) || or अपानक s (Āpānakas) or places which every well-to-do householder was required to set apart in his premises, where friends would be asked to assemble and drink together. These were never allowed to be anything but private places, and were kept distinct from public clubs. (Vide Vātsyāyana, *Kāma Sūtra*, l. IV, Kālidāsa, *Raghuvansam*, Canto 19. 11 and *Kumār Sambhavam*, Canto VI, 42). Thus bringing together friends at least once or twice a month, was a sort of a duty imposed on every cultured young man and the author of the *Kāmasūtra* indulges in a long digression about the virtues of moderate drinking and the wines to be used, which is outside the scope of our present enquiry.

* Vide Rig Veda, 10. 34. 6.

† Vide Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, Ch. 60.

‡ Vide Rig Veda, 8, 35, 3.

|| Amar Sinha defines the Pān-bhūmi (अपानम्) as

(Āpānam pān-gosthikā)

Vide Amarakoṣa-Sūtra. arga 43.

In the Paurāṇic Literature, the word *Sabhā* has in many places been used in the sense of a club, or at any rate of a place for pleasure meetings, although in the Purāṇas its significance as a Legislative or Judicial Council has not been missed. In the *Sabhā Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, the word has been very frequently used to denote a court either of a god or of a king. But even in the description of these godly *Sabhās*, there are such passages as would tend to show that in the mind of the author the functions of an association of men with all its joyous elements was vividly present. (Vide *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā Parva*, Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10). Of these, the 8th Chapter which contains a description of Yama's (The God of Death's) *Sabhā* deserves especial attention (Vide *Slokas* 38 and 39). In the later Parvas the word *Ākṛiṣa Bhūmi* * (*आक्रीड भूमि*) meaning Fields of pleasure has been used to express the same sense of a common ground for persons to meet for pleasurable purposes.

The word *Vihāra* (*विहार*) has been used in the *Mahābhārata* as a place for youngmen to meet. † The word *समाज* (*samāja*) has found place in the *Mahābhārata*, sometimes in the sense of society in general (Vide *Śānti Parva*, Chapter 68) and sometimes in the restricted sense of a congregation of men (Vide *Śānti Parva*, Chapter 69). But it is doubtful whether it any where signifies a club as we understand it. The word *समाजोत्सव* (*samājotsaba*) being capable of a dual interpretation, it is difficult to assert that it does mean a club festivity, and not a general social festivity, wherever it has been used. This word *समाजोत्सव* (*Samājotsaba*) has been used in the *Smṛiti*, which the modern translator has split up into *समाज* (*Samāj-Sabhā-club*) and *उत्सव* (*utasaba-festivity*), but I have considerable hesitation in accepting it as indisputably correct (vide *Yājñavalkya* 1. 84). The lexicographer Hem Chandra however has given *Samāj* as a synonym of *Sabhā*; whereas the *Amara Koṣa* defines it as society.

* Vide *Salya Parva*, Ch. 37.

† Vide *Śānti Parva*, Chapter 69. The commentator explains it as the gymnasium, but the word clearly denotes a place for enjoyment.

The use of the word **सभा** (sabhā) in the sense of a place set apart for enjoyment of friendly society is met with in the *Hari-vamśam*,* where the pleasure boats of the Jādavas are said to have contained amongst other embellishments compartments fitted up as sabhās. The scenes presented before us in this Chapter as well as in the next, beginning from hilarious joy and ending in a solemn dramatic performance, leave no doubt in our mind that club life was not entirely unfamiliar in ancient India.

5

Having so far noticed institutions which must have in some way or other resembled modern clubs, we now proceed to notice what we consider to be their exact prototypes, with the exception of a few features, which will be indicated in their proper places. These were *Goṣṭhis* described in detail by Bātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra*, Part I, Chapter IV, and alluded to in later works.† I quote his definition below, and may be allowed to add, that all the subsequent quotations, in respect of this matter made from this famous book, have been made from the same Chapter of the above part. I have also purposely mutated this definition for reasons which will be obviated later on.

* * * **सभायामन्यतमस्योदवसिते वा समान विद्या बुद्धि श्रौत विषे वयसाम्** * * * **अनुरूपे राल पे रसन वन्वी गोष्ठौ ।**

(Sabhāyamanya-tamasyo-dabāsītay va samāna vidyā vudhi śeela vitta vayasām.....anurupairalapāi rāsan-bandho Goṣṭhī).
“A meeting of friends of equal culture, intelligence, respectability, means and age either in a public place or the private house of one of them for the pleasures of appropriate conversation is called a *Goṣṭhī*”.

To this *Goṣṭhī* men were enjoined by Bātsyāyana to go every evening :—

कृत प्रसाधनस्य अपराह्णे गोष्ठीविहाराः ।

* Vide Chapter 146.

† Vide the synonyms of *Goṣṭhī* in the *Amakoṣa* *Brahma Varga* 14.
समन्या परिषत् गोष्ठौ सभा समिति संसयः । (Samajya, pariṣad, Goṣṭhī, Sabhā, samiti, samsadah, etc).

(Kritaprasāadhanasya aparahne goṣṭhī bihārah). "After finishing his toilet let him enjoy the pleasures of the Goṣṭhī, in the evening".

Having gone there the young men have been advised to pass their time in addition to conversation, by काव्य समस्या कला समस्या वा-(kavya-samasya kalāsamasyā ba) (Byliterary or artistic culture). The use of the word कला (kalā Art) gave a wide range of enjoyment to the members of these goṣṭhīs. Bātsyāyana himself* and various other authors have given in detail, descriptions of the sixty-four कला (kalās) or fine arts. From these details it will appear that music formed a very important part of these Kalās, which also included games of different descriptions. I may add that the Goṣṭhīs also had outdoor games, some apparently curious, as a part of their programme†. Now from very ancient days Indian ladies had been forbidden to display their musical talents in public and in consequence of this, this art became the monopoly of the cultured demi-monde, who therefore either succeeded in attracting a considerable portion of the music-loving population of cities to their houses, which have consequently been recommended by Bātsyāyana as fit places for the meeting of friends for club purposes, or in being considered an indispensable factor of public goṣṭhīs, so that our author finds himself compelled to recommend their inclusion in them, for affording to the members the pleasure of music and fine arts in general. I have omitted to extract these two recommendations from his description of the Goṣṭhī, to make the parallelism between the old Indian Clubs and the modern Clubs much more obvious. This then is the feature which distinguishes the ancient Goṣṭhī, from the modern Club, both European and Indian. One other point of difference, at least with the European club and such of the Indian ones which are conducted in close imitation of the former, may be noticed. These permit moderate drinking, whereas the Goṣṭhīs did not. There seems to have been established a

* Vide Part I, Chapter IV.

† Vide Part I, Chapter IV, Sections 12 and 13.

sharp cleavage between the Goṣṭhīs and the Āpānakas and the latter were enjoined invariably to be located in private houses.*

It must not be imagined however that Goṣṭhīs were allowed to be unruly or improper bodies. Bātsyāyana permitted the above laxity with considerable restrictions and the functions assigned to the Goṣṭhī clearly show that misbehaviour was not at all tolerated. The commentator rightly says that he had to include the above class of females in the Goṣṭhīs, because they had by that time monopolized the fine arts स्त्री प्रतिबद्ध कला प्रति पत्यर्थ मासांगोष्ठ्यमन्तर्भावः । (Strīpratibaddhakalā pratipattyārathamāsām goṣṭhyāmantarbhābhah).

A Goṣṭhī had to aim at popularity and culture and at supplying innocent amusement. It had to be guided by rules and it was not permissible for its members to cavil at rival institutions. Even the language to be used in a Goṣṭhī was defined and from the very definition of Goṣṭhī it would appear that it was to be a meeting place of cultured men. The following quotations will make this clear.

नात्यन्तंसंस्कृतेनैवनात्यन्तदेशभाषया ॥

कथां गोष्ठौ कथयन् लोके बहुमतो भवेत् ।

(Nātyantam sanskritenaiva, natyantamdesabhāṣayā, kathām gṭh su kathayan lokay bahumato bhabait.)

“A man becomes popular in a club, if he talks there not too much in a pedantic, nor too much in a vulgar language”.

या गोष्ठौ लोक-विदिष्टा या च खैर विसर्पिणी ।

पर हिंसात्मिका या च न तामवतरेद् बुधः ।

(Yā goṣṭhī lok vidistā yā cha swairabhisarpinī, parahinsātmikā yā cha na tāmabata-raidbudhah).

“A wise man should not patronize a club which is unpopular which is not restrained by rules and which is given to jealousy of other similar bodies”.

लोकचित्तानुवर्तिन्याक्रोडामात्रैककार्यया ।

गोष्ठा सह चरन् लोके विद्वान् सिद्धिं नियच्छति ॥

(Lōk chittānu-bartinyā krīrā matraikakaryaya, goṣṭhyāsaha charan lōke vidwān sidhim niyachhati).

* Vide Part I, Chapter IV, Section 9.

“ A learned man obtains his heart's desire by associating himself with a club which is popular and aims at innocent amusement only ”.

It is needless to add any comment on these verses. It is quite plain that the usefulness of club life was fully appreciated; and Bātsyāyana therefore attempts to induce young men of his time to establish clubs where there are none, by persuasion and personal help.*

The popularity of Goṣṭhis can be well estimated from the fact that a light short one-act play, just long enough to hold the attention of members of a Goṣṭhī for an hour or so, came to be called a Goṣṭhī.†

In this connection it may be mentioned that a society entertainer with the powers of pleasing conversation, was considered an important if not an indispensable adjunct of a Goṣṭhī. This person was called a वित (Bita). The Sāhityadarpan defines a “ Bita ” as

वितोपचार-कुशलः

वाग्मी मधुरोय बहुमतो गोष्ठ्यम् ॥

(Beśopchār-kuśalah, Bāgmī madhurotha bahumato goṣṭhyam).

“ A man who knows the art of dressing, who is a good speaker, and is soft-tempered, and who is much sought in goṣṭhis (clubs) ”.

From this quotation it seems that the Goṣṭhī was well-known at the time of Biswanāth Kabirāj, the author of the Sāhityadarpanam.

The date of Bātsyāyana, who is supposed by some with great reason, to be no other than Chāṇakya the great minister of Chandragupta Maurya, is uncertain, but it cannot be denied that his book Kāmasūtram. (The science of Erotics), is not only an authoritative work but is also an ancient one. We have

* Vide Part I, Chapter IV, Section 19.

† Vide Sāhityadarpanam, Chapter VI, Section 541 and Sangita Damodara. The other adjuncts of a Goṣṭhī were the प्रथमर्षी (Prthamardā), an art-teacher, and a वैद्यासिक (Baihasika) humorist who could make people laugh by his comicalities. Vide Kamasutra Part I, Chapter IV, Sections 15 and 17.

therefore no hesitation in saying that India was familiar with club life from a considerable antiquity.

Coming to more modern times, we almost entirely lose sight of the public *Goṣṭhīs*, but we have to bear in mind that one of the three places where *Bātsyāyana* considers a club may be located was the dwelling-house of a member. (*Anyatamsayodabāsīte*) During the Mahomedan period, for what reason no one can with any amount of certainty say, the public *goṣṭhīs* seem to have died out, but their functions were delegated to these private institutions, which however acquired the foreign and somewhat unsavoury name of *Āḍḍā*. Even up to recent times, no village with any pretension to importance was without an *āḍḍā*, where the upper classes of its inhabitants assembled to enjoy the pleasures of music and play, and occasionally of literary culture. It very frequently happened that the richest man in the village offered his house or the *Chandīmaṇḍap*, (the place where he worships his deities in festivals) to his friends, and bore all the expenses of the meetings. Oftener than not however these private clubs were rotatory, the dwelling place of every member serving in turn as the meeting place, and the member who had the privilege of welcoming his friends had to bear all the necessary expenditure, incidental on the sitting of the club at his house. The practice of raising petty subscriptions, though uncommon was not entirely unknown. The agenda of these private clubs seem to have been confined to music and indoor games, but their influence on village life was not negligible, for they maintained a wholesome feeling of unity amongst the upper classes of society. To a great extent they did what the modern clubs are doing now, and should not have been allowed to dwindle away for want of patronage. However dissimilar these homely institutions with their purely Indian programme, may seem to the modern clubs with their constitution and the attractive paraphernalia of foreign games, we should not fail to see their convergence on the one point of supplying innocent amusement, to a considerable section of the enlightened portion of the community and thus cementing fellow feeling amongst them.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Note on some Unpublished Sanskrit Manuscripts.

By Professor Amaranatha Jha, B.A.

Introductory.

At the invitation of my maternal uncle, I went to Sharadāpur, in the Darbhānga district, to look through the palm-leaf manuscripts of his father, my grandfather, the late Pandit Harsha-nātha Jhā. I made a list of the manuscripts and found that several were of great interest, but there were not many that have not been published. Of the latter, I noted three, of which I send the following notice.

(1) (2) *The Prākṛitamanoramā*.

(1) *Prākṛitamanoramā*—a grammar of the Prākṛita language, reputed to be the work of Vararuchi, one of the mythical 'nine gems' of the court of Vikramāditya. Leaves 14, lines 18 to a page. Character, Devanāgarā. Condition, slightly injured; tough paper. Complete.

Beginning :

श्री गणेशायनमः । जयति मदमुदितमधुररुताकलनकूणितापांगः ।
करविह्विताङ्गकङ्कुविनोदसुखितो गणाधिपतिः ॥ आदेरतः । अधिकारोऽयं
यदित अयमः आदेरतः न तद्वतीत्ययं वेदितव्यं ।
आदेरतदपिरिच्छेदसमाप्तिरत इति च आ अकारविधानात् ।

End सिपो लोपोदि च । आप्रचर्यस्याहरीअं । डोदंडदशनेषु । शेषं
महाराष्ट्रोवत् महाराष्ट्रोद्धवाभाषां विशुद्धं प्राकृतं विदुरित्युक्ते ॥

Coophon इति श्री वररुचिविरचितायामनोरमायां दत्तौ भाषा विभाषा
विभा (?) दशमः परिच्छेदः । शुभमस्तु ॥

लिखितं अचिंतगिरिखाकाशीवासी । संवत् १६६० समर्थे आषाढसुदि
चतुर्थी शनौ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं श्री बासुदेव पाठार्थं शुभमस्तु लेखक-
पाठकयोः । श्री रामाय नमः श्री ॥ (Then in a different hand)
श्री द वनायात्मज बासुदेव पुस्तकम् ॥

The different chapters end thus: इति वररुचिऋते प्राकृतप्रकाशे प्रथमः
परिच्छेदः ॥ (२) इति वररुचिविरचितायां मनोरमावृत्तौ द्वितीयः
पारच्छेदः ॥ (३) इति मनोरमायां वृत्तौ तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥ (५)
इति वररुचिविरचितायां मनोरमायां वृत्तौ चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः (५) इति
मनोरमायां वृत्तौ विभक्तौ नामादेशविधिः पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ॥ (७) इति
मनोरमायां वृत्तौ सर्वनाम प्रकाशः षष्ठः परिच्छेदः (७) इति मनोर-
मायां वृत्तौ प्राकृतप्रकाशे सप्तमः परिच्छेदः । (८) इति मनोरमा-
वृत्तौ धात्वदेशोऽष्टमः परिच्छेदः ॥ (९) इति मनोरमायां वृत्तौ
निपातकथनो नवमः परिच्छेदः ॥ (१०) already quoted above.

(2) *Prākṛitamanoramā*, the same.

Leaves 20, lines ten to a page. Condition, good Character, Bengāli. Paper, tough and well decorated.

Beginning : As above.

End : As above.

Colophon : लिखितं शुभ शके १६३०

(3) *Gītagovindaṭīkā*—a commentary on the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva. The peculiarity of this commentary is that while the poet evidently writes of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the commentator explains each lyric as referring to both Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva. A copy of this commentary is, I am informed, in the Palace Library of His Highness the Māhārājā of Alwar. The name of the commentary under notice is Gaṅgā, while that of the one at Alwar is Śaśilekhā; so I am not sure if they are identical. The author of the commentary is Kṛṣṇadatta of Mithilā, who flourished in the eighteenth century and who is the author of a number of Kāvya—*Gītagopipātī*, on the lines of the *Gītagovinda*, among them. Incomplete.

Leaves, 7. Lines, 11 to a page. Condition, good. Appearance, new. Character, Maithili.

Beginning :

ओं नमस्तस्यै ॥ प्रीतिर्व : परमेश्वरः परहितः प्रीतिप्रसन्नः परा
माधत्तां घनसारसुन्दरतरः श्रीकस्य साराधिका । गौरौभूषणभूषणी-
यपदतामन्योन्यशोभापण्यद्वैमीव प्रतिमा सितास्र जठिता प्राप्नोति
यस्याङ्गगा ॥ तामम्बापतिदेवतां भगवतीदवं भवेशं गुरुं भक्तानम्यपुरन्दरं
कुलपतिश्रीमानिकं चाग्रजाम् । गङ्गारथां जयदेव दिव्यकविता व्याख्यामि-
मां मैथिली बहुर्थप्रतिपादनाय तनुते श्री कृष्णदत्तः कविः ॥
घनसमयनिबन्धादावि लब्धेऽपि पुण्यं प्रययतिरसमच्छं भङ्गिभिर्विस्फुर-
न्ती । गमयति पदमेधा वैष्णवं शाम्भवंवा जयतिजगतिगङ्गा गीतगोविन्द-
टीका ॥ शैवंनाद्रियते सुधीरपि मतंप्रायोऽधुना वैष्णवः शैवो नैव च
वैष्णवः निजनिजासदासनावासितः । मत्वेत्य मधुसूदनोऽपि सुरजित्यचे
महिम्नस्तुतिं याचख्यौ जयदेवसूक्तिमपि तां शैवे पथे योजयत् ।
आत्मात्या जयदेवपंडितकविर्वाणीपवित्रा स्वतः प्रयुक्तं परिशीलिता क्युत
पदा प्रलाघ्या बुधैस्सर्वदा । सम्प्रत्याहुतयोजनाभि वलनाभङ्गयाश्रिवे संगति-
नीता पद्मसुवः कमण्डलुपयोधारेव किं कथ्यताम् ॥

सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यमुच्यते । तस्यलक्षणंम आशीर्नमस्त्रिधा वस्तुनि
दर्शो वापि तन्मुखमिति सर्गबन्ध त्वान्महाकाव्यस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्यादौ मङ्ग-
लानन्द स्वरूपयोः । राधा माधवयोरानन्दरसे स्यन्दनीनां केलोना
मुत्कर्वाशंसन सुखेन वस्तु निर्देशं कटाक्षयन् मङ्गलमाचरति मेघैरिति ।

End गमनं तद्वायकं लाभं दृष्टवानसीति वा । विद्वितो द्वितो यो वही
अरिष्टवृषः ततस्त्रायते तादृश ।

Here the manuscript abruptly ends. The commentary must be a very big one, for of the very first verse, beginning *meghair-medura*, there are five different explanations on the Kṛṣṇa paksha and no less than twelve on the Shīvapaksha, occupying on the whole three or four pages.

(3) *Pāṇḍavavijaya*—a Mahākāvya by Lakshminārāyaṇa.

Incomplete ; end missing. Written very legibly on palm-leaf. Condition, slightly injured. Character, Maithilī.

Leaves, 133, Lines, 5 to a page.

Beginning :

॥ ओं नमो महागणेशाय ॥
 कन्दर्पदर्पाङ्कुरमात्तयोरं
 सिन्दूरपूरारुणमिन्दुगौरम् ।
 कुन्दावदातस्मितमदृष्टासं
 वन्दामहे तत् दयमदयं वा ॥
 गोवत्सपुच्छग्रहणोत्सुकाय
 गोपाङ्गनापाङ्गतरङ्गिताय ।
 सानन्दनन्दाङ्गरिङ्गणाय
 तस्मै परस्मै महस्मै नमो ऽस्तु ॥
 सन्दर्भलम्भाय विदर्भवाचां
 व्यासेभ्यो चन्द्रमसं कवीनाम् ।
 यद्भारतीनिर्भरचन्द्रिकाभि
 मोहान्वकारा जगतो विधूता ॥
 व्यासस्य यद्भारतभारतीः—
 व्यासं समासादभिधातुमीहे ।
 वार्यं हितत् ... सन्तु सन्तः
 कर्माणि कुर्वन्ति न किं किशोराः ॥
 सोमान्वये सोम इवाभ्वराशौ
 राज्ञा भवत्पाण्डुरिति प्रसिद्धः ॥
 यद्वाहु

The end is missing; but the twenty-first canto, up to which it is in tact, ends thus :

.....लक्ष्मीनाथ कविपण्डित श्री लक्ष्मीदत्त श्री लक्ष्मो नारायण
 राय रचितपाण्डव चरित्रे महाकाव्येयुधिष्ठिर राज्यलाभो नाम एकविं
 शति तमः सर्गः ॥

The story is here practically complete, but we have only one पत्र after this which proceeds with the customary description of the six seasons in the style and metre adopted in the sixth canto of the Śhishupalavādha. It is possible that the poet

finished with the 22nd canto ; but there is nothing to prevent the supposition that in the style of the Haravijaya he went on up to even 50 cantos, devoting the subsequent cantos to the delineation of the Paṇḍavas' home life which would afford him occasion for dealing with such subjects as Prabhātavaraṇa and Sambhogavaraṇa so dear to the heart of the mediæval Sanskrit poet.

I am unable to fix, from internal evidence, the date of the book : but from appearance, the manuscript appears to be not less than six hundred years old.

I read a paper before the Muir College Oriental Society on this manuscript in August, 1917. I hope to contribute an article to this journal on this poem which is full of interest to the historian and the bibliophile. A. J.



II.—Note on Orissa Temples and Copper plate Inscriptions.

By Tarini Charan Rath, B.A.

The Orissā temple consists of four portions, viz., the Vimāna or towered sanctuary, where the idol is enshrined; the Jagamohana or the audience chamber, intended for the pilgrims; the Nāṭa Mandir or festive Hall, and the Bhōga Maṇḍap or Hall of offerings. In some of the temples only the first two or three portions are found. The Oriyā architects preferred the horizontal arch to the radiating one in the construction of these temples. This has been considered by experts to be a wiser and safer step, involving the necessary building to a great height of the devotional structure and adding to its grandeur and solemnity.

The tops of the temples are surmounted by a series of sectional slabs of stone, known as the *āmlaka* or *amla* from its resemblance in appearance to the fruit of the name. This *amla* is capped by a flat dome called the *karpuri*. Over this is placed the *kalasa* or finial and over the *kalasa* is fixed the *trisula* (trident) or the *chakra* (discus) according as the temple is dedicated to Śiva or Vishnu.

The construction of this top of the temple marks its finishing point, technically known as the *Rothinonuddo*. It is performed with much ceremony, pomp and festivity. Then the structure is filled with paddy, precious stones, gold, silver and other valuables. To these also used to be added an inscribed copper-plate, giving the names and ancestry of the builder and architect with date and other necessary information. At any rate this seems to have been invariably the practice, till about one hundred years back. Such copper-plates have been found in this portion of the

superstructure of several old temples. So if the structure has been left intact in an old temple, it is sure to contain the copperplate with the necessary information in regard to its construction. These valuable records, if properly collected, would, I think, furnish much accurate historical information and set at rest the existing difference of opinion in regard to certain famous temples of ancient Orissa.

I think the buildings would not at all be damaged or profaned by the process of recovering the records which will be lost to us in course of time.

What could have been the motive of the temple builders in so depositing the valuables and the copper-plates at their top? The only satisfactory explanation in regard to the valuables, seems to be that it was their object that resort was to be had to them as a last resource, at the time of dire necessity of the temple affairs, when every other source failed. They were placed at a generally inaccessible place so as not to be within easy reach. The reason for placing there the inscribed copper plates too is, I think, that the builders of sacred institutions did not like the idea of giving publicity to their benevolent acts and were too modest to blow their own trumpets.

The question of these copper-plates should engage the serious attention of those interested in the archæology of the country.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh's house, Bankipore, on the 20th April, 1917.

PRESENT :

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Vice-President, *in the chair*.
- (2) K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.
- (3) Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.
- (4) „ Jogindra Nath Samaddar, B.A.
- (5) Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. Pending applications for membership were considered, and six ordinary members were duly elected. Their names are noted below :—

- (1) B. L. Garr, Esq., B.Sc., M.B.A.S., Chief Engineer, Porbandar State, Kathiawar (India).
- (2) P. N. Nahar, Esq., M.A., B.L., M.B.A.S., Vakil, High Court, 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
- (3) Hon'ble Mr. Bishun Prashad, Gaya.
- (4) Hon'ble Mr. Braja Sundar Das, Cuttack.
- (5) Babu Satyabadi Misra, Superintendent of the Pal-Lahera Feudatory State (Orissa).
- (6) Charles William Anderson, Esq., Engineer, Bengal Nagpur Railway, Chakradharpur.

3. The Secretary said that arrangements had not yet been made for the appointment of a whole-time clerk, but that a clerk will not be required until July, as the Secretary will not be coming to reside at Bankipore till the latter part of June.

The Secretary said that the whole-time clerk who has been appointed for the Museum will have his time taken up and also may have to accompany the Curator on tour, and will not have time to attend to the work of the Research Society as well.

At present Rs. 20 is paid to the Secretary's clerk, who has become the Museum clerk ; and Rs. 15 to the Honorary Treasurer's clerk for keeping the accounts. For Rs. 35 a whole-time clerk can be obtained who should know typewriting and can also keep the accounts.

4. The Secretary reported that he had written to Mr. Raja, to his address at a Hotel in Bombay, but the letter was returned as the addressee was not found. Mr. Jayaswal suggested that he should be addressed to "Dadar Main Road, Dadar, Bombay." It was resolved that he should be asked whether in view of the fact that he has now left the Province he wished his name to be retained on the Council.

5. Resolved that the Honorary Treasurer be asked to prepare a list of those members who are in arrears of subscription and issue notices to them of the amount due.

6. The Secretary read a letter dated the 5th April 1917 from the Editor of the *Beharee* asking that he may be supplied with a copy of the Society's Journal, and that in exchange he will supply the Weekly Mail Edition of the *Beharee*. The Secretary was instructed to reply that he regrets that he is unable to comply with this request as the practice of learned Societies is only to exchange copies of their Journals with other learned Societies.

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OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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JOURNAL

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VOL. III.]

[PART IV.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Hathi-gumpha Inscription of the Emperor Khāra-vela (173 B.C.—160 B.C.)

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

I.—PRELIMINARY.

This inscription occupies a unique position amongst the materials of Indian History for the centuries preceding the Christian era. In point of age it is the second inscription after Aśoka, the first being the Nānāghāt inscription of Vedaśrī. But from the point of view of the chronology of pre-Mauryan times and the history of Jainism it is the most important inscription yet discovered in the country. It confirms the Puranic record and carries the dynastic chronology to c. 450 B. C.¹ Further it proves that Jainism entered Orissa, and probably became the state religion, within 100 years of the death of its founder the Mahā-Vīra. It affords the earliest historical instance of the unity of Bihar and Orissa (450 B. C.). For the social history of this country we get the very important datum that the population

Importance of the inscription.

¹ See discussion in Mr. R. D. Banerji's Note published below.

of ancient Orissa was $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions circa 172 B. C. This not only confirms the information which we now have from the Artha-śāstra and Megasthenes that our forefathers took census of their states, it also furnishes us some guide in estimating the population of Northern India in ancient times. The inscription also throws light on the history of Śātakarṇi I, third sovereign of the Andhra dynasty of the Purāṇas. Above all, this is the earliest inscription of India which mentions an era "the *kāla* of King Muriya (Chandra-gupta)"

2. In spite of the great importance of the record, this is the first time that a facsimile of the inscription and a reading prepared according to the modern approved method, are published. Its publication. It has been known since 1825, and has been discussed from time to time by scholars, the last discussion being by me in this Journal.² The inscription is accessible with very great inconvenience. Several attempts at a scientific edition in the past failed for different reasons. All those failures had some unhappy association, owing to which there seems to have grown a sort of semi-belief amongst scholars here that the inscription is an unlucky study, so much so that when I was working at it a personal matter connected with me was pointed out by a friend to justify the half-serious superstition.

3. More than a year back I approached His Honour Sir Edward Gait, Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, to obtain an impression of the inscription for publication in this Journal. His Honour, who in spite of heavy official duties, is always willing to further the study of Indian History, kindly arranged with the Archæological Department to get me the impression on which the present edition is based. The impression was taken by Mr. R. D. Banerji in June, 1917. The students of Indian History must be thankful to Sir Edward Gait who has been instrumental in the publication of this 'chiselled history' of Khāra-vela.³

² J. B. O. R. S., p. 80.

³ Mr. V. Smith also wrote to me recently to edit the Inscription.

4. The late Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji's eye-copy edition⁴ held the field till 1910 when it was questioned by the late Dr. Fleet who attacked Bhagwan Lal Indraji's version on the ground that it was not based on the modern scientific process.⁵ As the inscription came in the scheme of my paper on 'Brahmin Empire',⁶ I requested Mr. R. D. Banerji, in 1912-13, to undertake a journey and verify the old readings of Dr. Bhagwan Lal. Mr. Banerji's examination confirmed the readings of the dated portion which Dr. Fleet had attacked, but it also indicated that Dr. Bhagwan Lal's readings could not be taken as final in all respects.

5. The criticism of Dr. Fleet is greatly justified by the preparation of the present edition. Dr. Bhagwan Lal was a very sound scholar and my own idea had been that there would be very little room for improvement on his labours. But the present study of the inscription has shown that the method employed by him was faulty and a good deal had remained to be done in reading and interpreting the record. The discovery of the name of the King of Magadha reigning in the time of Khāra-vela (which is a result of the present examination) would have made historians read the Śunga Chapter of Indian History differently. Nevertheless the result achieved by him was of permanent value and we feel highly grateful to him for his pioneer work.⁷

6. As to the size of the inscription, it covers an area of about 15'-1" × 5½' (about 84 feet square), divided
 Description. into 17 lines, each line containing some 90 to 100 letters, and each letter varying from 3½

⁴ Taken in 1866 but published in 1893 in the Report of the *Actes du Sixième Congrès des Orientalistes*, III.

⁵ J. R. A. S., 1910, 242; 824.

⁶ The Śungas, Kanvaś, and Śātavāhanas.

⁷ His study of the letters on the original rock must have entailed a great labour. The lower rocks have disappeared and the present height of the inscription from the ground level, I am told, is some 32 feet. Therefore without a scaffolding and without undergoing considerable personal discomfort it is not possible for any one to read the record from the original rock.

inches to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in height. It is inscribed in a cave, on a white sandstone rock protruding in the middle. Formerly it was not so much removed from the original floor which has been dislocated. The height must have been such that a man standing below could have read the letters which in ancient times were probably filled in with black.⁸

7. The language of the inscription may be described as the Apabhramśa Prakrit with traces of Ardha-Māgadhī and Jain Prakritisms. It has a strong affinity with classical Pāli.

8. The characters which are Northern Brāhmī have been already discussed by Bühler. It is sufficient to say that they are regarded by him to belong to about 160 B.C. The history of development of the Brāhmī letters from the third century B. C. to the first century A. C. is so well known to the Indian epigraphist that the age of an inscription falling in that period could be definitely fixed within an ambit of 30 years or so.

9. There are four symbols in the inscription. The first two are in the beginning of the first line, in the margin, inscribed one above the other. The first is like a modern crown and the one below is the well-known *Svastika* mark. The first symbol is found in Western India at Junnar, Karle and Bhaja and also in decorations carved over the doorway arches in some caves at Udayagiri.⁹ The third symbol is what an ancient inscription calls it, *Nandipada*, or 'the foot-mark of the bull'.¹⁰ This is inscribed just after the name of Khāra-vela in the first line. This is also found in Aśoka's Jaugadh inscription, on coins and ancient ornaments. The fourth is like the representation of a tree. Similar symbols are found in the Tiger cave and the Vaikuntha cave of Udayagiri.¹¹

10. It is now possible to identify the crown-like symbol. The Jains have eight auspicious symbols called the *Aṣṭa maṅgalas*.

⁸ As they were in case of the inscription found inside the stupa over the relics of Śāriputra.

⁹ Actes du Sixième Congrès, III, 137.

¹⁰ (At Kanheri) *ibid.* p. 139.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 140; also Ep. Ind. XIII, 160, Plate 2.

All these are sculptured at a cave at Junagarh. As Dr. Bhagwan Lal describes them (p. 137) they are (1) Svastika, (2) Mirror, (3) Kalaśa (jar), (4) Bhadrāsana ("hour-glass-shaped cane-seat"), (5) fishes, (6) 'a flower garland,' (7) a hook and (8) "this symbol" (our crown-shaped symbol). The name of the whole group and of the individual members are now known. See Coomarswamy, Jain art., *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, July 1914, p. 88. Dr. Bhagwan Lal's No. (4) means throne, his No. (6) is Śrī-Vatsa, and his No. (7) is the Jain *Nandiyāvatta*. The remaining one, our present symbol, is what the Jains call "Vaddha maṅgala" which Dr. Coomarswamy translates as "powder-box". Its modern representation is a beautiful bowl with a lid surmounted with three pinnacles (see Art Journal, p. 88). As to our last symbol the Tree-like figure, it may be noted that it is a favourite national symbol going back to the time of the Buddha.¹² Its significance is not known, and it remains unidentified.

11. My reading¹³ adds several new passages to the text which had not been read by Dr. Bhagwan Lal

The text. Indrajī, and corrects and improves his readings in numerous places, many of which yielding now entirely different meaning. The system of stops adopted in the inscription had been completely lost sight of by previous scholars. The stops change the meaning in two places (lines 4 and 13) and help in settling a controversy started by the late Dr. Fleet about the dated portion of the inscription (line 16; see below). New paragraphs after the record of each year are indicated by a large space which could have

¹² J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 130.

¹³ No pains have been spared to arrive at a correct reading of every letter in the impression. Every letter has been thoroughly examined from all possible angles. The reading was first prepared without reference to meaning; and when the time of considering the meaning came, improvements in two or three places were made. The process of examining the letters was very tedious; only one-fourth of a line per day on the average could be done. In this connection I have to acknowledge the cheerful assistance of Professor Chakladar who came every afternoon to join me in this labour of love after our daily professional work.

accommodated 3 or 4 letters. Full stops and lesser stops are represented by smaller spaces sufficient for about two letters.¹⁴

12. Mr. R. D. Banerji had taken a second copy of the impression for himself and also a third copy of the last two lines and of several doubtful portions in separate slips. The copy of the last two lines which is an excellent impression, and the slips were kindly sent to me by Mr. Banerji. I had not the advantage of seeing Mr. Banerji's other copy which was, I am told, a better impression. But Mr. Banerji had prepared a transcript from it and as he had the advantage of examining the letters on the original rock also, I requested him to come over and discuss my readings which differed from his own and that of Dr. Bhagwan Lal. I have indicated by footnotes our agreements and differences. I am glad to say that most of my differing readings were accepted by Mr. Banerji and the resultant differences are few. Thus, although I mainly worked on my own impression, I have had indirectly, thanks to Mr. Banerji, the advantage of the other copy, of the separate slips, and of the personal experience of Mr. Banerji of these letters gathered from their study on the spot.

13. The rock was roughly dressed on the right hand side. The chisel-marks of the dressing are misleading; they tend to produce misreadings. These long and irregular marks left by the original dressing, are not the only pitfalls. Rain-water which trickles down the roof of the cave has cut into the letters and produced a few letter-like marks. Natural decay produced by time has given misleading turns to numerous letters. I am told that even hornets like to take liberty with the record of the Emperor Khāra-vela with perfect impunity and have added a few irregular marks to it. Keeping in view the epigraphical system of the period and the orthographical system of the inscription itself these pitfalls have been avoided and chances of mistakes eliminated to a minimum.

14. The inscription is weather-beaten. The first 4 lines are completely readable. The fifth line has about 13 syllables

¹⁴ On a new use of spacing, see my Further Note below.

obliterated by natural decay. Half of the record of the 6th year (line 6) and the entire record of the 7th year (line 7) have disappeared. From the 8th up to the 15th lines, every line has got large gaps wrought by decay. The 16th and 17th lines are comparatively well-preserved except for the loss of about 12 initial syllables.

15. There are visible signs of a progressive decay. Dr. Bhagwan Lal made his copy in 1866. Now I find that about four passages which were readable in his days are now completely obliterated. May I take this opportunity to suggest to the Archaeological Department (who have already taken steps to conserve the monument by erecting a shade on two pillars) to coat the surface with the stone-preserving liquid?

II.—THE SUBJECT MATTER.

16. The inscription begins with an invocation of the Arhats and the Siddhas in the Jain style. Then it proceeds to say that Khāra-vela came into the office of Yuvarāja after completing his 15th year and obtained *Māhārājya-Abhisheka* as soon as he completed his 24th year. He was anointed sovereign in the 3rd dynasty of Kalinga and the name of his dynasty was the dynasty of King Cheta (or Chaitra?). The royal styles are *Aira*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahā-megha-vāhana* and *Kalinga-Ahhipati*, which also appear in a slightly later inscription of another Kalinga king.¹ Khāra-vela's wife simply mentions him as "The Kalinga Emperor" (*Kalinga-Chakravarti*).² In our inscription Khāra-vela is said to have descended from a family of Rāja-Rishi.

17. In the first year he repaired the capital of Kalinga, whose city-walls, gates and buildings had been damaged by storm. He rebuilt reservoirs (apparently for irrigation) and restored gardens. He pleased 35 hundred thousand subjects. In the 2nd year he sent a large army, disregarding Sātakarṇi, to the West; and

¹ Ep. Ind. XIII, 160.

² *Ibid.*, 169.

destroyed the Capital of the Mûshikas, to help the Kasapa (Kāśyapa) Kshatriyas. In the 3rd year of his reign, he, who was "well-versed in the Gandharva-veda" (science of music), held theatrical performances, dances and other shows whereby 'he entertains the capital'. In the 4th year he probably repaired some sacred building called "The Abode of the Vidya-dharas", and conquered the Rāshtrikas and Bhojakas. In the 5th year he extended the old canal, which had been excavated by King Nanda three hundred years before, into the Capital from the Tanasuliya Road. In the 6th year he granted privileges to the Paura and the Jānapada corporations; the record of other deeds has disappeared. The record of the 7th year is almost completely gone, but it could not have been a large one. Apparently he got married in this year which was the 31st year of his age. In the 8th year, he invaded Magadha: he reaches as far as the Barabar Hills (Gorathagiri)^{*} on the old route from Gaya to Pātāliputra, kills some one there in some preliminary action and prepares to march forward. But the rival king called the King of Rājagriha declined battle and retired to Muttra. Apparently Khāravēla thereupon thought prudent not to pursue the matter further.

18. In the 9th year he makes costly gifts. He gave a Kalpatree which means that he gave away a tree of solid gold. The tree had even leaves on (that is, leaves in gold) and the gift was accompanied (as prescribed) with gifts of elephants, horses, chariots with their drivers. These gifts were made to Brahmans who were persuaded to accept them by lavish feasts. The same year, he builds 'on both banks of the Prāchi' (a river near Bhuvaneshwar) a great palace called "The Palace of Victory" at the cost of 35 lacs (of silver coins). In the 10th year he sends his army against Bharata-varsha or North India. The details are obliterated. In the eleventh year he leads out in procession the wooden statue of Ketu-Bhadra who had flourished 1,300 years

^{*} The credit of this addition of "Goradhagiri" to the old reading is due to Mr. Banerji, helped by Mr. Jackson's identification of Gorathagiri (Pkt. *goradhagiri*) with the Barabar Hills proposed in this Journal.

before. The statue had been established by 'the former kings of Kalinga' in the city called *Prithūdaka-darbha*. The procession gave satisfaction to the Janapada (country). In the twelfth year of his reign he invaded the countries of North-Western frontiers (Uttarāpatha). In the same year he 'causes consternation amongst the people of Magadha' and makes their king do homage at his feet. He returns home with rich trophies of Aṅga and Magadha together with the recovery (paḍihāra) of some Kalinga heirlooms and the statue or footmarks (the detail is damaged) of the First Jina which had been carried away by King Nanda. At home he builds towers, the interior of which were carved, and places a number of trophies and presents there. The same year is further marked by extraordinary captures or presents of elephant-ships which were brought to Kalinga apparently from the King of the Pandyas, from whom he takes numerous other presents or captures in precious stones, rich articles, horses, elephants and men.

19. In the thirteenth year having thus satisfied himself with the extension of his empire (su-pravritta-chakra) he devotes his energies to religious acts. On the Kumārī Hill (Udayagiri) he does something for the Arhat Temple. Ninety hundred bulls maintained, by the king are mentioned, but the record being damaged, the full sense cannot be made out. He builds near the Arhat Temple some edifice probably of stone (silahasa), cleverest architects having been employed for the purpose. A pavilion on four pillars inlaid with beryl is also erected; and the cave which bears the inscription 'is produced'. This takes place in the thirteenth or fourteenth year of his reign which coincided with the 165th expired or completed year of King Muriya (son or descendant of Mura or Murā, Chandra-gupta). He is called the King of Peace and Prosperity and the Bhikshu-King and the King of Dharma, who (has been devoting his life) to "seeing to, hearing and experiencing kalyaṇas". The last line 17th is like peroration recapitulating his political glory. The verb of the sentence is missing in the decayed portion.

III.—DISCUSSION ON THE DATA OF THE INSCRIPTION.

20. *Khāra-vela* means the "Ocean", lit. "one whose waves are brackish". This is the name of the

Titles.

King, as is apparent from *Siri-Khāra-velena* of the first line and *Khāra-vela-Siri* of the last line, and also the "Kalinga-Chakravarti-Khāravela" of the Queen's inscription.¹

The first word of the royal style is *Aira*. This word occurs in a Sāta-vāhana inscription and has been translated by M. Senart as "noble" (ārya). Instead of taking it to mean "noble" I am inclined to take it as indicating the ethnic difference of Khāra-vela from his subjects. His subjects were mostly Dravidians, or the mixed Aryo-Dravidians, for according to the Nāṭya-śāstra, the people of Kalinga were dark but not black.² If he was a pure Arya, his dynasty would naturally take care to emphasize it. The same tendency is visible amongst the Aryan Brahmans in the Dravidian South who call themselves Aryan (aiyar, plural of aiya). Another king of Khāra-vela's family begins his inscription with the style *Aira*.³

Mr. R. D. Banerji read this word as "Khara". But that reading is not acceptable. There are several Kha-aksharas in the inscription which have no resemblance with the first character of our word (the alleged Kha). Nor could it be *Verena* as the *Va*'s have a roundish, not angulār, body, and also the long neck of *Va* is wanting in this Akshara. My reading has the support of

¹ Ep. Ind., XIII, 159.

² On the stage the people of Kalinga like that of Pañchāla and Magadha were to be represented *Syāmala* against *asiṭa* of the Dravida Country, 21—89.

³ Ep. Ind., XIII, 160 plate.

Once I thought that Khāra-vela was a non-aryan and that Khāra-vela was not the name but title. I was led into this view by Mr. Banerji's reading (1913) "Kharena" (the initial word in the inscription after the invocation) instead of what I read now as *airena*. I supposed that *Khara* had some ethnic significance like the aboriginal Khāra-wār. But now in view of the reading *airena* (ārya) it is evident that Khāra-vela is an Aryan Sanskrit word (Kshāra-vela).

Dr. Lüders,⁴ and also Mr. Bhandarkar who examined the akshara in the impressions of the two inscriptions, Khāra-vela's and Vakadeva's, for me.

The next expression of the royal style *Mahā-Megha-vāhana* is another expression for *Mahendra* (Great Indra), met with in inscriptions as a sort of imperial style.

21. The name of the dynasty of Khāra-vela is after his predecessor Cheta-Rāja, King Cheta (or Chaitra?). We cannot be sure that Khāra-vela was King Cheta's son; we can only say that he belonged to Cheta's family and was a successor to him. As Mr. Banerji points out in his note, Khāra-vela's *kula* (family) is described in the last line of the inscription to have come out of a Rāja-ṛishi stock (*vamśa*). This denotes that King Cheta's family must have been a branch of some well-known dynasty of the Aryāvarta. This leads me to suspect that *aira* might be representing *aila*, the famous dynasty of early Hindu India. King Cheta must have flourished between the death of Aśoka (who had made Kalinga a province of the Maurya empire) and the Yauvarājya-rule of Khāra-vela, 182 B.C. (see below for the dates).

22. An important detail has been furnished by our present impression illustrating the necessity of mechanical estampage for accurate reading. It says that that Khāra-vela was crowned in the *third dynasty of Kalinga*. The Purāṇas in their list of early Āryan genealogies mention the Kalinga dynasty as coming down like the other dynasties from the time of the Mahā-bhārata war and earlier.⁵ According to them the Kalinga dynasty came to an end a little before or in the time of Mahā-Padma.⁶ I have already shown that Kalinga was conquered by Nanda-Vardhana (see the discussion by Mr. Banerji in his note). Thus this early or the first dynasty of Kalinga would have ended

⁴ List of Brahmin Inscriptions, 180.

⁵ They mention 32 successions in the Kalinga dynasty in the *post* Mahā-bhārata list. See my paper on the "Śaiśunakas", section 22, in J.B.O.B.S., I.

⁶ *Ibid* and Pargiter, Purāṇa Text, 23.

with that conquest as the conquest was of a permanent nature.⁷ Again Kalinga became independent before the Mauryas, for Aśoka conquered them after a terrible battle and Aśoka said that they had been free.⁸ The dynasty dethroned by Aśoka must have been the second dynasty of Kalinga. Now, once more, under the Cheta dynasty Kalinga reasserted her independence in the last days of the Maurya rule. Thus the family founded by Khāra-vela's predecessor was the *third dynasty of Kalinga*. The inscription thus indirectly confirms the Purāṇas, which indicate that the Aryan rule in Kalinga had come down for some 1,300 years.

23. In this connection it is interesting to note that the king of Kalinga is called in the Mahābhārata a Paurava, i.e., of the house of Puru(ṣa), the well-known Aryan dynasty, though at the same time he is called the ruler of the Nishadas, i.e., of the aborigines.⁹

24. In the 11th line of the inscription Ketu-bhadra who is described to have flourished thirteen centuries before, was an ancestor of the first or the second dynasty of Kalinga. The custom of giving statues to ancestors by royal families is now proved by Bhāsa's drama the *Pratimā*. Khāra-vela's doing honour to Ketu-bhadra and his family style *aira* indicate that Khāra-vela's family was an offshoot of the original Aryan dynasty of Kalinga, which probably explains Khāra-vela's repeated mention of and respect for the "former Kings of Kalinga". A careful chronicle apparently had been kept in Orissa. Their record could go back 1,300 years. It is not surprising when we look at the Purāṇic

⁷ It seems the conquest lasted up to the days of the last Nanda. Alexander's companions call him King of the Prasii (Prachi) and Gangarides (according to Megasthenes, Gangaridæ and Kalinga are one and the same, see McCrindle, Megasthenes, pages 135 and 155). Megasthenes himself, who wrote under Chandragupta, describes Kalinga as an independent people with their King and Capital. Gangaridæ seems to represent *Udra*. The Nāṭya-Sāstra has *vangoḍra*. Gangaridæ would be the portion of Kalinga coming up to Bengal.

⁸ *arjita*. See Rock Edict, XIII.

⁹ Bhīshma parvan 17. 27 ; 54. 4 and 64.

chronicles of the later historical period (500 B.C.—500 A.D.) which have been generally confirmed by modern inscriptions and coins. The chronicles of the Udayapur ruling family in Rajputana go back to-day to some 1,300 years.

Ketu's statue (*dehu-saṅghāta*) was founded, says the inscription, by the Former Kings of Orissa in the city of Prithūdaka-darbha ["the city which has plenty of water and the (sacred) darbha grass"]. He or his body is called "Immortal" (*amara*). According to Kshatriya ethics, one who dies heroically on battle-field attains immortality. "Ketu-bhadra" or "His Highness" Ketu must have died on battle-field to be regarded as having attained *amara*-hood. And he must have greatly distinguished himself, for his statue according to the inscription seems to have been very popular. The age given for him in the inscription, thirteen centuries before Khāra-vela's time ($1300 + 160 = 1460$ B. C.) takes us to men who lived about the date of the Mahā-bhārata War as given by the Purāṇas (1424 B.C.).¹¹ An idea struck me that the King of Kalinga who is said to have fought in the Mahā-bhārata War might be this Ketu. When I looked into the Mahā-bhārata I found that *Ketu-mān* commanded the army of Kalinga in the Great War as Commander-in-Chief of the Kalinga forces. He was the eldest son of the King of Kalinga. He fought a great battle against Bhīma and had a heroic end on the battle-field.¹²

25. The complete passage about Ketu-bhadra in the inscription has been now for the first time read and explained. Fleet and other scholars discussed the passage *Terasa-vasa-sata* without its reference to the rest of the context. The interpretation which I give here¹³ is offered in the light of the indisputable information obtained from Bhāsa that royal families gave

¹⁰ "Bhadra" is often a term of familiar respect added to the names of Princes, e.g., *Rām bhādra* for Rāma-chandra.

¹¹ J. E. O. R. S., I, p. 111.

¹² Bhishma Parvan, chs. 17 and 54.

¹³ See translation below.

statues to dead ancestors. The Nānāghat cave images of the Śātavāhanas afford a good illustration of the practice. My reading further gives the important detail that the ancient statue of this Kalinga hero was made of wood (*tikta*, i.e. the *Nim* wood). Of the same material, the *Nim* wood, the sacred image of Jagannatha at Puri in Orissa is made up to the present time.

I have attempted all possible groupings of the syllables of the text of this line (11) and no other grouping was found satisfactory.

It may be said that *terasa-vasa-sata* may mean 113 years also. But we have another such expression in the inscription : *ti-vasa-sata* which, as has been shown, can only mean 300 and not 103 years (see Mr. Banerji's note). That being so we must take the similar expression *terasa-vasa-sata* in the same way, i.e., to mean 1300, and not 113.

26. According to Hindu Law one attains age in the 16th year. Khāra-vela in his 16th year, that is, when he comes of age, begins to rule from the office of Yuva-raja. It seems that the throne had been already vacant. This is further confirmed by the fact that his coronation had been waiting for the completion of the 24th year ; as soon as that year was out, he was crowned (line 2).

27. The last fact leads us to a point of Hindu polity which was not known before. It seems that in those days for obtaining royal *abhisheka* (there were other *abhishekas* also, e.g., that of Yuvarāja, Senāpati) the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Aśoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession.

28. Khāra-vela took the Vedic *abhisheka* (coronation) called the *Māhārājya-abhisheka*.¹⁴ This shows that Jainism did not interfere with the national constitutional rites of the orthodox type.

¹⁴ See my paper on Hindu Coronation in the *Modern Review*, 1912 ; also the description of *Māhārājya-abhisheka* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

29. In connection with the *abhisheka*, it may be noted that the *abhisheka* was for *Purusha-Yuga*. *Yuga* means "generation (Manu)," "period"; *Purusha* is one man's life; the *abhisheka* was therefore for one generation. This detail illustrates a technical rule of Hindu coronation. The royal *abhisheka* used to be, in form, either for the King-elect's life time, for two generations (*dvipurusha*) or hereditary.¹⁵

30. *Prakriti* is a technical term of Hindu Politics which signifies the important "limb" (to quote Population of Kalinga. the Hindu term) of the body-politic now called the Nation or People. Not keeping this meaning in view, Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji missed the real sense of *Panatisāhi-sata-sahasēhi Pakāṭiyo*. He thought such a large population (3,500,000) could not have been in the Capital of Khāra-vela.¹⁶ But the predication is not about the Paura-Janās, or citizens of the capital but about the *Prakriti*, i.e., the whole people. The learned gentleman was prejudiced by a theory which is now proved to be wrong, namely, that "There were no censuses then,"¹⁷ with the result that he gave up the meaning of "3,500,000 men" altogether in his translation of the text. The old idea about census must be given up. The details of the method of keeping vital statistics in pre-Mauryan times are available from the *Artha-Śāstra*, and Megasthenes definitely says that stock of population was taken for political and financial purposes in Mauryan times.¹⁸ And now the best evidence is this inscription which gives the official figures for a whole kingdom.

31. Once I attempted to work out the population of Kalinga in the time of Aśoka, and also the population of North India, on the basis of the strength of the armies of Chandra-gupta and the armies mentioned in the *Mahā-bhārata* War. The heavy

¹⁵ My *Hindu Polity*, p. 15; A. Br. VIII, 3. 7.

¹⁶ Actes du. 6 me congrès, III. 145.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Artha-S.* ch. on *Nāgaraka*. "The third body consists of those who enquire when and how births and deaths occur with the view not only of levying a tax but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government." Strabo, XV. 1; cf. V. Smith, EHI, 128, 143.

figures in result made me diffident at the time, and I did not publish them. They are, however, confirmed now by this inscription. I give the calculation about Kalinga below :

In her great resistance against Aśoka's forces, Kalinga lost 100,000 soldiers as captives of war, and 150,000 wounded and killed, "several times that number dying."¹⁹ With $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs as total casualties, and even if we take the view that the casualties represented the whole army, the population which would have yielded that number of fighters would have been about 38 lacs, taking the highest figure of Scharnhorst's estimate that every 15th soul of the population can take up arms in defence against a foreign invasion.²⁰ The population in the time of Aśoka, a century before Khāra-vela, was thus about 3 millions and 8 hundred thousands. It is, therefore, quite likely that it was $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions in the time of Khāra-vela after the loss occasioned by the Maurya conquest and rule. Against this the present population of Orissa is about 5 millions.²¹

32. Several times the capital of Kalinga is mentioned in the inscription, either as the "Kalinga capital" or as "the capital", but nowhere its name is given. There are, however, indications that the capital must have been near the site of the inscription. One of the buildings which Khāra-vela built was on the banks of the

¹⁹ Aśoka's Rock Edict XIV.

²⁰ Goltz : *The Nation in Arms*, p. 148.

²¹ The limits of Kalinga are definite from the site of the inscriptions of Aśoka. The area is nearly the same as the present one under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa with feudatory states. The present area does not include the portion of the Ganjam district which was included in Aśoka's Kalinga, but it includes in the feudatory area more than the compensating proportion.

The standing army of Kalinga according to Megasthenes (McCrindle, Frag. XVI) had about 66 thousand men and that of Chandragupta 7 hundred thousand. Working on the basis of the history of the fighting strength and actual population of Kalinga, we obtain a rough result that the population of Chandragupta's empire of Northern India (north of the Narmada and Orissa), would have been 50 to 60 millions. Greek writers testify to a very large population of India. India was the most populous country of their times. The South, enjoying greater peace, was probably still more populous.

river Prāchi. This is a small river near modern Bhuvaneshvara and not very far from Dhauli and Hathigumpha. Then Khāra-vela is described to have brought riches "here" from his conquests. The capital must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bhuvaneshvara and Hathigumpha. Dhauli, where the Tosali inscription of Aśoka is found, is in the neighbourhood. Dhauli itself, as pointed out to me by Mr. H. P. Shastri, philologically stands for Tosali. Tosali was also the provincial capital under Aśoka. We would be justified in accepting that the capital of Khāra-vela was Tosali in whose neighbourhood the Hathigumpha cave and the Prāchi are to be found. From the inscription it is evident that Khāra-vela continued the old capital of the Kalinga kings and that he did not found a new one. He mentions the old buildings of the former kings.²²

33. Khāra-vela in his second year marched against 'the West disregarding' Sātakarṇi. This was a king of the dynasty called the Sātavāhanas, according to inscriptional records of the family themselves, and the "Andhras" according to the Purāṇas. Elsewhere I have shown that it was a Brāhmin dynasty who established themselves at Pratishthāna (now Paithan)²³ about 210 or 213 B.C. Within 33 years of the foundation of the dynasty there is one Sātakarṇi (Sātakarṇi I), the third king of the line. Sātakarṇi I was given a statue at Nānāghat with an inscription in

²² Pliny (following Megasthenes) calls the royal capital of Kalinga *Parthali* and locates it in northern part of Kalinga. Parthali, I think, was another name of, or a part of, Tosali (see my second paper). *Kalinga-nagara* of the Daśa-Kumāra-Charita was near Rāja Mahendri on the mouth of the Godavari. That had nothing to do with Khāra-vela's K. Nagara. Kalinga in later centuries became identified with the Telugu country. Megasthenes is a better guide for Khāra-vela's time. See also the map in Rhys David's *Buddhist India*. According to the Jātakas (I-111) the *Tela-vāhā* river was the Andhra boundary. I identify the modern Tel river with the ancient Tela-vāhā. This also proves that Andhra and Kalinga countries met in the Ganjam district, as they do to-day linguistically. The capital of Khāra-vela could not have been beyond the Tel.

²³ Mr. Bhandarkar shows from the *Sutta-Nipāta* that the country of which Pratishthāna was capital was called the Mūlaka country.

characters of the age of Khāra-vela.²⁴ Forty-six years after there is another Sātakarṇi (II). Khāra-vela's challenge to Sātakarṇi was in 171 B.C. Khāra-vela's Sātakarṇi must be therefore Sātakarṇi I.²⁵ It seems that the Sātavāhanas had already acquired a considerable political influence in the Deccan, extending towards the Western boundary of Orissa.

34. The result of the expedition to 'the West' was that the Mūshika capital was taken by Khāra-vela to help the Kāśyapa Khatriyas. The Mūshikas were very probably a subordinate ally of Sātakarṇi.

The Mūshikas were a people of the South. The Mahābhārata mentions them in the company of the Vanavāsīs (Bhīṣma P., c. IX). Their country could not have been far removed from Kalinga, for the Nāṭya Śāstra (c. 100 B.C.—100 A.C.) describes the *Tosalas* (the people of Tosalī), the *Kosalas* (the people of Southern Kosala), the *Mosalas* (the Mūshikas) as the Kalingas, implying that they comprised the Kalinga empire.²⁶ This is a description naturally subsequent to the time of Khāra-vela. A more definite reference is in the Purāṇas (Wilson, Vishnu IV, p. 221) where after a kingdom of some Vindhyan countries Strī-rājya and Mūshika countries are mentioned as forming one principedom. According to the Kāma-Sūtra Strī-rājya was a Vindhyan country towards the west. The Mūshika country must have been between latitudes 20 and 22, between Paithana and Gondwana. As Kosalā came next to Orissā (North-West), the Mūshika-land must have been contiguous to it on the west.

²⁴ The oldest inscription of Nānāghat has letters slightly older than in Khāra-vela's inscription, cf., for instance, *ga* and *sa*. The Nānāghat inscriptions which contain the name of Sāta-karṇi I are placed in 200 B.C.—150 B.C. by Bühler on paleographical grounds. ASWI, 1883, p. 73.

The Sātavāhanas according to tradition arose out of a republican people. Probably they represented Aśoka's Satiya-putta. Their oldest coin is struck in the name of "sāta" only.

²⁵ Sātakarṇi of the Sānchi inscription whose letters place him about 120 B.C. (see our plate III) must be Sātakarṇi II, who had a long reign, over half a century.

²⁶ Kavyamālā ed., p. 148. Cf. *Tosala* of the Atharva-V. Parishī.

35. I could trace nothing about the Kasapa (Kāśyapa) or Kasaba Kshatriyas mentioned in the inscription.²⁷ They probably were between Orissā and the Mūshika-land.

36. After the march against Sātakarṣi and the Mūshikas, the next campaign of Khāra-vela was carried into Western India. The Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas, neighbours of Sātakarṣi, were defeated and made to do homage. They are known to have lived in the Marhatta country and Berar. They are mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka also. The Bhojakas according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa had a non-monarchical constitution peculiar to themselves. Khāra-vela mentions the "leaders" of the Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas. All the leaders had the paraphernalia of rulers as their *Chhatras* (umbrellas) and *Bhringaras* (golden vases) were broken by Khāra-vela. According to the Nāṭya-Sāstra a ruler on the stage was to be represented with *chhatra* and *bhringaras*.

37. The meaning of this passage (line 4) was entirely missed by Bhagwan Lal and Lüders. They thought that the Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas meant "provincial rulers" under Khāra-vela, and that the king received their homage. But nobody would think it important enough to mention in an inscription the respect one receives from one's servants or officers. Bhagwan Lal further thought that Khāra-vela worshipped at Dharma-Kūṭa with *chhatras* and *bhringaras*. But that interpretation was the result of wrong grouping of letters (see the text below).

38. From the 8th till the 12th year Khāra-vela was pursuing his career of conquest in North India. The Invasion of Magadha. record of the campaign of the tenth year is lost, but it seems that he advanced against Bhāratavarsha and 'realized his object'. The records of the eighth and twelfth years mention two campaigns against Magadha. Known chronology shows that during those years and throughout the career of

²⁷ But see Further Note below.

Khāra-vela, Pushyamitra was on the imperial throne of India.²⁸ He, a Brāhmin like the Sātavāhanas of the West, having brought about the orthodox revolution which pulled down the Mauryas from the throne, founded his dynasty. After he gained the throne, he assumed imperial dignity by performing an *As'va-medha* sacrifice. In addition to other reasons for a war with the Magadha sovereign, without fighting and defeating him no one in India could call himself "Emperor" (Chakravartin). It was, however, not an easy task for Khāra-vela to cross swords with Pushyamitra. Pushyamitra had not only defeated Demetrius and Menander,²⁹ he drove out the Greeks beyond the frontiers of the Aryāvarta.³⁰

39. In the eighth year, 185 B. C., when Khāra-vela came against Pushyamitra for the first time, he had to return from Gaya. Pushyamitra's retirement to Mathurā could not have been a disorderly flight, for although Khāra-vela was within a few miles of Pataliputra he did not proceed further than the Barabar Hills and recover the old trophies of Kalinga, which he did recover four years later. It seems that for military reasons Pushyamitra would make Mathurā his base, and military prudence would not permit Khāra-vela to advance on Pataliputra.³¹ For the next four years Khāra-vela did not attempt to repeat the venture.

40. In the twelfth year Khāra-vela was already in the North (Uttarā-patha) and apparently no one there was strong enough to give him battle. He must have gone there by the Western route, for he had not yet crossed the Ganges nor had he encountered Pushyamitra.

It was from the Uttarā-patha that he came down upon Magadha. Apparently marching by the foot of the Himalayas he avoided the crossing of big rivers and appeared opposite the capital

²⁸ This (first) paper was written on the supposition that there was no name of the king of Magadha given in the inscription but see my second paper below.

²⁹ I have discussed the point in my "Brāhmin Empire".

³⁰ Patañjali commenting on Pāṇini's *सूत्राग्रामनिर्वसितानाम्* implies that the Yavanas and Śakas had been expelled from India.

³¹ It is interesting to note that the Magadha King who retired to Mathurā is called the King of Rāja-griha after the ancient fashion.

of Magadha on the northern side of the Ganges. He had not to fight against the elaborate defences and on the treacherous, soft marshes on the Sone side of Pāṭaliputra. By crossing the Ganges he could land in Pāṭaliputra itself. The crossing was effected with the help of the famous elephants of Kalinga which would have been a positive disadvantage on the marshy land of the Sone. The Magadha King must have been old at this time, as he had a grandson who some years back had already commanded a force and fought against the Greeks. On the other hand, at that time, Khāra-vela was in his 36th year and had twelve years' campaigning behind him. In any case the net result was that the imperial prestige was transferred from Magadha to Kalinga c. 161 B.C. Khāra-vela's object was obtained; after that he never undertook another campaign.

41. The first invasion of Magadha must have been through Chota Nagpur as Khāra-vela was proceeding from the Gorathagiri onwards, and the Gorathagiri (Barabar Hills) is on the old route from Rajagiriha to Pāṭaliputra. It was not until four years later that his elephants crossed the Ganges.

42. The details of the first campaign show that Mathurā was yet in the Empire of the Śūṅgas, and that there was yet no foreign ruler there in 164 B.C. This point is also confirmed by Patañjali who implies that Śakas and Yavanas had been expelled from the Āryāvarta and that they were beyond its western frontier.

The reference to the frightened kings of the Uttarā-patha (North) indicates that the states there were small and no one fought Khāra-vela. From the Uttarā-patha he at once comes into Magadha in the same year. It seems that the Magadha empire must have extended up to northern regions. Other sources of information lend confirmation to this view. Śākala in the Punjab was the capital of Menander and the Greeks had been driven out according to Patañjali, so Śākala necessarily was in the Magadha empire. According to Tāranatha also, Śākala and the Punjab were the arena of Pushyamitra's persecution of Buddhism. When Khāra-vela defeated Pushyamitra, he carried away the

riches (*vasavū*) of Aṅga and Magadha. Therefore, from the Punjab, except the northernmost part, up to Aṅga extended the Suṅga empire.⁸²

43. The second invasion of Magadha illustrates the rapidity of Khāra-vela's movements. In the tenth year Khāra-vela despatched his army against Bhārata-varsha and "obtained his objects". In the eleventh year he was at home. In the twelfth year he, terrifying the kings of the North, comes down upon Magadha and is in Pāṭaliputra. From Orissā to the Uttarāpatha and to Magadha and again back to Orissā in the same year, Khāra-vela must have moved with Napoleonic rapidity. He had no doubt the benefit of the Mauryan roads, yet he had to cover thousands of miles and maintain his huge army removed thousands of miles from his kingdom.⁸³

44. The year of his great victory was also marked with pouring in of riches from the extreme South. The King of the Pāṇḍya king parted with riches by way of captures or presents, probably latter. The Pāṇḍya riches included "Elephant-ships", so-called because these ships were either gigantic or they were contrived for the purpose of conveying elephants. They are called "extraordinary" and "wonderful" in the inscription.

45. Khāra-vela carried out three main campaigns :
Results of Khāra-vela's war.

The first 'Western' campaign. The result of the Satakarni-Mūshika war was an increase of territory as implied by the datum in the Nāṭya-Sāstra.

(2) The second war was with the next western neighbours, the combined Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas who had retained their

⁸² Possibly further east, as Patañjali says that the Ruler (Īśvara) might order that Brahmins from the land to the east of the Aṅga towns be produced (Pā. 6.1.2.). [There were probably very few Brahmins to the east of Aṅga.]

A little before Pushyamitra the Magadha Kingdom extended up to Tāmralipti (Tamluk). Jambulos ship-wrecked there was brought to the king at Pāṭaliputra.

⁸³ Virgil gives the greatest possible praise to the bravery of the Kalingas (Gangaridæ) (Geo. III, 27). This most probably refers to Khāra-vela's prowess.

independence even in the time of the Mauryas.³⁴ The war with them does not appear to add to the Kalinga dominions. That they owned their defeat after a battle is evident, as their emblems of rulership are described as damaged. The cause and object of this war remain obscure.

(3) The third campaign, against Magadha, which was contrived and executed with great perseverance, skill and courage, has its object almost stated. Possibly the object explains why no bloody engagement took place. King Nanda, three centuries before, had conquered Kalinga. He had carried away as trophies the statue (or footprints) of the First Jina (Rishabha-deva) and heirlooms of the Kalinga kings to Magadha. Historical memory of Kalinga and the imperial position of Magadha propelled Khāra-vela to settle accounts with Magadha. Pushyamitra also seems to have avoided staking his throne on the issue of a battle by returning those objects which epitomized the Magadha-Kalinga history of the past three centuries. Most likely it was the power of the Magadha sovereign which rendered the object of the campaign to a little more than a diplomatic victory. For otherwise it was too tempting for any human being to let go the imperial throne of India without ascending it.

46. It is noteworthy that Kalinga was not yet counted as a country within *Bhārata-varṣha*. The extension of the limits of *Bhārata-varṣha*, to include the whole of India (as in the *Mahābhārata*), was at least two centuries later. The *Nāṭya-Sāstra* includes Kalinga in *Bhārata-varṣha* but not the whole of India.

47. *Jainism* was yet more of a philosophy than a religion of dissenting Hindus.³⁵ Khāra-vela was not only crowned according to the Vedic *Mahā-rājya-abhisheka* ceremony, he also gave large

³⁴ This view is heterodox. See my paper on Vindusāra in J. B. O. R. S., 2. The meaning of *idha-rāja visayamhi* of Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII is 'Here in the kingdoms and countries,' (not 'in the countries of this kingdom', *idha* is here, not this).

³⁵ Cf. Megasthenes: "Philosophy prevalent in the country which almost assumes the form of religion." (McCrindle, M., p. 136.)

orthodox brahmanical gifts to Brahmins. The gift of the Kalpa-tree in gold, accompanied with the gift of elephants, horses, men, etc., is one of the orthodox Mahā-dānas or "great gifts" (Dāna Hemādri). Jainism had already entered Orissā as early as the time of King Nanda, who as I have shown was Nanda Vardhana of the Śaiśunaka dynasty (see discussion in Mr. Banerji's paper). Before the time of Khāra-vela there were temples of the Arhats on the Udaya-Giri Hills as they are mentioned in the inscription as institutions which had been in existence before Khāra-vela's time. It seems that Jainism had been the national religion of Orissā for some centuries.

48. *Brahmins* were already settled in Orissā before the days of Khāra-vela. They were already showing that unwillingness to accept large gifts of elephants, etc., which becomes traditional. Feasts and dinners were given to them then as now. It was by giving good feasts that Khāra-vela made his gifts acceptable to Brāhmins.

49. *Kshatriya Ascetics* were not a mere ideal of the Jain writers. In the time of Khāra-vela they are an entity. Khāra-vela builds special buildings for them.

50. Khāra-vela conferred privileges on the Poram and the *Jāna-padam*. Poram (in the singular) denotes that it was a communal body of the Pura or capital. We have in the Rāmāyana the Pauras and the Naigamas (guilds) invited at coronations and on other occasions. They would have been the Paura-corporation like the Poram of Khāra-vela. The use of *Jāna-padam* (in the singular) similarly shows that as the town had its Paura, the Janapada (country) had its Janapada body. This is corroborated by the Artha-Śāstra which mentions the communal associations of the country (deśa) like that of the caste (III. 3. 11).

51. Having come to the office of ruler at an early age, of 16, he developed into an ideal king of Khāra-vela as king. the Hindu political philosophy. There is no trace of despotism in Khāra-vela's biography. A born

soldier and a finished general, yet he was anxious to satisfy the condition of Hindu Kingship. He was a king "who pleased his people". It is an axiom of Hindu political philosophy that a King is called King (*rāja* or *rājan*) because he has to *please* (*rañ*) his people. "He pleases the people" is therefore the proudest line in the biography of Khāra-vela as king.

53. Respectful to the former dynasties and the former Kings, Khāra-vela rehabilitated and maintained their honour. In this respect as a man and monarch he stands superior to Aśoka who mentioned the former kings only to point out his own greatness.

53. Khāra-vela was a great builder. He built large palaces, temples, public buildings, extended a canal, and repaired old irrigation reservoirs. He requisitioned fine art in erecting carved towers and edifices in stone; he employed guilds of cleverest artisans and put up pillars inlaid with beryl.

54. A reference to the inscription will show that every year of conquest was followed by a year of great acts of peace at home. The description in the beginning of the record of the regnal years (line 2) that his manhood was marked with conquests accompanied by gifts and dharma, is justified by his biography. He must have also made Orissa materially very rich by the riches he brought from all parts of India. Even musical entertainments for the capital did not escape his kingly solicitude.

55. After the discovery of the system of punctuation in the inscription, there can hardly be any doubt that the passage (line 16) *pānamtariya sathi-vasa-sate Rāja-Muriya-Kāle voñchhine cha* can only be taken as dating the excavation of the cave: "And in the Time of King Muriya which had elapsed by hundred and sixty-five years" (this cave, 6 poles in measurement, called the *Arkās* is made). The sentence is complete and independent, marked by stops before and after. *Vasa* is clearly 'years' and *Kāle* (time) is also clear. The grammar of the sentence makes the sense definite and beyond controversy that *Rāja-Muriyahāle*

The date of the inscription.

(Time or Era of King Muriya) is the pivot of the sentence. It is qualified by the previous *pānamtariya-sathivasa-sate* 'the century of years with five separated by 60 (100, 60, 5)' 165 years; and again it is qualified by similarly locative expression "expired" (*vochchhine*).

56. Bhagwan Lal Indraji and following him Mr. Banerji take the text after *cha* as explaining the date and they read it as follows:—

Choyattha-aga-satika.

They think that it means 164, and connecting it with 'vochine cha' they interpret it as giving the elapsed years as against the former 165 *current* years. But this interpretation cannot stand. The latter passage does not contain any word for 'years'. Then the stop before the sentence being a short one, *cha* must be taken as in lines 3 and 4, to connect the two sentences, and *vochchhine* in that case cannot be referred to the following '*choyattha*', etc. The latter passage I read as *chhe-yatthi Argasi ti kantār=iyam upādiyati** "this cave, of six poles, called the *arkāsī* (Skt. *Ārkāsikā*) is made".* Bhagwan Lal's interpretation gave no predicate. "This *kantarā*" or *kantāri* (= Skt. *kandarā*, *kandarī*, *kāntārā*, a 'cave') is in fact a *kandarā* or natural cave artificially shaped and improved and the inscription in the end naturally refers to its *utpādana* (construction). *Arkās* after which the cave was named is a term of Jain mythology. (See St. Petersburg Dictionary.) *Yatthi* in Pālī (see Childers) is a measure, a pole of 7 *ratnis* or cubits. The measurement given in the inscription, 6 *yashṭis* or 42 cubits, tallies with the actual measurement of the cave, viz., 57 feet in length (by its half as width).

That the last letter is to be read as *ti* is unquestionable, the left hand leg has been filled in with ink in the impression which gives it an appearance of *di*. Then it is also certain that with the *ti* the sentence ends. The vertical stop which I finally noticed,

* Passive voice, in which the majority of verbs in the record are put, having their instrumental in the initial *Khāra-velena* (line 1). All the verbs are in the *sent tense* in the record.

marks not only the end of the sentence but also the end of the biography. This is the only place where a vertical stop has been used and it has been used as the fullest stop ending, as if, a chapter.

57. In the inscription a peculiar feature consists in that "Muriya" is clearly marked off by a little space. At the time of engraving it was put prominently. It corresponds, so to say, with our putting a word in capitals.*

58. *Rāja-Muriya* ought not to be rendered by "Maurya-King" for if *Maurya* had been meant we would have had *Moriya* and not *Muriya*. The expression therefore represents a Prakrit form immediately connected with *Mura* or *Murā*. *Maurya* seems to have been a derivative from the Prakrit *Muriya*. There might have been *Maurya* and *Moriya* Kshatriyas before King *Muriya*, but they have nothing to do with our King *Muriya*. Of course when a derivative is formed from *Muriya* and it is put into Sanskrit, we will have *Maurya* which would be confused with and mistaken for the pre-*Muriya*, communal *Maurya* or *Moriya*. Here in the inscription we have the oldest and the original form recorded within living memory of the fall of the dynasty founded by King *Muriya*. It has to be our guide in determining the value of the dynastic *Maurya*, and not the tribal *Moriya* or Sanskrit *Maurya* in determining the value of our *Muriya*.

59. The very characters of the inscription would compel us, if we count back 165 years, to go back to the time of Chandra-gupta. Chronology would further force us to count the *Rāja-Muriya-Kāla* from the coronation and not the death of King Chandra-gupta (*Muriya*), otherwise we cannot get the synchronism of Satakarni with Khāra-vela. We must also take into consideration the universal practice that an era is counted from the coronation of Indian Kings and not from his death.

* See the second paper. Space has been left in this inscription before other important proper names also.

60. A question all the same arises : why should a state independent of the Mauryas and when there were no more Mauryas, should mention an era counted from the coronation of their founder? What was the reason to count years from Chandra-gupta and not from Aśoka who conquered Orissa and established government in Orissa? The explanation which suggests itself is this : as there was no political reason for the Kalingas to remember Chandra-gupta, there would have been a reason other than political. Was then any religious claim of Chandra-gupta to be remembered by the Jain Kalinga? The process leads me to ask, was Chandra-gupta a Jain? The Jain books (fifth century A.C.) and later Jain inscriptions claim Chandra-gupta as a Jain imperial ascetic. My studies have compelled me to respect the historical data of the Jain writings and I see no reason why we should not accept the Jain claim that Chandra-gupta at the end of his reign accepted Jainism and abdicated and died as a Jain ascetic. I am not the first to accept the view. Mr. Rice* who has studied the Jain inscriptions of Sravana Belagola thoroughly gave verdict in favour of it and Mr. V. Smith has also leaned towards it ultimately.†

61. There is evidence to prove that the inscription was composed by some one who was elderly, who must have seen Khāra-vela as a young lad playing about, for he describes Khāra-vela playing before his 15th year "with majestic body of fair-brown (complexion)". In the Council of Ministers without whose approval the inscription could not have been published, there would have been some elderly men who by virtue of their office and age could make a paternal reference to Khāra-vela's childhood.

* Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 1909.

† "I am now disposed to believe that the tradition probably is true in its main outline, and that Chandra-gupta really abdicated and became a Jain ascetic." V. Smith, *EHI*, 1914, 146.

62. The recovery of the history of Khāra-vela is a triumph of modern scholarship. Not a line about him has yet been found in the literature of the country.* What we know of this great emperor is what the mystic voice of the rock has revealed to the Indian Epigraphist.

63. In editing the text below the words giving figures and regnal years are put in italics. The names emphasized in the inscription (see Further Text, Note below) have been put in thick types. Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji's and Mr. Banerji's readings have been particularly indicated by footnotes.

IV.—TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION.

(Two symbols: *Paddha-maṅgala* and *svastika*.) Namō Arā-
hamtānam ⁽¹⁾ [.] ^(1a) Namō Sava-Sidhānam [.] Airena ⁽²⁾
Mahā-rājena Mahā-megha-vāhanena **Cheta-rāja-vasa** ^(2a)
-vadhanenā pasatha-subha-lakhanena chatur=amtala-ṭhuna ⁽³⁾-
gun=opagatena Kali[m]g=adhipatinā Siri-Khāra-velena ⁽⁴⁾
(*Nandipada*)

Line 1:

pamdarasa-vasāni siri-kāḍārā⁽⁵⁾-*saṁra-vatā kiḍitā kumāra-*
kiḍikā tato lekha-rupa-gaṇaṇa-vevahāra⁽⁶⁾-*vidhi-visāradena*
sava-vij = āvadātena nava-vasāni Yovarajam⁽⁷⁾ *pasāsitaṁ sam*

Line 2.

* See however my second paper.

(¹) Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji (to be denoted hereafter by Bh.) read *ara*^o.

(1a) The system of punctuation adopted in the insc. had been lost sight of by former scholars. There are two sorts of spaces in the insc. ; the longer denotes a full stop and the shorter a comma or a semicolon. Recognition of the system is very important as it makes many passages intelligible.

(2) Mr. R. D. Banerji (to be denoted hereafter by Bji.) reads *Kharena*. But this reading is not sustainable for the reasons given in the discussion above.

(2a) May be read as *chaita*°.

(⁸) Bh: and Bji. read *thāna*.

(4) Here the Nandipada symbol is placed just after *Khāraṇelena*, hanging down to the second line.

(⁵) Bh: reads *Kumāra* which is clearly a mistake.

(^b) Bh: *Vaṇaḥāra*,

(7) Bh: Yovarājam.

-puṇo *cātu-bisati* ⁽⁸⁾ vaso ti ⁽⁹⁾ dāna-chu ⁽¹⁰⁾-dhamena ⁽¹¹⁾
sesa-yovan = ābhivijayo ⁽¹²⁾ *tatiye* ⁽¹³⁾

Line 3.

Kalīṅga-rāja-vase ⁽¹⁴⁾ purisa-yuge Mahā-rāj = ābhisecha-
naṃ pāpunāti [.] Abhisita-mato cha *padhame* ⁽¹⁵⁾ vase [.]
vāta-vihata-gopura-pākāra-nivesanaṃ paṭi-samkhārayati Kalīṅga-
Nagaram khibhā ⁽¹⁶⁾ sitala-tadāga-pādiyo cha bāndhāpayati
sāv = ūyāna ⁽¹⁷⁾ -paṭisaṃṭh[ā]panaṃ cha

Line 4.

kārayati [.] *Panatisāhi sata-sahasehi* pakāṭiyo ⁽¹⁸⁾ cha ra-
jayati [.] *Ditiye* chu ⁽¹⁹⁾ vase achintayitā Sāta-kamni[m]
⁽²⁰⁾ Pachhima-disaṃ haya-gaja-nara-radha-vahulum-damda[m]
paṭhāpayati Kasapāna[m] ⁽²¹⁾ Khatiyaṃ cha sahāye vitopati ⁽²²⁾
Musika-Nagaram [.] ⁽²³⁾ *Tatiye* puna vase

⁽⁸⁾ Bh : *vi*°.

⁽⁹⁾ Bh : *cā* which is certainly wrong. Bji. gives up *cā* and adopts my reading *ti* with some hesitation. My reading is confirmed by Mr. Bhandarkar.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Bh : *cā*.

⁽¹¹⁾ Looks like *dhamena*, but conjunct *ra* has a turning to the left.

⁽¹²⁾ Bh : ° *Vi*jaya.

⁽¹³⁾ Bh : *vatiye*. There can be no doubt as to the reading *tatiye*. Lüders (L. B. I., 161) also reads it correctly.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Bh : ° *Vasa*. ° *Vase* is clear. Bji. accepts my reading. Lüders like *Bh.* reads here incorrectly and consequently does not catch the real sense.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Bh : *padhama*.

⁽¹⁶⁾ It is possible to read it *bhāṭhira*, 'filled in,' 'damaged' (in case of a reservoir). Bh. read one *cā* after it, but there is none, nor is there space for any.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Bh : *Savv*°.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Bh : *Pakāṭiye*.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Here as well as in other places *chu* was read as *cā* by Bh. Bji. agreed with me.

⁽²⁰⁾ Bh : *Sātakani*. My reading changes the meaning. Bji. agreed with me. Bh's *Sātakani* can be confidently given up.

⁽²¹⁾ Bh: doubtfully read *Kusambanaṃ* (?). Bji: *Kasabanām*. Lüders follows Bh. with doubt (L.B.I., p. 161). *Bh.* is not sure of his reading up to the end of the sentence.

⁽²²⁾ Bh: and Bji: *sahāya-patā pātām*. *Vitopati*, from *tup* 'to injure,' 'to destroy'.

⁽²³⁾ Lüders does not read it. Bh : *masika*, with doubt. See discussion above on the Māsikas, who are a known people. There is no stone in the original.

gamdhavā (24)-veda-budho dampā-nata-gīta-vādita-samda-
 sanāhi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi cha kīdāpayati Nagarim[.] Itha
chivuthe (25) vase Vijā-dhar=ādhivāsam ahata (26)-puvam Kalim-
 ga-puva-rāja-na(mamsitam) (Bh.) (27). vitadha-makute (28)
 sabi, chhidate cha nikhite (29) chhata-
 bihmgāre hita-ratansā (30) pateye sāva-Rāthika-Bhojake pāde
 vamdāpayati [.] Pamchome cha dāni vase (30a) Namda-rāja
 —ti-vasa-sata[m?]—oghātītām Tanasuliya-vātā panāḍim Nagaram
 pavesa-ti (31) [.] s[o ?]...vi. bhisito cha (32) (rāja-seya-samdam) Bh.
 sanato sava-bharāvana[m] (33) (,) (33a)

Line 5.

Line 6.

(24) Bh: *gamdhava*.

(25) Bh: *chavuthe*.

(26) Bh: *ahatam* which is possible.

(27) *namamsitam* was wholly readable in Bh's. time. Now only *na* is preserved and the rest is worn out. Portions which were readable in Bh's. time but are not so now, I have enclosed as in the present instance, with "Bh."

The next sentence deals with an altogether different subject-matter, hence there must have been a verb and a full-stop. The latter I insert tentatively.

(28) *vita* is my new reading (addition to the text) which is accepted by Bji. These two new syllables change the meaning of the whole sentence. Bh: *Dhamakufasa* . . . against my *vitadha-makute*. *vitadha* stands for *vitatha*. Change of *tha* into *dha* is very common in Prakrit, e.g. *jāddhi ā* (Śauraseni) for Skt. *Yūthika* (Pischel, p. 159); *anadhā* for *anatha* on Bharautrailing (B. I., p. 99). The change is a general rule in certain cases in the stage or standard Prakrit in Bharata's *Nāṭya-Śāstra* (XVII-14). We cannot therefore call it, as Mr. Banerji in his note does, a Southern peculiarity.

(29) Bh. doubtfully reads *pūjita*. Bji. accepted my *sabi-chhidate*. When I consulted a separate slip-impression I found it was *nikhite*, not *nikhita* (as Bh., Bji. and myself had first read). See the second plate in this Journal (line 1).

(30) Bh: *bhimgārehi ta(t)ratanasā*: a case of misgrouping of letters which gave the absurd meaning that Khāra-vela although a Jain was 'inspiring faith for Buddhism' (tri-ratna), while in fact it describes a conquest of peoples whose *ratnas* were taken away by Khāra-vela.

Bh: *pātiye* against my *pateye*.

(30a) Space left before *Nanda-rāja*. See discussion in the second paper on its significance.

(31) Read *pavesayati*.

(32) Bh: in a footnote gives a tentative reading *bhishito cha*.

(33) Bh: *kāravana*. Bji: *bharāvana*, *bha* is very like *ka* but I agree with Bji.

(33a) The stop is tentative.

- Line 7⁷ Anugaha-anekāni *sata-sahasāni* visajati Poram⁽³⁴⁾ Jānapadam
[.] *Satamam* cha *vasam* [,] *pasāsato* cha [ja ra gha
ra kha ta ??] ⁽³⁵⁾ gharin[i] savītu upādapum [na ?]
sa.....[.] *Athame* cha *vase* [,] [manatīno ?]
[dha ma ni ? ?] ⁽³⁶⁾.....Go-radha-giri⁽³⁷⁾
- Line 8. ghātāpayitā Rāja-gaha-Napam pīdapayati etinam cha kam=
upadāna ⁽³⁸⁾panādēna sabata sena-vāhane vipamumchitam
⁽³⁹⁾Madhuram apayāto[.] *Navame* (cha)^{Bh.} (*vase*?)^{Bh.}
.....[mo ya chha ti ??].....
palavariko⁽⁴⁰⁾
- Line 9. kapa-rukho haya-gaja-radha-saha-yate⁽⁴¹⁾ sava-ghar=āvasādham
.....ne..... ya sava⁽⁴²⁾-gahanam cha kārāyitum
Bamanānam jatharam bhi ^(42a)param dadāti ⁽⁴³⁾[.] (Araha)^{Bh.}ta.
.....va.....na..... giya⁽⁴⁴⁾
- Line 10. ubhaya-Prācī-taṭe⁽⁴⁵⁾ rā[ja]-nīvasam Mahā-Vijaya-
pāsādām kārāyati *aṭṭhisāya-sata-sahasēhi*[.] *Dasame* cha *vase*
da[m]ḍasa⁽⁴⁶⁾.....nadasa⁽⁴⁷⁾ Bharadha-vasa-paṭhāna⁽⁴⁸⁾.....

(34) Bh : *Pora* but it is clearly *Poram*.

(35) Bh : after 'pasasato cha' has blank except *savotukula* against our *savitu upa*°. The new text is added by Bji. and me. Unfortunately vowel-marks are not distinct. I could not form words out of the initial 6 syllables.

(36) From *ma* to *ni*, new syllables read by me, give no satisfactory text and are merely tentative. They are too dim to be relied on.

(37) This is a valuable contribution to the text by Bji.

(38) Bh : *kamapadāna*.

(39) Looks like *vipamuchitum*. Bh : *vipamuchitu*.

(40) Bh : *pavarako*. Bji : *palavariko*, with whom I agree. The four syllables before this are tentative. They are very faint.

(41) Bh : °*sahayata*.

(42) Bh : *ya savā* against my *ya sava*.

(42a) *bhi*=*api* ?

(43) Bh : *jamhi raḍhi-sdraṃ dadāti*. Bji. agreed with my reading *jatharam bhi param dadāti*.

(44) *giya* at the end of the line is readable in my separate slip which is reproduced as plate II.

(45) *ubhaya-Prācī-taṭe* is an addition to the text. Bji. accepts the addition. The next word (*rāja*) also was not read by Bh.

(46) *daṃḍasa*, new text, read by Bji. which I adopt.

(47) *nadasa* not in Bh's. reading. The next word read by Bh. *Bhārada*° which is probably right.

(48) Bh : *paṭhāna*. Bji : *pacchāna*. I follow Bh.

kārāpayati(.) puna cha manoradhāni upalabhatā
(⁴⁹)(.)

Line 11.

.....ya(^{49a}) puva-rāja-nivesitam Pīth=udaga-dabha
(⁵⁰)-nagale nekāsayati jana-pada(⁵¹)-bhāvanam cha *terasa-vasa-*
sata-Ketu(^{51a})-Bhada-tit=āmara(⁵²)-deha-samghātam[.] *Bārasame*
cha va[se].....sehi(⁵³) vitāsayanto Utarā-padha(⁵⁴)-
rājāno

Line 12.

.....Magamdhanam cha vipulam(^w) bhayam jāneto
hath[i]sa Gamgīya(⁵⁵) prāyayati[.] Ma[ga]dhā cha Rājāna[m]
Baha--pati-mitram (⁵⁶) pāde vamdāpayati[.] (^{56a}) Namda-rāja-

(⁴⁹) Probably *upalabhati*.

(^{49a}) The relief of the impression shows *ya* or *gha*. Its face appearance like *a* or *la* is not to be trusted. It can only be *ya* or *gha*.

(⁵⁰) Bh : *Pāthudam gadambha°* which is wrong. Lüders : *Pithuda*.

(⁵¹) Bh : *jana-pada°* in his text, in translation '*tana-pada*' the latter being apparently a misprint. Lüders *jina-pada*. Bji. *j[ī]na-pada*, with hesitation. There is a scratch from the middle stroke of *ja* but it is not deep at all, nor i-stroke is ever attached into the middle. There is no trace of an i-vowel sign. Mr. Bhandarkar who kindly examined the character also came to the opinion that there was no i-mark. Bh. read the preceding word as *nakasayati*, but it ought to be *ne°* which is clear.

(^{51a}) Bji : and I first read it as *kata*. The relief shows *e*-mark clearly. The revised reading was accepted by Bji. u-mark is also distinct.

(⁵²) Bh : *vasa-satāk...datāmara°*. Bji. read *bha* before *data°*. I read two more letters ; one *ta* after *sataka* and another *ti* after *bhāda*. Bji. accepts my readings.

(⁵³) Bh : read only *hi*. In the middle of the portion between *vase* and *sehi*. Bh. had read *hasa*. As all traces of letters are gone I had no guide to locate *hasa*.

(⁵⁴) Bh : *patka*. Bji. reads *padka* and I am inclined to agree with him, although I am not sure that Bh. is wrong.

(^w) A hole in the rock after *vipulam*.

(⁵⁵) Bh : *gamgāyam*.

(⁵⁶) Bh : *bahu-patisāsitam*, Bji : *bahu pati-mitam*.

I was at first inclined to treat the expression as an adjective meaning '*considered great*', but I was not satisfied and added this note : "On the present materials, I adopt Bji.'s reading '*bahu-pati-mitam*'. If a *Brihaspati mitra* had been known to the Puranic list of the Śuṅgas, I would have taken the expression, as at present read, to represent the name of the Magadha King." But see my second paper for my conclusion that the expression is really the name of the king.

(^{56a}) Space left. See my Further Note.

nītāni⁽⁵⁷⁾ Aga-jinasa naga⁽⁵⁸⁾ (gaha-rata) Bh. na-
paḍihārehi Amga⁽⁵⁹⁾-Magadhe vasavu neyât(i)⁽⁶⁰⁾ (.)

Line 13. ta jāṭhara=lekhlani(i)⁽⁶¹⁾ barāni sihārāni
nivesayati sata-vasu-⁽⁶²⁾ [dāna]-[pa]riharena[m ?] [.]⁽⁶³⁾
Abhūtam=ach[chh]⁽⁶⁴⁾ariyam cha hathi-nāvana⁽⁶⁵⁾parihāram
.....dena⁽⁶⁶⁾ haya-hathi-ratana^(66a) [janana ?] Pāmdarāja
⁽⁶⁷⁾[cha.]..... maṇi ratanāni⁽⁶⁸⁾ aharāpayati idha sata[sa]

Line 14. —,.....[vā]sino vasī-kareti[.]⁽⁶⁹⁾ Terasame cha vase su-
pavata-vijaya^(69a)-chako Kumārī-pavate Arāhato-par[ī]n[i]v[ā]se

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Bh : *nītaśa*, but *nītāni* is clear.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ New text.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Bh : confused : *paḍihārahā*. *Amga* is clear, *ga* was left out by Bh.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Bh : *vasavu nayari*, 'having settled a city (in Magadha)'.
Bji. corrected as *vasavune yāti*(a ?). I regrouped and modified: *vasavu
neyāti*(i) 'carries (home) riches' of Anga and Magadha, which Bji. accepted.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Read *lekhlani*. Bh : *lekhlani*. *jāṭhara* is Bji.'s reading which I
adopt. Bh : *viḍadharu* which is wrong.

⁽⁶²⁾ Bh : *°vasa-dana*. Bji. agrees with my above correction. *dāna* is not clear
now.

⁽⁶³⁾ There seems to be an *anusvara* after *na* which makes it read as *parihā-
renam*. The word must be either *parihārena* or *parihāranam*. In either case
the meaning would be the same, the latter taken as accusative to *nivesayati* and
the former the idiomatic instrumental to denote purpose 'he sets up towers for
the gifts and *parihāras*' received from other countries, i.e., to house them,
possibly, for the public to see. *Parihāra* here has a technical sense, 'presents' or
'captures' from other countries. See its use in the line following.

There is a stop after *parihārena*. The verb of the next sentence is *aharā-
payati*. Before discovering the stop, no satisfactory meaning of the two
sentences could be made out.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Bh : *akariyam*. Instead of *ka* my impression shows *cha* and the reverse
side of the estampe has traces of a *chha* below *cha*. cf. *chcha* in *vinichchhito*,
line 17.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Read *nāvanam*. Bh. mistakes *va* for *da* and reads *nāddna*.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ and ^(66a) New text added by my reading which has been accepted by Bji.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Text added by Bji. which I adopt.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ New text added by Bji. and myself.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Bh : *sino vasikaroti*.

^(69a) Bh : *°vijayi*?

tāhikāya⁽⁷⁰⁾ Nisīdiyāya yā pūjavakohi⁽⁷¹⁾ rāja-bhitāni cha
navatāni⁽⁷²⁾ vusa-satāni⁽⁷³⁾ pūjāni [sa ba ta ?] [sa ? dha ?] ^(73a)
ra va pa [si ? ri ? ko ?] Jīva-deva⁽⁷⁴⁾-kāle rakhitā.⁽⁷⁵⁾

..... sukātā-samāṇa-suvihitānum cha sata- Line 15.
disānum Khatiyam⁽⁷⁶⁾ tapasa (saha ?)^{Bh.} yānum⁽⁷⁷⁾
Arahata-Nisīdiyā-samīpe pabhare⁽⁷⁸⁾ vara-kāru sumutha-patihi⁽⁷⁹⁾
aneka-yojanāhi si la hi sa sa pa tha ?⁽⁸⁰⁾

..... paṭālako chature chu ⁽⁸¹⁾veḍuriya- Line 16.
gabhe thambhe patithāpayati[;] Pān = amṭariya⁽⁸²⁾-saṭhi-
vasa⁽⁸³⁾-sate Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochehhine cha chhe-yaṭhi Argasi

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Bh : arakātopa[nivāse] tāhikāyam ; corrected by Bji. as adopted above in the text.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Bh : nisīdiyayam yapaṇas ; corrected as above by Bji. The correct form of the second word would be pūjavakāhi.

⁽⁷²⁾ Addition by Bji.'s reading.

^(73 and 73a) My reading agreed to by Bji.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Sa to °deva addition by Bji. and myself. Only jīva-deva is definite.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Bji. with Bh : rakhita. My copy does not show i-mark.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Bh : sakata-samāyo ; corrected by Bji. as adopted above.

^(78a) Bh : suvihitānam cha savadisānam [yaninam] ; corrected by me as above, agreed to by Bji.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Bh : Samhātānam ? The letters are very indistinct ; only what I read as yānum is clear. On the top of the blurred portion before yānum, I read a gha, as if added on by the engraver afterwards. So the word would probably be samghayānum.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ May be prabhare.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Bji : pitihi. Bh : patihī.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Probably silāha, 'of stone'. They have been read for the first time by Bji. and myself.

⁽⁸¹⁾ Bh : paṭālako chetako cha. corrected as above in the text by Bji. and myself.

⁽⁸²⁾ Bh : paṇamṭariya. The anusvāra after pā is of special interest. Without that one may fall in the error of taking the expression to mean 75.

⁽⁸³⁾ ṭhi is smaller than other akṣaras, but clearly readable (see plate IV). It was read as cha by Cunningham, who mistook the i-stroke for a perpendicular line. vasa (see Plate IV) was also read by Cunningham and Bh. The vertical stroke is very clear in the impression which cannot form part of the next sa ; the round trace also is not a part of the next sa which should be compared with the sa after it and the sa of vasa of the next line. The passage up to sate apparently could not be read by Lüders.

ti kamtāriyam ⁽⁸⁴⁾ upādiyati ⁽⁸⁵⁾ | [·] Khema-rājā
sa Vadha-rājā sa Bhikhu-rājā Dhama-rājā pasamto suṇato ⁽⁸⁶⁾
anubhavato kalāṇāni ⁽⁸⁷⁾

Line 17.

..... guṇa-visesa-kusalo sava-pāsa[m]
ḍa-pūjakotina sāmākāra-kāra[o] (a) ^{Bh.} patihata-chakf-
vāhana-balo chaka-dhara ⁽⁸⁸⁾ gutachako ghisamta ⁽⁸⁹⁾-chako rājasi-

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Bh. and Bji: *vochhine*, but the conjunct *ch* is present. Bh. *chōya* *ḥha-aga-satikutariyam*. Bji. *chōyaḥha-aga-satikuturiyam*. The slanting mark on the top of *ga* to the left-hand side is deep as the rest of the incision and connected. It can only be *r*. Former scholars have given it no value. I had doubts as to the reading *cho*. Mr. H. Pande detected the right-hand circle. That it is a *chha* now cannot be doubted. *Yaḥhi* is likewise clear. I am again thankful to Mr. Pande for detecting the i-mark to *argasi*. Kittoe and Cunningham: *katariyam*. Bh. saw a "thick base" to *ka* in Kittoe's copy, which he took for an *u*-mark. But the thick base is a mere decay and Bji. agreed with me there, but he pointed out a sharp little angle on the right-hand side at the bottom of *ka*. But it does not belong to the level of the letter. The anusvāra on *ka* had been lost sight of by every scholar. It is deeply incised and is prominently shown on the reverse of the estampage. As to the *takāra* Mr. Banerji relied on a faint right-hand mark and read the letter as *tu*. But as Mr. Duroiselle pointed out, the thin, sharp chiselled stroke at the top of the vertical bar can never be an abrasion. It had therefore to be taken as *ta*. The proposed *uturiyam* (or the modified *utāriyam*) according to Mr. Banerji represents *uturam*. This was also the view of Dr. Bhagwan Lal. But the objection to that is that according to their reading there is already one *aga* (*agra*) in the same sense and that *upādiyati* has no object or rather subject (as it is in the passive, Skt. *utpādyate*, the real nominative being the initial *Khāra-velena* in the instrumental). The latter difficulty Bh. tried to meet by assuming that the object ('*this*') was understood. But Bhagwan Lal's 'understood' *this* cannot satisfy the want of the subject. What was it that was done by the king? *kantarā-iyam*, 'this cave' does supply the want. It must be noted that the inscription is incised on the artificial cave like the other inscriptions of the locality. Like the latter this also refers to its cave.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ One portion of *ti* is filled in, which gives it an appearance of *upādīyadī*. Bji. read *upādāyati*, Bh. *upādāyati*.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Bh: *ināmājā* which is wrong. Correction as above by Bji.

^(87a) Bh: *sanato*. Bji. agrees with me.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ *May be kalāṇāna(m)*.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Bh: *chakādhara*. Probably the *o*-mark has disappeared since Bh.'s time as also in the case of *sāmākāra-kāra* above.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Bh: *pāsāmta*. Correction as above in the text, agreed to by Bji.

vasa-kula-vinichehito⁽⁹⁰⁾ Mahā-vijayo Rājā Khāra-vela-Siri.
(Tree symbol).

V.—TRANSLATION.⁽⁹¹⁾

Salutation to the Arhats. Salutation to all the Sid- Line 1.
dhas. Sṛī Khāra-vela, Emperor of Kalinga, Alia⁽⁹²⁾,
Mahāmēghavāhana⁽⁹³⁾ and Mahārāja, who attained the quality
of being the support of the whole land, of noble and auspicious
features-marks, the agent of prosperity of the House of King
Cheta,

For *fifteen years* having played princely games with a body Line 2.
majestic with fair-brown (complexion) ⁽⁹⁴⁾, and after having
thoroughly learnt royal correspondence, currency, state-account-
ing, ⁽⁹⁵⁾ municipal law and dharma injunctions, ⁽⁹⁶⁾ and
having been accomplished in all the *Vidyās* (arts), ⁽⁹⁷⁾ ruled
for *nine years* in the office of Yuva-rāja.

As the *twenty-fourth year* was complete, (he) who for the
rest of his manhood made conquests which were accompanied
with gifts and observance of dharma, obtains in the *Third** Dy- * Line 3.
nasty of Kalinga (the anointing called) Mahārājya-abhisheka,
for one generation. ⁽⁹⁸⁾ As soon as he was anointed, in his
First Year, (he) repairs the Kalinga Capital of which the

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Bh. *vinigato*. Correction as above, agreed to by Bji.

⁽⁹¹⁾ Points already discussed above are not repeated.

⁽⁹²⁾ Or, *ārya*.

⁽⁹³⁾ Same as *Mahendra*, a title or style, not a surname (as taken by V. Smith, E. H. I., 1914, p. 207 n.), Bh.'s meaning, 'having a vehicle like a large cloud (elephant)' is not acceptable.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ कङ्करीं लण-वद्भि-वत् cf. *kaṇḍāra-Jaimini*, the grammatical illustration. Bh. missed this meaning (p. 170, n.).

⁽⁹⁵⁾ *Rupa* was translated by Bh. as 'painting', but I do not know that the word is ever used in that sense. The above interpretations are given in the light of the Artha-Sāstra. See Further Note.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Taking *vevāhara* and *vidhi* separately. Bh.: "laws". The meaning given here is in the light of legal researches discussed in my Tagore lectures.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ See *Kāma-sūtra* for the Vedas.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ See discussion in the general note above.

gates, city-walls and buildings had been destroyed by storm.⁽⁹⁹⁾ (He) also strengthens the embankments⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ of (i.e., those round) springs⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and cool lakes. (He) also gets done the restoration of all the gardens.

Line 4.

(He), likewise, please the *thirty-five hundred thousand* People⁽¹⁰²⁾ (subjects).

In the *Second year*, disregarding Sātakarṇi⁽¹⁰³⁾ (he) despatches a large army of horse, elephant, foot, and chariot to the Western Quarter; and in aid of the Kāsyapa Khatriyas⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ (he) destroys the Mūshika Capital.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

*Line 5.

Again in the *Third year*, (he),* versed in the science of music (gandharva-veda), entertains the Capital with shows of dampa⁽¹⁰⁶⁾, dances, singing and music, and by holding festivities and *Samājas*.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Then in the *Fourth year*, the Vidyādhara-Abode which had not been damaged before, and which had been held sacred by the Former Kings of Kalinga.....

With their coronets (*makuṭas*)⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ devoid of their significance and with their umbrellas and * *bhṛīṅgāras* (golden vases)

*Line 6

⁽⁹⁹⁾ "Gates", etc., up to *nivesanam*, come as one compound, qualifying the capital (*°nagaraṃ*). They are not to be taken separately (as done by Bh.).

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ *Pāḍiyo* (Skt. *pālī*) is the object.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ *Kṣhītra*, from *kṣhī*, to eject.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ See discussion above in the general note. If Bh. had noticed the stop before *panatisāhi*, he would not have connected "the 35 hundred thousands" with the preceding sentence and taken it to denote the cost of the repairs.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Bh.'s meaning "Sātakarṇi protecting the west sent an army" is untenable in the face of the reading *Sātakarṇim*.

"To the west." Sātakarṇi was at Pratiṣṭhāna. Notice also the situation of Nānāghāt which was included in the dominions of the early Sātavāhanas. The country round Paithāna could be called the West by a man in Orissa.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ It cannot be Kausamba Khatriyas as guessed by Lüders.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In view of the identification proposed here, there can be now little doubt as to the reading *Mūshika nagaraṃ*.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ I could not trace this term in literature.

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Dr. Thomas thinks that *samājas* were shows of fights. Mr. Bhandarkar's view is that they were theatrical performances.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ *Makuṭas* according to the Nāṭya-Sāstra were inferior crowns. As they were republican leaders and more than one in each community, no full crown was worn.

broken down and felled, the Leaders (of) all the Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas, deprived of their *ratnas*, were caused by (him) to bow at his feet.†

Then in the *Fifth year*, (he) brings into the Capital from the Tanasuliya Road the Canal excavated by King Nanda *three centuries* before⁽¹⁰⁹⁾.....

(In the *Sixth year*) anointed,.....
showing royal favours to all the suffering ones, ^{(109a)*} (he) bestows numerous privileges—by hundreds and thousands—on (the corporate bodies) ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ the *Paura* and the *Jānapada*.

*Line 7.

Ruling in the *Seventh year*,.....to obtain (?) wife Savitrī (?).....

In the *Eighth year*, the Ministers (?).....at Goradhagiri ⁽¹¹¹⁾

.....having got killed, (he) causes oppression to the King of Rājagriha who by the report of (Khāra-vela's) offer of marching forward, was made to retire to Mathurā, leaving behind everywhere his troops and vehicles.

Line 8.

In the *Ninth year*,.....

he gives away a Kalpa-tree with leaves on, and horses, elephants and chariots with their drivers, ⁽¹¹²⁾ (he) gives houses and asylums for all.....to make all those (gifts) accepted, (he) also feeds the Brahmins lavishly. Arhat.....

Line 9.

† The meaning of the sentence is new. See footnote to the text and discussion in the general note above. The *ratnas* were not necessarily jewels. They were probably the choice things. See its use later.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The interpretations proposed by Bh. "the three-yearly alms-house of King Nanda" and by Lüders "which had not been used for 103 years since Nanda" are untenable. See Mr. Banerji's note.

^(109a) The meaning is tentative.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ See discussion in general note above.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Modern Barabar Hills in the district of Gaya on the old route from Gaya to Patna.

⁽¹¹²⁾ For a description of the Mahādāna of Kalpa-tree in gold, see Hemādri, Chaturvarga-Chintāmani (Bib. Ind. ed.), Dāna-khaṇḍa, 5. Bh. also gives this reference. "With drivers"—*Saka-yate*. *Fantri* was mistaken for *yatra* by Bh.

Line 10.

On both banks of the Prāchî ⁽¹¹³⁾ (river) (he) builds the royal residence the 'Palace of Great Victory' at the cost of *Thirty-eight hundred thousand* (coins).

In the *Tenth Year*, (he) causes the departure of the army.....
..... to Bhārata-varsha (Upper India).....once more
(he) obtains his desired objects.

Line 11.

[In the *Eleventh year* ⁽¹¹⁴⁾] (he) leads out in procession the *nīm*-wood formation ⁽¹¹⁵⁾ of the immortal body (i.e., statue) of His Highness Ketu who (flourished) *thirteen centuries* before, ⁽¹¹⁶⁾which has been established by the Former Kings in the City of Prith=ndaka-darbha ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and which is pleasing to the Country.

In the *Twelfth year*, producing consternation amongst the Kings of the Uttarāpatha (Northern Punjab and Frontier Countries) with.....

Line 12.

.....and causing great panic amongst the people of Magadha, (he) makes his elephants enter ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ the *Gāṅgeya* (Palace-fort), and (he) makes the King of Magadha, *Brihaspati*.

⁽¹¹³⁾ A river near modern Bhuvaneśvara.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ As the next record is of the 12th year.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ *Amara-deha-samghāta*. See discussion above. The whole sentence has been for the first time explained. Fleet thought it refers to some worship stopped 113 years back. Lüders had a similar view. Bh. thought it refers to some tax abolished, which had come down for 1,300 years. These interpretations are now impossible. They were based on imperfect readings.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ See discussion above.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ This must have been in Kalinga.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ From the Uttarā-patha, or the Northern countries he comes by the old route described in the Pāli canons (Taxila-Kausāmbi-Sāketa) or by the foot of the Himalayas to the north banks of the Ganges opposite Pāṭaliputra. On that side there was only one line of defence, the river. While on the other side there were the mighty Sone, the ditches and parapets. If he crossed the Ganges through his elephants he would be inside the capital. *Prāyayati* means "causes (the elephants) to enter" (pra+ay), not "to drink water" as supposed by Bhi. and Lüders. *Gāṅgtiya* does not mean the Ganges. It stands for *Gāṅgeya*, a proper name. I identify it with the palace-fort of the Mauryas called the *Su-Gāṅga* in the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*.

mitra, ⁽¹¹⁹⁾ bow at his feet..... (He) brings homeof the First Jina.....which ⁽¹²⁰⁾ (*in plural*) had been carried away by **King Nanda**.....(and) the home *ratnas* ⁽¹²¹⁾ as recaptures,⁽¹²²⁾ (and) the precious things ⁽¹²⁴⁾ of Aṅga and Magadha.

(He) establishes ⁽¹²³⁾ towers..... with carved Line 13.
interiors, for (or 'along with') gifts and captures ^(124a) of hundreds ⁽¹²⁵⁾ of precious things. (He) causes to be brought in here unprecedented and wonderful captures (or presents) of elephant-ships, also horses, elephants, (*ratnas*), men(?)..... the King of the Pāṇḍyas.....and gems and *ratnas* in hundreds.

.....(he) wins the heart ^(125a) of the residents of (the Line 14.
Kalinga capital?).

In the *Thirteenth year* (he), who has fully extended his empire by conquests, ⁽¹²⁶⁾.....attached to the

(119) The meaning which I first proposed was "who had been considered great by many" (*bahu-pratimitam*), at the same time I regarded it as unsatisfactory.

(120) *Nitāni*, i.e., more than one object.

(121) See Footnote 108 above; any precious thing. Cf. its use in line 13.

(122) *Paḍihārehi*, lit. "by returns of".

(123) *Vasavu*, plural of *Vasu*. *Vasu* is several times used, it gives here the meaning of a "rich trophy".

(124) *Nivesayati* not "adorns" as Lüders says. The instrumental in the case of the riches, *dānas* and *parihāras*, is to denote that the towers were built to house them: see footnote to text.

(124a) *Parihāra*. See its use in the next sentence where *Parihāras* are brought from the Pāṇḍyan King. Lit. "captures"; we can render it by "trophies" or "tribute-presents".

(125) Bh: "seven-year bounty" owing to his wrong reading.

(125a) The space is too short to describe a conquest and the whole year was too full. Hence I take *śāśino caśi-kareti* in the moral sense and as applying to the residents of his capital.

(126) Not that he conquered *Suparyata* (*spavata-vijaya-chako*). This is a record of the peace-year, which always alternates with war-years as may be observed by referring to the record.

Nishāḍiḡa (¹²⁷) in the premises of the Habitation of the Arhats on the Kumārī Hill (¹²⁸) (*Udayagiri*), the *ninety hundred* sacred bulls, (¹²⁹) come from (?) the worshippers and maintained by the King.....kept (?) in the time of.....Jīva-deva. (¹³⁰)

Line 15.

On the Hill near the *Arhat-Nishāḍiḡa*, for the comfort of the virtuous Śramanas.....and to assemble together Kshatriya ascetics (¹³¹) from hundred directions (he builds) (¹³²) by (employing) leaders of the guilds (¹³³) of excellent artizans, and various contrivances.....in stone.....

Line 16.

.....(he) establishes a pavilion on four columns (^{133a}) inlaid with beryl.

In the Year Hundred and sixty-five (*lit.* 'century years and five with sixty intervening' (¹³⁴) of the Time of King Muriya, (son of Mura or Murā, Chandra-gupta), he causes to be made this cave, of six poles, (to be) called 'Arkāsan'. (¹³⁵)

(¹³⁶) He (is) the King of Prosperity (Kshema), the King of Extension [of the empire] (or, a 'King to the old People'),

(¹²⁷) Some part of the buildings attached to the Arhat Temple. Probably the building for meetings and discussions.

(¹²⁸) See Banerji, Ep. Ind. XIII, 166.

(¹²⁹) Bull is the sacred animal associated with the First Jina Rishabhadeva. Apparently they were dedicated to the Arhat (Rishabhadeva's) temple, and maintained in some sort of what we now call a Pinjarapole.

(¹³⁰) Yet unknown.

(¹³¹) According to the Vaikhāṇasa-Dharma, a Kshatriya could become a t̥āpasa (vāna-prasthīn) but not a bhikṣū (ascetic, the 4th āsramin). Buddhism and Jainism would not recognize this caste disability. Hence I have translated the t̥āpasa by *ascetic*.

(¹³²) The verb apparently is; in the next line, "patīṭhāpayati".

(¹³³) Sumutha-pati.

(^{133a}) Bh. on his mistaken reading referred the pillars to imaginary Patālaka, Chetaka, and Vaiduryagarha "caves".

(¹³⁴) That is, 100, 60, 5.

(¹³⁵) See discussion above. *Arkās* figures in Jain mythology. See sub अर्क; St. Petersburg Dictionary, 2nd ed.

(¹³⁶) There is a vertical stop marking the end of the text of biography and to separate the peroration.

a King to the Bhikshus (or, though King yet a *bhikṣu*), the King of Dharma who has been seeing to, listening to and experiencing welfare (*kalyāṇas*).....

.....King Khara-vela-Śrī, the Great Conqueror, descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sages, one who (has kept on) crushing empires, Wielder of Empire, one whose Empire remains protected, one whose chariot, standard (¹⁸⁷) and army could not be obstructed, Rebuilder (or, Reformer) of....., one who respects every sect, one who is an expert by virtue of special qualities.....

Line 17.

(¹⁸⁷) Probably "Vehicles" (*vāhans*) but it is already implied in the "chariot".



APPENDIX A.

IMPORTANT DATES IN THE INSCRIPTION.

Cir. 1460 B. C.	...	Ketu-Bhadra (round figure in centuries).
Cir. 460 B. C.	...	Nand rule in Kalinga (round figure in centuries).
[286 B. C.]	...	Death of Asoka.]
[Cir. 220 B. C.]	...	Foundation of the Third dynasty of Kalinga.]
[Cir. 213 B. C.]	...	Foundation of the Sātavāhana Dynasty.]
197 B. C.	...	Birth of Khāravala.
[188 B. C.]	...	Fall of the Maurya Dynasty-Acc. of Pushyamitra.]
182 B. C.	...	Khāra-vela as Yuvarāja.
[Cir. 180 B. C.]	...	Acc. of Sātakarni I.]
173 B. C.	...	Coronation of Khāra-vela.
165 B. C.	...	First Invasion of Magadha ; " Battle of Gorathagiri " (Banerji).
161 B. C.	...	Second Invasion of Magadha.
160 B. C.	...	Date of the Inscription and the cave.

APPENDIX B.

GORATHAGIRI.

The record of the engagement which took place between Khāra-vela and some military force of Brihaspatimitra at the Gorathagiri made me think whether the Gorathagiri (Barabar Hills) in ancient days was a military station—a garrison fortress—as an outer defence to Pāṭaliputra. I consulted Mr. Jackson to whom we owe the identification of *Gorathagiri* * and who has a minute knowledge of the Gaya hills, as to the existence of any remains of ancient fortifications there. He told me that there were such remains.

Mr. Jackson has kindly sent me a report of his observations which he wrote in 1913 (Patna College Magazine). From that it appears that the main remains would go back to the Mauryan times and some time earlier.† As the information contained in the report is original and important, especially in view of our now increased knowledge of the history of the locality, I place the following extract on record:—

“*Fortifications and rock-markings.*—Inside the Barabar enclosure the stone foundations of buildings can be seen in various places, notably upon and to the east of the artificially raised area at the foot of the Siddheswarnath hill due north of the caves, and in the jungle towards the south-western end of the valley. The whole enclosure is too small to have been the site of any large town, but the natural strength of the position and the fact that the defences are strengthened at all vulnerable places by stone walls render it reasonable to suppose that it formed a refuge used in times of danger by the people who ordinarily lived in the plains and valleys outside. Apparently the main town was at the foot of the artificial road leading down from the strongly fortified eastern gate of the enclosure. In this part of the plain now called Ram-Gaya, there are

* The identification illustrates how an inscription of even five letters may prove helpful in disclosing the past history of the country.

† That is, the period of Pāṭaliputra.

numerous rectangular heaps of rocks marking the site of ancient buildings, and it is interesting to observe that the buildings here and also inside the enclosure were considerably larger than the majority of those which can be traced in Old Rajagriha. The town seems to have extended over the Ram-Gaya plain as far as the little hill called Murali, which is noteworthy for its artificially flattened top approached from the north and south by roads of gentle gradient, evidently intended for wheeled vehicles.

"In December 1909 I discovered an important fort west of the caves, on the top of the southern ridge of the hills which surround the Barabar enclosure. Several examples of this type of fort, built up of large stones and with a flat top, can be seen in the Rajgir Hills, but nothing else of the kind seems to have been made in the Barabar Hills except perhaps the foundation on which the Siddheswarnath temple now stands. This fort commands a good outlook over the valley and also over the plain to the south, but it can be approached only from the interior of the enclosure. The artificial road leading up to it was apparently intended for wheeled vehicles, for throughout its length it is wide and of gentle slope, and the granite boulders standing in the way have been scraped or cut away in order to reduce them to the general level of the grade. Along this road there are many interesting rock-markings, some of which are not easy either to describe or to explain. The most common are straight grooves, usually about a foot wide and four to six inches deep, and from fifteen to twenty feet in length. They appear to mark out the limit of the road on one side, and in some places it seems as if these grooves were intended to retain the foundations of a stone wall on rocks having a slight natural slope. In other places, however, it appears impossible to suppose that there could ever have been a wall, and perhaps the grooves here were intended to hold planks or logs of wood on which a wooden road surface was supported. In addition to the grooves, several deep rectangular sockets are cut into the rock at various

places, but these seem to have no relation to each other or to the general direction of the road.

"It would be interesting to know what sort of instrument was used to make the long and approximately parallel scratches in the granite, by means of which these grooves were scooped out and the boulders cut away to level surfaces. It seems to have been the same as that used for excavating the caves, judging by some of the marks left on unfinished portions of the Lomas Rishi cave.

"The first part of the road up to the fort runs due south, and the place where it begins to ascend from the valley is marked by one of the long grooves in a smooth granite slope. After passing a second groove in the same rock, the road turns west, and reaches a level space. From this point there is no difficulty in tracing the rest of the road, which continues to run west, for the training wall on the valley side is still almost entire.

"On the eastern side of the hill called Murali in the Ram Gaya plain, just below the levelled top, there are groove markings of the type just mentioned. There can be no doubt these were intended to keep the foundations of a wall from slipping down, for part of the wall has actually slipped out of its groove, and parts which remain have their foundations clearly resting in the groove.

"On the other hand, on a low sloping ridge of rock about fifty yards to the west of the Vapiya and Vadathi caves in the Nagarjuni Hill, there are two groove-markings about fifteen feet long and about twenty-five feet apart. There are no signs of a wall at this place, and indeed there could be no possible reason for a wall there. As the marks come to an end where the slope of the rock becomes steeper, it is almost impossible to imagine what purpose they could have served."

The local tradition also, according to the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham, asserts that in ancient days the hills formed a stronghold, or fortress, 'the gaps leading to the inner enclosure being walled up'. It seems that as Pataliputra was open to an attack from the south, the Gorathagiri which lay on the way to the capital

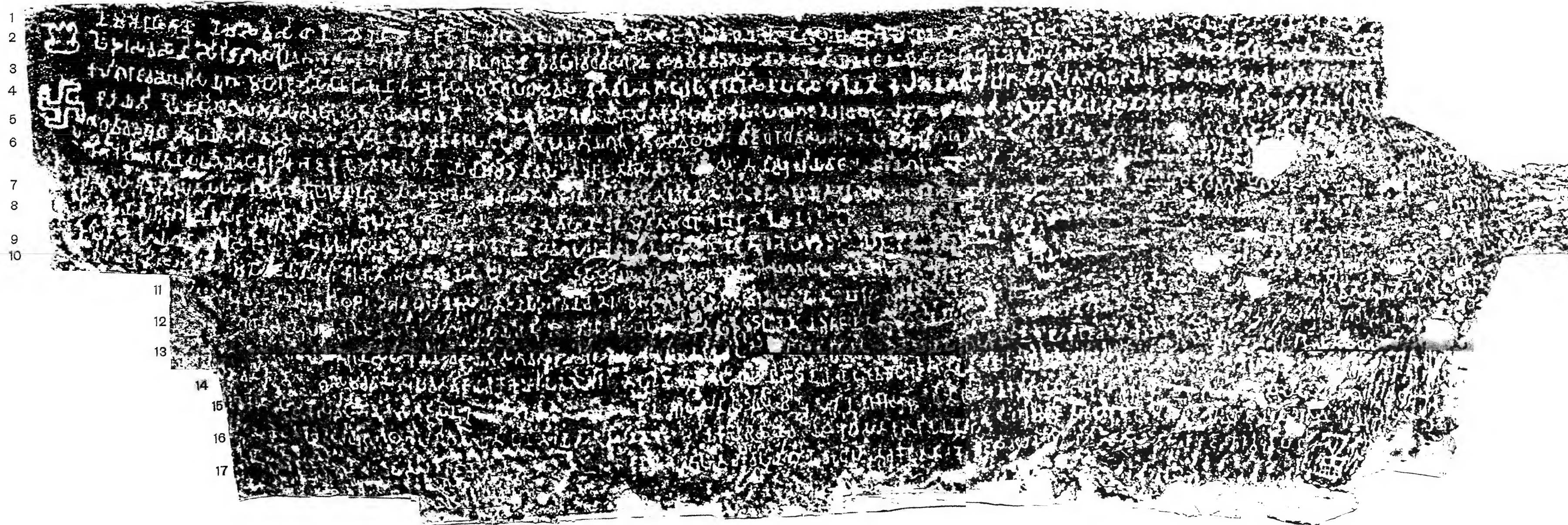
was made a fortified position. It must have been treated as the first line of defence on the southern side of Pāṭaliputra. On the north and the west Pāṭaliputra had two mighty rivers. The immediate defences on the south and the east were, of course, the labyrinth of military ditches and the palisades. It is noteworthy that the Mahā-bhārata which mentions the Gorathagiri in connexion with the earlier period of Rājagriha, does not refer to any fortifications there. The fortifications therefore may be dated in the period of Pāṭaliputra.



HATHI GUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARA-VELA.

REDUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL AT ONE-FIFTH SCALE FOR J.B.O.R.S.

Plate I.



HATHI GUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF
KHARA-VELA.

END OF LINES 5 TO 10.

REDUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL AT ONE-FIFTH SCALE FOR J.B.O.R.S.



Plate II



HATHI GUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF
KHARA-VELA.

CONCLUDING LINES

REPRODUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL AT THE MITHAN SCALE FOR 1/8000



Impression of the dated portion in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khara-Vela.

II.—A Further Note on the Hāthīgumphā Inscription.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.);

1. I have said in my last note that if a *Bṛihaspatimitra* were known amongst the sovereigns of the Śuṅga dynasty I would take the six syllables (*baha-pati-mitam*)¹ following the *king of Magadhā* [*Magadhā cha rājāna(m)*] in line 14 as giving the name of the king of Magadhā. [*Bahapatimitra* would be the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *Bṛihaspati-mitra*]. Now although a king of this name is not known to the Puranic list, yet he is known by his coins and by an inscription of his maternal uncle Āśhādha-sena.² This nobleman's two inscriptions have been discovered at Pabhosā (Kausāmbī) near Allahabad. (*Epigraphia Indica*, II, 242-243.) Inscription No. II looks slightly older than inscription No. I, the *matrās* being wavy in the latter. Inscription No. II has characters of the same type and age as our Hāthīgumphā inscription. The Pabhosa records are assigned to 150 B. C. by Bühler, while the Khara-vela record to 160 B. C.

Bṛihaspati
mitra.

2. Āśhādha-sena, who was the son of the *Rājās* of Ahichhatrā, describes himself as the maternal uncle of King Bahasatimitra (another Prākṛit form of *Bṛihaspatimitra*). *Bṛihaspatimitra* must have been more important than the Rājā of Adhichhatrā, in fact a very important person to be mentioned in this way, as such relationships are not mentioned in inscriptions.

3. Āśhādha-sena at the same time dates his record in the tenth year of *Odraka* or *Udraka*. This name has been read by Führer,

¹ Ought to be read as *mitram*. The outer leg of the *takara* is longer and shows the conjunction of *ra* (See sec. 11 below).

² Also by another of a wife of his, at Mathura, which in characters fully agrees with our inscription. It also proves that *Bṛihaspatimitra* occasionally lived at Mathura, where according to our inscription he retired after the battle of Gorāṭhagiri. For the Mathura inscr. see J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 120.

with hesitation, as *Udāka*. A study of the syllables in his plate will show that the lower end of the dakāra is long, and on a comparison with the *tra* of line 2 it has to be read as *dra* or *drā*. Also traces of a left hand bar attached to the ukāra are visible which may be compared with *me* of the 7th line. The character may be read as an okāra.

4. This *Odraka*, according to the rule observed in recording Indian inscriptions, must have been the king or the overlord of the place where the inscription was engraved. The place was apparently outside the territory governed by the Rājās³ of Ahichhatra but under the suzerainty of Odraka. Who was then this Emperor Odraka?

In the Śuṅga list we have *Odraka* as the fifth ruler. His name is spelt and misspelt as *Odruka*, *Ardraka*, *Andhraka*, *Dhraka*, *Bhadra*, etc. (See Pargiter, PT, 31, n). Variations in the Vāyu MSS. are very great—*Andhaka*, *Drakā*, *Vrika*, etc. The Matsya versions are hopelessly bad—*Nuka*, *Taka*, etc.; only the Vishnu MSS. are comparatively consistent—*Andhraka* or *Odraka*. A dated MS. of 1703 A. C. (Wilson, 108; Bodleian) gives *Odruka* and the same is given by the Burnell MS. (No. 374) of the India Office Library. It is apparent that the original name had three syllables. We can therefore leave out the forms which have only two, e.g.—*Bhadra*, *Dhraka*, etc.⁴ *Repha* persists in all the forms. So the original was either *Andhruka* or *Odraka*. As the former gives no satisfactory meaning we have to accept the other form *Odraka* which is a Prakrit form of *Audraka* or *Udraka*.⁵

5. The age of the Pabhōsa inscription and the political history of the period justify us in identifying Emperor *Udraka* or *Odraka* of Aśhāḍhasena with *Odraka* of the Puranic Imperial Śuṅgas.

³ These rājās were hereditary, as several successions are mentioned by Aśhāḍhasena.

⁴ Unless we suppose that the two variations result from two names of the same person, *Odraka* and *Dhraka*.

⁵ (lit. "One of water.")

Odraka Śuṅga's date works out as follows :—

(1) Pushyamitra	...	: 36
(2) Agnimitra	...	: 8
(3) Su-jyeshṭha or Vasujyeshṭha	:	7
(4) Vasumitra	...	: 8 ⁶
...		<hr/> 59

(5) Odraka.

He being the fifth comes 59 years after Pushyamitra¹, i.e., in 129 B.C. The Pabhosa inscription is dated in his 10th year, therefore its date would be 120 B.C.²

As Odraka's mention is without specifying territory, so is that of Bahasatimitra. This is indicative of the imperial posi-

¹ Wilson and Hall, Ms.

² 188 B. C., J. B. O. R. S., I., p. 116.

³ The Purāṇas are in confusion about his reign-period. Some MSS. give him 7 years and others 2. Probably the original had 7+2, i.e. nine years completed. The inscription thus would have been engraved in his last year.

In the light of the Pabhosa inscription the Śuṅga years would range thus :—

(1) Pushyamitra	...	: 36
(2) Agnimitra	...	: 8
(3) Vasujyeshṭha	...	: 7 (some MSS. put him 4th.)
(4) Vasumitra	...	: 8

59 (as against the Jaina data: 80 years for Pūsamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra, I. A. 1917, July, issue.)

(5) Odraka	...	: 9
(6) Pulindaka (or Madhunandana)	:	3
(7) Ghosha-vasu	...	: 3
(8) Vajramitra	...	: 7
(9) Bhāga	...	: 22 (to be corrected from 32.)
(10) Devabhūmi	...	: 10

113, as against the dynastic aggregate of 112 of the Purāṇas. Without reading dā-vimśat in the place of dvā-trimśat we go beyond our great guide, the definite total, 112 years, by 10 years. That the mistake lies in the years for Nos. 5 to 10 is made apparent by the Jain data. The only figure which can admit of a reduction by 10 years is that against Bhāga. Such mistakes are very common in the Purāṇas. The only regret is that the correction is not yet confirmed by any MS., although it is fully warranted by the dynastic total.

tion of both sovereigns.⁹ As observed above, the Ahichhatrā family of Ashādha-sena was either gubernatorial or feudatory to the Magadha throne.

6. It is apparent that *Bahastimitra* lived before Odraka Śuṅga (129 B. C.). He must be therefore one of the first four Śuṅgas. We know from Jain sources that some of the Śuṅgas had a double set of names like the Mauryas.¹⁰ The two Jain chronologies (discussed by me in I. A., 1917, July issue) give these equations :

Balamitra = Agnimitra.

Bhānu-mitra = Vasumitra.

We have coins of Agnimitra and Bhānumitra. Now only two names remain which could be identified with Brihaspatimitra : Pushyamitra and Vasu-jayestha. Āshādhasena could have been the "mātula" of Pushyamitra if we credit the former with a ripe age of some 85 years in the tenth year of Odraka. The Ahichhatrā family were Brahmans like the Śuṅgas, an ancestor of Āshādhasena being called *Saunakāyana*. It is possible that Pushyamitra's father who would have been some high official under the later Mauryas married in the Ahichhatra family. It is, of course, also possible that he was the maternal uncle of Vasu-jayestha who either immediately preceded Odraka or flourished a reign earlier. We have no record in coin or stone under the name of either Vasujyeshtha or Pushyamitra, but we have both coins and inscriptions about Brihaspatimitra. If the coins of Agnimitra show signs of a later age than those of Brihaspatimitra, Brihaspatimirta is another name of Pushyamitra. On the other hand, if Agnimitra's coins are earlier than

⁹ It may be compared with the mention of "Kumāra-gupta" in the Mandasore inscription.

¹⁰ I have shown (in a note to be published in I. A.) that Chandra-gupta had another name *Narendra*. Bindusāra and Asoka are known to have two names. Later Mauryas also have two sets. See my paper on Śaṅkuna Chronology. Cf. also the Gupta names.

those of Brihaspati-mitra, Brihaspatimitra is identical with Vasujyeshtha.¹¹

7. The fact that these coins (and several others) belong to one and the same dynasty has been already recognized by numismatists. Now it has to be recognized that they belong to the Śunga dynasty.

8. Now, on a study of the coins I find that the coins of Bahasatimitra are unmistakably earlier than those of Agnimitra and Bhānumitra (Vasumitra). Between the latter two there is no great difference. The reason for that is the short interval (8 years) between the two. But when we take them against the coins of Bahsatimitra the difference between the two sets is pronounced. The i-stroke in the legend of Agnimitra is wavy and curved, which is a sure sign of lateness, while in that of Bahasati it agrees with the older style owing to which Cunningham missed it and read the legend as *Bahasata-mitra*. My friend Mr. Bhandarkar has detected another index. He kindly writes to me that the *ta* is also later in Agnimitra's coins.¹²

Identity of
Brihaspati-
mitra with
Pushya-mitra

9. As the coins of Bahasatimitra are older in age, Bahasatimitra lived before Agnimitra. Brihaspatimitra therefore cannot

¹¹ The identification would affect the interpretation of the Rāja-Muriya-kāla as follows :—If Pushyamitra is identical with Brihaspatimitra the Rāja-Muriya-kāla is counted from Chandra-gupta's coronation. If Brihaspatimitra is identical with Vasujyeshtha, the Rāja-Muriya-kāla is counted not from the coronation of Chandra-gupta but from the year of his abdication and conversion to Jainism. For Pushyamitra's time is 188-162 B.C. and the 164th year of the Muriya-Kāla would coincide with 162 or 161 B.C. Vasujyeshtha's time is, according to his position in differing manuscript, 144 to 137 B.C., or 136 to 129 B.C. The 164th year of the Rāja-Muriya-kāla will fall in or about 137 B.C. and begin in 301 B.C. which is the last year of Chandra-gupta's reign.

It is further evident that no reckoning from the coronation of Aśoka can be reconciled with Rāja-Muriya-kāla. That would take the inscription to c. 100 B.C. which would be opposed to the orthography of this and as well as the Pabhosa inscriptions, and to the date of Odraka and Sātakarni, II. The latter reckoning of Chandra-gupta-kāla (from his abdication) will place Khara-vela in 150-137 B.C. But the possibility of the latter reckoning is excluded by the result of the examination of the so-called Mitra coins (see sec. 8).

¹² The difference between the reigns of Pushyamitra and Agnimitra is of 36 years. For facsimiles of the coins, see Cunningham, C.I.A.

but be identical with Pushyamitra. In this connexion it has to be noted that Brihaspati is the deity of the Pushya Nakshatra (Sāṅkh. Grihya. 1.26.6). Both are according to the Sanskrit usage identical.¹³

10. I noticed the space left before the *ba* of bahapati in our inscription, but at the time I wrote my first note I could not see its significance. Like the space left before Muriya, space was left before another important name, Bahapati-mitra. The space indicates that the word is a proper name of importance. Other instances are the spaces before Nanda's name in line 12, (also in line 6 which, however, might have been due to the fact that it comes after the mention of a regnal year), before Cheta (line 1), and before Khāra-vela in line 17.

11. A re-examination of the impression has disclosed that the u-like mark at the bottom of the *ba* of baha-pati is a shallow abrasion which is not shown on the relief side as part of the original akshara. The irregular scratch before the *ba* which looks like an irregular *ma* is another very shallow abrasion. The relief shows only two dots, one, an anusvāra over the *na* of rājānam and one below, almost parallel with the horizontal bar of the *na*. The dots are joined with a modern scratch, the right-hand side of which has no existence in the relief. The reading of Cunningham, *bahapati-sitam*, was nearer the true reading than that of any one else. A close examination of the last letter will show that the right-hand leg of the *ta* is longer and there is probably a turn towards the left as in the *ra* of prācī in line 10, the akshara

¹³ Similarly Vasumitra's adoption of the regnal name of Bhānumitra is based on an identity between *Vasu* and *Bhānu*, both meaning the sun.

Brihaspatimitra's identification confirms Fleet's theory (J. R. A. S., 1911, 814) that Jupiter (Brihaspati) was identified as Pushya (Tishya) by ancient Hindus. Fleet observed that whether the Hindus knew the full list of the Planets before the time of the Greek astrology "is a moot point." In this connexion I may refer to Baudhayana's *Dharmasūtra* whose date has been accepted as cir. 400 B. C. (Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 259) for the earliest mention of the *grahas*, placed in the order of the week days with two additions. Personally I would place Baudhayana's D.S. about 200 B. C.

therefore is *tra* and not *ta*. I therefore read the word as *Bahapimitram*.†

12. The characters on the coins of Bahasatimitra belong to the age of Khāra-vela's inscription. The form of every letter in the coin can be pointed out in the inscription, except probably of *ha* which has got both bars on the coin equal. This may be compared with the *pa* in *Kasaṣānam* in line 3, where both bars are equal. Even *ha* of the same style is probably to be found in *hita-rata-nasa* of line 6 where the i-stroke makes the *ha* look like a *ṣa*.

13. The discovery of the name of the Magadha king in the Hathigumpha inscription makes us read the Śuṅga chapter of Indian history differently. Ahichchhatrā (Panchāla), Kausāmbi and Ayodhyā, the find-places of the 'Mitra coins' which were considered to have been outside the Śuṅga empire are now proved to have been included in it. Hence a member or the chief of Ahichchhatrā family (Ashadha) dates his inscription in the regnal year of a Śuṅga king at a place outside Ahichchhatrā (Kausāmbi). The find of a number of coins of the dynasty together in one place at Ayodhya is explained by the fact which we already know¹⁴ that Ayodhyā was a second capital of the Śuṅgas.¹⁵

† The mark below *ha* which is taken by Mr. Banerji to be an u-mark, if an original incision, must denote an *r* and not *u*. See the *r* in *prācāt* (l. 10) and in *prāyayati* (l. 12). *Bahraṣati* would also mean *Bṛihaspati*.

¹⁴ See my paper on 'Brahmin Empire.'

¹⁵ In view of the identification of Brihaspati-mitra with Pushyamitra, the so-called 'Mitra coins' may now thus be allotted to the Śuṅga and Kanva kings:

Bahasat-mitra's	...	to	Pushyamitra Śuṅga.
Agnimitra's	...	"	Agnimitra "
Bhānumitra's	...	"	Vasumitra "
Jethamitra's (or Sārya-mitra's (?).)	...	"	{ Vasu-Jyeshṭha or Su-Jyeshṭha "
Ghosha's and Bhadra-Ghosha's (occasionally misread as <i>aseag'hosha</i>)	...	"	{ Ghosha-Vasu or Ghosha "
Indra-mitra's	...	"	Vajra-mitra "
Deva-mitra's	...	"	Deva-bhūti "
Bhūmi-mitra's	...	"	Bhūmimitra Kanva. (This coin is the latest of the Mitra coins. Apparently the Kanvas followed the style of the Śuṅga kings,

Vrihaspati
Maurya.

14. The Divyāvadāna calls the successor of Samprati 'Vrihaspati' (J. B. O. R. S., II, p. 96). He was identical either with Śāliśuka (B. C. 211—210) or his successor Devadharman (B.C. 210—203) as the Divyāvadāna gives two names between him and Pushyamitra. This Vrihaspati cannot be identified with the Brihaspati-Mitra of our inscription for two reasons. 'Mitra' is not a member of the name of the Maurya king. Nor would the letters of the inscription warrant our going back to 203 B. C. Further in that case the inscription would not be dated in the year of the Founder of the family of the vanquished rival. Also, the Maurya Vrihaspati does not come 164 years after King Muriya. The evidence of coins and inscriptions, the date and nomenclature, all point to the identification of Brihaspati-mitra with Pushyamitra Śuṅga and with no one else.

Education of
Khāra-vela.

15. As to the education of Khāra-vela, I should like to invite attention to the Artha-Śāstra (ch. I., 5) where the Kauṭilya lays down the following curriculum for princely education:—

(1) After the chūḍā-karma which was probably done in the 4th year (Manu, II., 35), lipi and saṅkhyāna (writing and numbering) were to be taught to him.

(2) After initiation which according to the Dharmasūtras was performed in the 11th year (Gautama, 1. 6. 11), the Prince learnt, the Vedas and technical political studies from theoretical and practical teachers.

I would also identify *Bhāga-bhādra* of the Besnagar inscription with Bhāga Śuṅga (*bhādra* being only honorific).

There is an intimate connection between the coins of *Bhānumitra* and *Sārya mitra* (J. A. S. B., 1880, 21; 87). They either belonged to one and the same person, or to the immediate successor of Bhānumitra, it also means the sun (Surya).

With our imperfect knowledge of the rest of the Śuṅgas and Kanvas we cannot yet identify the other 'Mitra' coins. The identification of Vajramitra with Indramitra is tentative. We can be surer about the identity of Deva-mitra of the coin with the Deva-bahūti of the Purāṇas. At any rate, our present inscription has led to the identification of the coins of seven of the Brahman sovereigns and to the lithic records of the reign of two of them (Odraka and Bhāga), out of the 12 Śuṅgas and 4 Kanvas. (See my paper on '*Brahmin Empire*' for the 12 Śuṅgas.)

(3) In his 16th year the beard-shaving ceremony was performed, a ceremony observed also by the early Anglo-Saxons. He could be married after the 16th year.

(4) After the 16th year he discussed every day with Professors, went into military training, and learnt law and history.

According to the Dharma-sūtras one's education was in later times completed in this 24th year, as Śvetakétu is recorded to have done. Similarly the practical training of a prince was apparently carried on till the end of the 24th year as in the case of Khāra-vela.

Khāra-vela's training begins after 15 (line 2), he is said to have played games till that year. From the 16th to the 24th he was *yuva-rāja*. During this period, that is, after the 15th year (*tato*) he learnt *lekha-rupa-gananā-vevahāra*. His *lekha* therefore cannot refer to the *lipi* or 'writing' of the Artha-Śāstra; it will refer to the *lekhyas* or royal correspondence of the Artha-Śāstra (I. 31). His *rūpa* will likewise refer to the coinage or currency of the A. S., chapter I. 33,¹⁶ and his *gananā* was the *gananā* of the Finance Department of the A. S., chapter I. 28. His next subject *vevahāra* is law which comes in the studies after the 16th year in the Artha-Śāstra. *Lekha-rupa-gananā* coming just before law and after the 15th year cannot refer to the "three R's." as supposed by Dr. Bühler (Indian Paleography, p. 5). He must have learnt his three R's. before his 16th year, in view of the Dharma Sūtras and the Artha-Śāstra. The passage in the Mahā-vagga on which Bühler relied (I.49) supports my interpretation. *Rūpa* there is explained by Buddhaghosha thus: "He who learns the rūpa-sūtra must turn over and over many *kārshāpanas*".¹⁷ (There *lekḥā* and *gāṇanā* are studies which ensured a good living in after life to the learner but *lekḥā* entailed hard work at the desk, and *gananā* threatened with

¹⁶ For this interpretation of *rūpa* I am indebted to Professor Chakladar, who drew my attention to the A. S. reference.

¹⁷ S. B. E., 13, 201, n.

consumption. This shows they were not elementary studies, as Bühler thought. They were studies to enable one to take up service in the *lekḥya*, *ganaṇā* and *rāpa* Departments. There were separate text-books or *sūtras* for these studies, as Buddhaghosha implies.

16. There is a MS. in the Indian Museum in old Oriya characters which according to Mr. Haraprasad Shastri belongs to the fourteenth century A. C.¹⁸ This manuscript gives these śloka which I have obtained by the courtesy of Mr. Bhandarkar.

LEAF B (OBVERSE).

(1) Ahiro nāma Raj=ābhūt ch=Otkale vidyate purā [1] Ahimsā-dharmam=āśritya Buddha-dharma-parāyaṇaḥ [1] Nanda-rāja suvikhyātaḥ Magadhe vidyate tadā [1] S=ākāra-pāśako Nandah veda-dharma-parāyaṇaḥ [1] Nandasya sahito yuddhe Airo jitavān bhavet [1].

(2) Airo jayam=āpnoti mahā-hṛṣṭena mānasah [1] svadharma ch=otkale khyātiḥ Veda-dharma-vināśakah [1] Aśokasya mahāmittrah Airah Utkalēśvarah [1] Eka-prastara-khaṇḍe tu purāṇaḥ parvat=ottamah [1] Khaṇḍagir-iti nām=āsan pavitra ch=otkale bhuvi [1] Nivāsa-

(3) karaṇ=ārthāya daiva-bāṇi tu prāptavān [1] "Asmin nivasatu rājan yāvat-tisṭhati medinī [1] Tāvat kālasu paryyantah tava kirtti virājate" [1] Daiva-bāṇi śrute Airah harsanirbhara-mānasah [1] Kosalā-nagaram tyaktyā Khaṇḍa-sailā-samīpatu [1].

The substance of the verses which in places are vitiated by errors of the copyist, can be gathered as follows :—

(a) That Kalinga had been conquered by the kings of Magadha, and that it was liberated by one *aira* (king) who defeated a Nanda king of Magadha.

(b) That the Nandas were Vedic, orthodox Hindus; and the Aira was heterodox (Jain or Buddhist).

(c) That the Aira was a great enemy of Aśoka.

¹⁸ According to Pandit Vidyāvinoda, of the Indian Museum, as Mr. Bhandarkar informs me, it can be safely assigned to the sixteenth century A. C.

(d) That the former capital of the Aira was Kosalā (South Kosala) and that the Aira removed his capital to the Khandagiri at "Eka-Prastara" spot.

17. It is apparent that the Aira who lived from the time of Nanda up to Aśoka could not have been one and the same Aira. *Aira* therefore indicates a series of kings. It may be taken that the Aira king defeated the last Nanda who was called by Alexander's companions the king of the Prāchî and Gangaridæ (= Kalinga). The liberation was probably effected in the last days of Nava-Nanda. His predecessor Maha-padma was too powerful to have lost Kalinga. *Aira* therefore was possibly a title used by the kings of the second dynasty of Kalinga also, and probably Khāra-vela's family was an offshoot of that dynasty.

18. The former capital of the *Airas* was *Kosalā* which is found with the same spelling in the Purāṇas as a neighbour of Kalinga. Yuan Chwang describes Southern Kosala adjoining Kalinga to the north-west and above the Andhra country. Yuan Chwang's Kalinga was the 7th century Kalinga, about Rāja-Mahendri. He had come down from Orissa about 2,600 *li* and then again went up north-west 1800 *li* to the capital of Southern Kosalā. He must have therefore gone to some place near Nawagarh. As Kosalā adjoined Udra (Orissa) according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa it was situated somewhere between or about Nawagarh and Sonepur.¹⁹

The Airas of Kosalā moved to Utkala (Orissa) and founded their capital in the Khandagiri at Eka-Prastara. This must have been done before the conquest by Aśoka, great enemy of the Aira. It is to be noticed that the capital of Kalinga before Aśoka and after the Nandas, is called Parthali (by Megasthenes) which corresponds with the Prastara of our MS. By its location in the Khandagiri, it seems to have been identical with Dhauli (= Toshālī).

19. Kosalā gives a clue to the history of Khāra-vela's family in the Purāṇas. I looked up the Purāṇas and found the

¹⁹ This is confirmed by inspectors of the eleventh century. Kosala then included Sonepur State, J. B. O. R. S., 2, 47.

information that amongst the dynasties which arose during the Andhra-period, i.e., after cir. 213 B.C. (their "post-Andhras") there was :—

- (1) the dynasty of Kosalā (south Kosala) ;
- (2) who were commonly known as the *Meghās*; ²⁰
- (3) who were "very powerful" and "wise" ; and
- (4) whose kings were nine in number.

By *Meghās* the *Megha-Vāhana* style is indicated. It is important to notice that they are called "very powerful". The *Meghavāhanas*, nine in number, starting with Cheta-rāja would have come down to the latter half of the first century A.C. They occur in the list of the contemporary dynasties commencing with the Nāgas of Vidiśā who are said to have arisen before the fall of the Śūngas. ²¹

20. This agreement of the Kosalā *airas* of the Oriya MS. with the Puranic *Meghas* of Kosalā stamps the MS. with genuineness. It is based on old historical tradition. The great value of the MS. consists in the fact that it throws light on the Nanda chapter of Kalinga history and establishes the identity of the Kalinga Nandas with the Magadha Nandas. It also confirms the reading *aira* of our inscription.

21. The connexion of the family of Khāra-vela and of the former dynasty with Kosalā deserves consideration with reference to the Maurya rule in Orissa. The Kalinga of Aśoka is situated between his Khaṇḍagiri (Dhauli) and Ganjam (Jaugarh) proclamations inviting "the free neighbours" (*avijita antās*) to trust Aśoka who holds out a sacred ('immutable') promise of goodwill and advises them to accept Buddhism. This proves that the Andhras on one side and the Kosalās on the other were

²⁰ *Meghā* iti samakhyatā°. Pargiter, p. 51.

²¹ Some of the dynasties are literally post-Andhras (*Andhrānte anvayāh*), e.g., the Guptas; while there are some avowedly contemporary with the Andhras, e.g., Sakas, Yavanas, and also the Nāgas of Vidiśā. Mr. Pargiter is wrong in dividing these dynasties into the periods of Christian era. The only method possible is to stick to the Puranic division of "the post-Andhras" and "the contemporary minor dynasties."

"unconquered" (avijita).²² Hence Kosalā afforded a place of refuge for the independence of the legitimate rulers of Kalinga. During the time of weakness of the Maurya and Śuṅga dynasties the "airas" who now called themselves *Megha-vāhanas* liberated Orissa once more.

22. As observed above, the Mūshika capital lay to the west of Kalinga. Between the Mūshika country and Kalinga proper there was Kosalā.²³ The Mūshika country therefore would have included Kanker and extended to the west towards the Penganga. In his campaign against the Mūshika capital Khāra-vela was the helper of the Kāśyapa Kshatriyas. While writing my first note I could not identify them. Finding a close connexion between Khāra-vela's history and Kosalā, I came to the conclusion that these Kāśyapas must have been some powerful community near about Kosalā. They must have been on Khāra-vela's way from Orissa-Kosalā to the West. Most of the present-day rulers of the Feudatory States of Orissa or rather old Kosalā are the Bhanjas. They call themselves Kshatriyas and in a copper-plate grant of the Bhanja Rājas of Band they are described as Kāśyapas²⁴ of the Solar race. They were and their descendants still are in the old Kosalā country adjoining Orissa. They had their seat at Koṭṭa which must have been near Kosalā.

Identification
of the
Kāśyapa
Kshatriyas.

²² The stupa which Yuan Chwang saw in Southern Kosala, attributed to Aśoka, was probably the result of this semi-political invitation to accept Aśoka's dharma.

²³ In the time of Khāra-vela as now incorporated in Orissa. It would have been the tract about Sonepur extending probably towards Kalahandi.

²⁴ J. B. O. R. S., 2. 363, 366. The Kāśyapa family origin led to a secondary legend of their being *Anājya-vamsas*.

III.—Note on the Hāthigumpha Inscription of Kharavela.

By R. D. Banerji, M. A.

This record is incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hāthigumpha, an artificial cavern on the southern face of the Udayagiri hill. The Udayagiri is the northern part of that low range of hills called Kharādagiri, situated at a distance of about three miles from Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa. It was noticed for the first time by Stirling in 1825,¹ and was published by James Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837.² In 1877, Sir Alexander Cunningham published a drawing of another eye-copy in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I.³ Another facsimile was published by the late Rājā Rajendralāla Mitra in 1880 in the second volume of his *Antiquities in Orissa*.⁴ A workable version of this important inscription was published for the first time by the late Dr. Bhagwanlāl Indraji in the *Proceedings of the VIth International Congress of Orientalists* held at Leyden in 1885.⁵ Dr. Indraji's version of the text and its translation was regarded as authoritative up to 1910. In 1895⁶ and 1898,⁷ the late Hofrath Dr. George Bühler proposed certain corrections. In 1910, Prof. H. Lüders published a summary of the inscription and stated that there was no date in the record. In the same

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 313 ff.

² *J. A. S. B., O. S.*, Vol. XI.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 27, pl. XVIII.

⁴ *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 16.

⁵ *Actes du Sixieme Congress International des Orientalistes*, pt. III, sec. II, pp. 152-177.

⁶ *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 13.

⁷ *Origin of the Brāhma Alphabet*, p. 13, ff.

year the late Dr. J. F. Fleet published two short notes⁸ proposing certain corrections in the 16th line of this record where, according to Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī, a date in a hitherto unknown era of the Mauryas had been given. In 1913 I examined this line of the inscription at the request of Mr. K. P. Jāyaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law and found that, though this portion of this line had suffered badly from corrosion, the letters could be made out with certainty⁹. Relying on my statement Mr. Jāyaswal stated, "Apart from the mention by Tārānāth of his (Nandivardhana's) conquests on the Bay of Bengal, Khāravela in his inscription (dated in the 165 Maurya year=160 B. C.) mentions a canal excavated near Tosali (Tanasuliya) by Nandarāja '300 years' back."¹⁰ "Dr. Fleet (J. R. A. S., 1910, 826-27) doubted the accuracy of Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī's reading of the inscription. Mr. R. D. Banarji has rightly verified for me the reading with the original inscription. He found Dr. Bhagwānlāl's reading perfectly accurate with the exception that he would read the 5th word of the first line as *Kharena* instead of *Verena*. In line 16th *Panamtariya* is quite perfect while the words *Sathi-vasa-sate* have mostly worn out."¹¹ In March 1917, Mr. V. A. Smith, I. C. S. (retired), requested myself and Mr. Jāyaswal to clear up the meaning of the Khāravela inscription and to prepare a version of it. Accordingly I set out for Khandagiri in June 1917 with the kind permission of Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., LITT. D., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., Director General of Archaeology in India, and prepared two inked impressions of this record. An inked impression of this inscription was prepared under the supervision of late Dr. T. Bloch in 1906 which we believe was sent to late Prof. Kielhorn of Gottingen.

The inscribed surface is convex in shape and its first five lines only have remained perfect. The right half of lines 7 to 13

⁸ J. R. A. S., 1910, pp. 242, ff and 824.

⁹ Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. I., p. 80, note 55.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 80.

¹¹ Ibid, note 55.

has suffered considerable damage, the first two or three words only of lines 7 to 10 being legible. The last four lines of the record have also suffered in several places. The first ten or twelve letters of the last 7 lines have disappeared entirely.

The entire inscribed surface has suffered very badly from exposure to wind, and rain of at least twenty centuries. Before an impression was taken I could read very little of this record, even from the scaffolding which had been erected at my request by the Public Works Department. Great credit is due to the late Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī for his wonderful achievement. He was a private person and perhaps alone. I was aided by two well-skilled artists and another scholar, Prof. Kālidās Nāg, M. A., Professor of History in the Scottish Churches' College. Even then I could never even approach, with all the resources of the Indian Museum at my disposal, what Bhagwānlāl did with his eyes.

The inscription was incised according to the orders of Khāravela, a king of Kalinga, who was descended from the Cheta family and records a short history of his reign up to the 13th year. The record throws considerable light on the history of India in the second century B. C. when the empire of Chandragupta and Āśoka had crumbled into decay, when the usurper Pusyamitra was ruling over the fragments of the Maurya empire and when the Andhras of Southern India having acquired power, had advanced northwards, and had perhaps conquered Mālava.

There had been much difference of opinion among scholars about the date of this record :—

(1) According to Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī, the inscription was incised in the 13th year of the reign of Khāravela which corresponded to the 165th year of the Maurya Era, which was counted from the date of Āśoka's conquest of Kalinga, in the 8th year of the reign of that monarch. According to Bhagwānlāl and Sir Alexander Cunningham, Āśoka's coronation took place in 263 B.C. According to this mode of calculation, Kalinga was conquered in 255 B.C. and the 165th year of the Maurya Era fell in 90 B.C. Khāravela therefore ascended the throne of Kalinga in 103 B.C.

(2) According to the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, there is no date in this inscription, but Khāravela's date can be ascertained from other data furnished by this record.¹²

(3) According to Prof. H. Lüders, there is no date in this record, but his idea of the approximate date of Khāravela may be ascertained from the summary of this record published in his List of Brāhmī inscriptions. According to this summary Khāravela in his fifth year "had an aqueduct that had not been used for 103 years since king Nanda (or since the Nanda kings?) conducted into the city."¹³ Therefore according to Dr. Lüders' idea the 5th year of Khāravela coincided with the year 103, counted either from the beginning or from the end, or from some intermediate year of the reign of king Nanda or the kings of Nanda dynasty. Therefore, according to this method of calculation, the coronation of Khāravela must have taken place, in the 98th year, counted, from the beginning, or from the end, or from some other year of the reign of king Nanda or the kings of the Nanda dynasty.

(4) According to Mr. V. A. Smith, Khāravela's accession to the throne took place in 223 B.C. If we assume 322 B.C. as the end of the Nanda dynasty, the fifth year of Khāravela would be 103 years later, viz., 219 B.C. and his accession should be placed about 223 B.C.¹⁴

None of these views now appear to be tenable. Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī's version of Khāravela's date is impossible, because in the first place, Cunningham's view of the date of Asoka's coronation has been proved to be incorrect by various writers; in the second place, the initial year of the Maurya Era can hardly be taken to have been counted from the year of Asoka's coronation or from any other subsequent year of his reign; and in the third place, the idea of counting the era from the date of the conquest of a province of another kingdom is unprecedented. Asoka has been very much

¹² *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 242 ff., 824 ff.

¹³ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. X, App. pp., 160-1, No. 1345.

¹⁴ *V. A. Smith's Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., p. 207, note 2.

magnified by Buddhists on account of his predilection for that religion and his efforts for the improvement and the expansion of that faith, but from the political point of view Chandragupta, the founder of the dynasty, the conqueror of the Greeks and the first known Emperor of India is the more important figure. The Maurya Era, if its existence has to be admitted, must be taken to have been counted from the date of Chandragupta's accession. We may therefore safely reject Dr. Bhagwānlal Indrajī's version of the date of Khāravela's accession. The remaining versions of the date of Khāravela's accession depend upon each other.

The late Dr. J. F. Fleet was the first person to doubt the existence of the date in the Maurya Era in this record. In two notes, contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Dr. Fleet tried to prove that, the passage in line 16 of the Hathigumpha inscription does not contain any date in the Maurya Era, but, on the other hand, refers to certain canonical text of the Jainas, which went out of use during the reign of the Mauryas. It is evident, even to the most casual reader, that Dr. Fleet's efforts were really directed at the negation of the existence of a Maurya Era in India and that his two notes on the Hathigumpha inscription were really a part of his scattered contributions on the date of Kāṇiṣka and the chronology of the Scythian period. As has been stated elsewhere, Dr. Fleet maintained up to the time of his death, Sir Alexander Cunningham's abandoned theory about the date of Kāṇiṣka's accession, that Kāṇiṣka came to the throne in 58 B.C. and was the real founder of the era which was counted from 58 B.C. and which in latter days has become known as the era of Vikrama.¹⁵ In his numerous papers on this subject Dr. Fleet had tried to establish that the Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. is the oldest Indian Era. The existence of an era founded by Mauryas is fatal to the truth of such a statement. Dr. Sten Konow, in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1905-6*, had mentioned that the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela

¹⁵ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 913-20, 965-1011.

contained a date in the Maurya Era. The late Dr. Fleet, while reviewing this volume in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1910, says: "In the course of his remarks Dr. Konow has mentioned the Hathigumpha inscription of king Khāravela and has observed as an *obiter-dictum* that 'it is dated in the year 165 of the Maurya Era'."¹⁶ Dr. Konow had, in fact, recorded the generally accepted opinion about the date of the Hathigumpha inscription, in the summary of the epigraphical work done during the year 1905-6 and when he wrote this summary, not a single voice had been raised against the interpretation of Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī. Dr. Fleet admitted this and went on to interpret the 16th line in a different way. He stated, "The record is primarily devoted to acts done by Khāravela to promote the Jaina faith."¹⁷ And while we are not prepared to say just now, what may be the exact meaning of the words in which the Pandit found 'in the 165th year' we can say that the whole passage does not represent any date but tells us that Khāravela restored some texts and the 64th chapter or other division of the collection of the seven Āṅgas which had been neglected since (?) the time of the Maurya king or kings." In a later issue of the Journal for the same year, the deceased scholar published his own version of the reading of that portion of the 16th line according to Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī contained the date in the Maurya era. According to Dr. Fleet the middle portions of the 16th line runs as follows :—

Pana (or ? *naṁ*) *tariya saccha* (or ? *ṭhi*) *vasa (sate) (rā)*
ja-(Muri)ya-kāla (or ? *le*) *vochhine cha choyaṭṭha a* (or ? *aṭṭha*)-*ga*
satikatariya ch=upādayati.

¹⁶ *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 826-7.

¹⁷ It may be stated here that Dr. Fleet was totally mistaken in taking this record to be a version of the acts done by Khāravela for the promotion of the Jaina faith. The Hathigumpha inscription is a secular record and records all performances of king Khāravela who belonged to the Jaina faith up to the 13th year of his reign.

Even at this time Dr. Fleet had not come to any conclusion about the manner in which the existence of a Maurya era may be discredited. Having presented his version of the words which according to Bhagwānlāl contains the date, he proceeded to attack two words of the same clause separately. He had not been able even to decide whether *Pāṇāṁtariya* was intended for *Paṁnatrā* or *Prajñaptārya* and he quoted Cunningham and relied on his crude eye-copy to read *Sachavasa* instead of *Saṭhi-vasa*.

After converting *Saṭhi* into *Sachā*, the late Dr. Fleet proceeded to interpret the second portion of the date. *Vochhine cha choyathā aga-sati-kutariya* meant according to Dr. Bhagwānlāl "the 64th (year) increased by 100 having expired". Dr. Fleet reads this as:—

Choyathā aṅga-sati-katariya. The Prakrit equivalent of this is *Choyatṭhaṁ aṅga-Sattik-aṁtariyaṁ*.

Such a pronouncement from an orientalist of Dr. Fleet's position required very careful consideration. I had examined this line for Mr. Jāyaswal in 1913 and found, that Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī's text, of this line at any rate, required no correction. But we felt the necessity of mechanical estampages to prove the correctness of our statements and when these estampages were being prepared I examined this line very carefully from all possible angles. I found that the words expressing date in this line run as follows:—

Pāṇāṁtariya saṭhi-vasa-sa(ṭe) Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochhine cha choyathā aga-satikuturiya-(ṁ) upādāyāti.

There cannot be any doubt about the fact that the line means:—"In the era of the Maurya kings, one hundred and sixty years increased by five, (when the year) one hundred, increased by sixty-four, had expired." The reading of this portion of the 16th line differs in one important point from the original and this difference destroys the interpretation suggested by him. The original has *agasatikuturiyaṁ* and not *agasatikatariyaṁ* as supposed by Dr. Fleet and most probably by Dr. Lüders as well. The *u* mark is very distinct at the right

lower extremity of *ta*. This mark is not so very distinct at the end of the vertical line of *ka* but the chisel mark is plain enough. A comparison with the *ku* in *Kumārī* of line 14 will show, that what was originally inscribed, was *Ku* and not *Ka*. This shows that there cannot be any reference to any Jaina *aṅga* in this line.

Having put a different interpretation on the words containing the date in this inscription Dr. Fleet proceeds to determine the date of Khāravela from certain other data supplied by this record. In his second note Dr. Fleet says, "Though however, the record is not dated in the year 165 of a Maurya Era, it can, I think, be dated by something which it has in line 11. The record there mentions an act which Khāravela did in the 11th year of his reign. It does not say (as was supposed by the Pandit) that in the city of Gadabha he removed the toll levied by previous kings as also *Tanapadabhavana*, for 1300 years." It says with some supplementary details which are not clear that he "resettled an *Uḍaṅga*, *uḍḍaṅga*, *Uḍraṅga*, a 'town' of some kind (?), *pāmtḥuḍḍaṅga* 'a market town' for the convenience of travellers; or (?) *pāṭḥuḍḍaṅga*, 'a studying town,' which had been founded by former kings, or by a former king and had been deserted. And taking *terasavasa sata* as meaning, not '1300 years', but (with equal ease) '113 years,' we may gather that the town had been ruined 113 years previously, when Aśoka conquered the Kalinga countries; on which occasion (as we know from the 13th rock-edict) much havoc was wrought. That event happened in the ninth year after the anointment of Asoka to the sovereignty that is, in B. C. 256; see my table in this Journal, 1909, 27. And in this way the eleventh year of Khāravela may be fixed as beginning in B. C. 143; and the inscription, which ends with a record of acts done in the thirteenth year, may be placed in B. C. 141 or 140. This result, however, does not restore the idea of a Maurya Era; it only points, as indeed does the whole record, to a careful chronicle having been written up in Kalinga." The inked impressions prepared by me will show that the name of the town founded by the

former kings is *Pathuda-gadabha*. It cannot be as suggested by the late Dr. Fleet either *Panthud-damga*, "a market town for the convenience of travellers" or *Pāthudḍamga*, "a studying town" as the *i* mark over *pa*, as well as the dot in the centre of the circular second syllable, is very clear. Either the name of the town is Pithuda-gadabha or the proper name is *Dabha* and the four syllables preceding it, an adjunct. It should be noticed in this connection that Dr. Lüders takes the word Pithuda as the proper name. Most probably Dr. Lüders separates the term *Pithudagadabhanagale* into two parts, taking the first part *Pithuda* as the proper name and the second *gadabhanagale* as an adjunct, meaning a town where *darbha* or *Kusa* grass grows, i.e., a deserted town. According to Dr. Fleet, this town had been ruined 113 years previously, when Aśoka conquered Kalinga countries and that event happened in the ninth year after the anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty, i.e., in B. C. 256. Counting 113 years from B. C. 256 which according to Dr. Fleet is the ninth year after the anointment of Aśoka, we arrive at 143 B. C., as the equivalent of the 11th year of Khāravēla. As the ninth year of Aśoka increased by 113 years is equal to the 11th year of Khāravēla's reign, therefore the year of Khāravēla's accession increased by 102 years is equal to the ninth year after the anointment of Aśoka. Therefore, Khāravēla ascended the throne of Kalinga, 111 years after the anointment of Aśoka. Now according to Dr. Lüders, Khāravēla caused an aqueduct, that had not been used for 103 years since king Nanda or since the Nanda kings, to be conducted into the city, in the 5th year of his reign. This view was also shared by the late Dr. Fleet. According to this view, the fifth year of the reign of Khāravēla corresponded with the year 103 counted from the beginning, the end, or from some intermediate year of the reign either of king Nanda or of the kings of the Nanda dynasty. Taking the most liberal view of this date, we may suppose that the year 103 was counted from the last year of the last king of the Nanda dynasty. Therefore Khāravēla came to the throne 98 years after the fall of the Nanda dynasty. Taking these two dates

side by side, we find that the year of Khāravēla's accession was the 111th year, after the accession of Aśoka as well as the 98th after the fall of the Nanda dynasty. If we admit Dr. Fleet's conclusion to be true, along with Dr. Lüders' interpretation of the word *Ti-vasa-satasata* as meaning 103, then we have to admit the impossible conclusion that Aśoka was anointed thirteen years before the fall of the last king of the Nanda dynasty. It was evident therefore that we must reject Dr. Fleet's view of the date of Khāravēla's accession as being impossible. The 11th line of the Hathigumpha inscription merely states that in the 11th year of Khāravēla's reign he caused the worship of the Jina to increase in a town named Pithuda-gadabha, founded by former kings. The phrase *Terasa-vasa-sataka* may mean either 113 or 1300. It appears to me however that it has no connection whatever with the preceding words and has to be connected with a sentence that followed, a considerable portion of which has been deciphered.

According to Prof. H. Lüders, the 5th year of the reign of Khāravēla coincided with the year 103 counted, from the beginning, from the end or, from any intervening year of the reign of king Nanda or the kings of the Nanda dynasty. Taking the most liberal view of the statement, as we have done while considering Dr. Fleet's view of the date of Khāravēla's accession, we may say that the 5th year of Khāravēla coincided with the year 103 counted from the last year of the reign of the last king of the Nanda dynasty. If we accept this view to be correct, then we have to admit that Khāravēla ascended the throne of Kalinga 98 years after the fall of the last king, of the Nanda dynasty. Now after the fall of the Nanda dynasty, Chandragupta the Maurya secured the kingdom of Magadha and with it the supremacy of the Magadha kings, in Northern India. According to the Pāurāṇic lists, as well as the *Dīpavāṃśa* and the *Mahavāṃśa*, Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, reigned for twenty-four years.¹⁸ His son and successor Bindusāra reigned

¹⁸ *J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I. Pt. I, pp. 93. 20. Ibid.*

for twenty-five years, according to Pāurāṇic lists, twenty-eight according to Mahavamśa ¹⁹ and twenty-nine years according to Mr. Jayaswal, ²⁰ who accepts the figure given in the Paurāṇic lists. Bindusāra's son Aśoka reigned for thirty-seven years according to Dipavamśa and forty-one years according to Mahavamśa ²¹ and Mr. V. A. Smith.²² This gives a mean total of eighty-five years for the first three Emperors of the Maurya dynasty. According to these mean dates, Aśoka ascended the throne forty-nine years after the fall of the Nandas and he conquered Kalinga in the 13th year after his accession or the ninth year after the anointment. It would therefore appear that Kalinga became included in the Maurya Empire in the 62nd year after the fall of the Nanda dynasty. According to Dr. Lüders' view Khāravela's accession took place in the 98th year after the fall of the Nandas or the last Nanda king. As Khāravela ascended the throne of Kalinga in his twenty-fourth year and was made a Yuvarāja nine years previously at the age of fifteen, therefore he was born in the seventy-fourth year after the fall of the last Nanda king and was made his heir-apparent in the 89th year. Therefore according to the system of mean regnal years mentioned above, Khāravela was four years of age when Aśoka died after a reign of thirty-six years.

The mention of Khāravela as Yuvarāja and the fact that he was ruling as such proves that his father also was an independent sovereign who was for some reason, age or imbecility, unfit to rule and therefore Khāravela was ruling the kingdom on his behalf. It is certain that there was at least one independent king of Kalinga, before Khāravela, that is Khāravela's father. It is quite certain that Aśoka did not leave any native dynasties independent in Kalinga. His special edicts addressed to the Mahāmātras of Kalinga (*Tosali*) proves this. Had there been any native dynasties at the time of the publication of these

¹⁹ 5.18.

²⁰ *J. B. O. R. S.*, p. 116.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

²² *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed. pp. 196-7.

special edicts they would certainly have been mentioned along with the Mahāmātrās of Tosali in the special edicts of Dhāuli. It is extremely improbable that there was an independent kingdom, ruled by the Cheta dynasty, in Kalinga at any time between the 9th year after the anointment of Aśoka and the date of his death twenty-seven or twenty-three years later. Similarly it is impossible to maintain with the data at our disposal that the Cheta dynasty ruled independently in Kalinga before its conquest by Aśoka and recovered its autonomy immediately after his death. The Chetas appear to have acquired the kingdom of Kalinga during the weak rule of the successors of Aśoka and were probably the governors of that province under them. Later on, in that dynasty, a king appeared, who overran the whole of Magadha, sent an army to the west against the Andhra king, had some connection with the Pāṇḍya king who lived more than a thousand miles to the south, and whose invasions caused such dismay in the heart of the king of Rājagṛīha that he left his armies and allies to their fate and fled to Mithurā and at whose feet, later on, the much magnified king of Magadha bowed down in humility. It is therefore evident that at least one Cheta king ruled in Kalinga after the death of Aśoka and one or two at least of his successors before Khāravela ascended the throne in his twenty-fourth year. It need not be reiterated here that the fifth year of the reign of Khāravela cannot coincide with the 103rd year counted from the last year of the last king of the Nanda dynasty. Consequently it is evident that the fifth year of Khāravela cannot coincide with 103rd year, counted from any other year of the reign of the last or any king of the Nanda dynasty.

The phrase *Ti-vasā-sata* may mean 103 as well as 300 years. Mr. Jayaswal had already recorded in a foot-note that according to him and Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Sāstrī, the phrase *Ti-vasā-sata* means "300". It has been discussed above that it is impossible to render the phrase *Ti-vasā-sata* as "103" in this particular instance. There is no other alternative but to accept their interpretation of the phrase as the only possible one in this particular case. It has been shown above that there is a date in

the 16th line of the Hāthigumphā inscription. Now this date is mentioned along with other events of the 13th year of Khāravela's reign. The wording of the phrase expressing this date clearly shows that the year 164 of the era of the Mauryas had expired and the year 165 of the same era was current in the thirteenth year of the reign of Khāravela. This gives us the year 152 of the Maurya era as the date of Khāravela's accession, so the fifth year of Khāravela is equal to the year 157 of that year. We are, therefore, to count three hundred years backwards from this year of the Maurya era, in order to determine the date of king Nanda who is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription as having excavated a canal which was later on conducted by Khāravela into the city of Kalinga. There are two different theories about the initial year of the Maurya era. According to Mr. Jāyaswal the year 165 of the Maurya era is equal to 160 B. C. therefore according to his views the initial year of the Maurya era is 326-25 B. C.²⁴ According to Mr. Vincent Smith, Chandragupta usurped the throne of Magadha in 322 B. C. If we deduct 157 either from 326 or from 322 then we get 169 or 165 B. C. as the equivalent of the 5th year of the reign of Khāravela. Counting 300 years backwards from either of these two dates we arrive at B. C. 469 or B. C. 465 as the date when the king Nanda or the kings of the Nanda dynasty were the masters of the Kalinga country. These two dates are very significant, as they are very close approximations to the date of the accession of Nandivarddhana or Nanda I, according to Mr. Jāyaswal's calculations, from the data supplied by the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. In Mr. Jāyaswal's paper on "the Saisunāka and Mauryan Chronology and the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa" he arrives at 449 B. C. as the date of the accession of Nanda I or Nandivarddhana. This date is removed by 20 or 16 years from the date we have deducted after counting 300 years backwards from the 5th year of Khāravela's reign, and its equivalent in the era of the Mauryas. A difference of 16 or 20 years, in a synchronistic table, removed from us by two millennia, can be

²⁴ J. B. O. R. S. Vol. I, Part I, p. 80.

looked at with indulgence and it is quite possible that some slight mistake has crept in in the Paurāṇic lists. The approximation of the date of the accession of Nanda I, counted backwards from the 5th year of Khāravela's reign, to that deducted by Mr. Jayaswal from the data in the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas, is very important. It shows plainly, that a further examination of the dates given in the Jaina records, as well as in the Purāṇas, is necessary and perhaps some of the orthodox dates, e. g., the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa are correct.

It has been mentioned above that Khāravela ascended the throne of Kalinga in the year 152 of the Maurya era i. e., 174 or 170 B. C. The Hathigumpha inscription supplies the following important informations about the reign :—

(1) He was appointed heir-apparent (*Yuvarāja*) when he was fifteen years of age and continued to rule as such for nine years.

(2) He was anointed king of Kalinga when he had completed his twenty-fourth year.

(3) He belonged to the third dynasty of the kings of Kalinga.

(4) In the first year of his reign he repaired gates or towers (*Gopura*), ramparts (*pākāra*), inhabited portion (*Nibesanam*) which had been destroyed by a storm, caused camps (? *khibira*), cool tanks or reservoirs (*taḍaga*) and embankments (*pāḍiga*) to be built or excavated in the city of Kalinga, caused many gardens to be planted and delighted thirty-five hundred thousands of his subjects.

(5) In the second year of his reign, without being afraid of Śātakarni he sent an army consisting of elephants, horses, chariots and foot soldiers to the west and occupied the city of Masika with the help of the Kśatriyas of Kasaba (?).

(6) In the third year of his reign having mastered the art of music (*Gandharvaveda*) he amused the city of Kalinga with dances, songs, music, processions and festivals.

(7) In the fourth year of his reign he caused the abode of Vidyādhara, entire.....of the former

kings of Kalinga.....or Dharmakuta.....with umbrellas and vessels of water, and caused the masters of three jewels now taken away (i. e., Buddhists ?) as well as provincial (*Raṭhika*) and local (*Bhojaka*) chiefs to bow down at his feet.

(8) In the fifth year of the reign he caused a canal, that had been excavated by king Nanda, 300 years ago, (and) the roads of Tanasuliya, to enter the city of Kalinga.

(9) In the sixth year of his reign he bestowed great blessings on the citizens.

(10) The events of the seventh year of his reign have become illegible.

(11) In the eighth year of his reign he seems to have arrived at Goradhagiri.²⁵ This *Gorathagiri* has been identified by Mr. V. H. Jackson with the Barābar hills, in the Northern part of the Gayā District which is mentioned in one of the Barābar cave inscriptions of Aśoka as *Khalatika parvata*, on the strength of two inscriptions found near the Lomaś Rishi cave on the Barābar hills which gave the name as *Gorathagiri* or *Goradhagiri*.²⁶ One of these inscriptions is spelt correctly: *Gorathagiri*, but the second one is spelt differently. When, Mr. Jackson sent me an impression of this, then I took the third syllable of it as a peculiar form of *tha*. After reading the Hathigumpha inscription with Mr. Jāyaswal I thought that the third syllable in the second inscription must be something else than *tha*. Mr. Jackson has very kindly lent me a negative of this second inscription on which the third syllable is clearly *dha*. The second inscription at Barābar was spelt *Goradhagiri* as in 1.7 of the Hathigumpha inscription. The photograph of the second rock inscription at Barābar taken by Mr. Jackson was published in this Journal.* The letters of this record are at least a century later than the first record. The substitution of *dha* for *tha*

²⁵ Later inscriptions, i. e., those of the Manikharī Anantavarman mention this hill as *Parvata-giri*. cf. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions.

²⁶ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. I, pt. II, pages 159-71.

* See Figure No. 4, plate opposite pages 173, J.B.O.R.S. I.

shows that the second record was incised by an inhabitant of Southern India. It is quite possible that this record was incised by an inhabitant of Kalinga, probably one of the men who had accompanied Khāravēla in his first campaign against the king of Magadha. In the same year he.....harassed the king of Rājagriha and caused him to abandon the troops of his allies and fly to Mathurā.

(12) In the ninth year of his reign he made the gift of a wishing tree (Kalpavṛkṣa) with horses, elephants, chariots, houses and rest-houses to Brāhmanas and others.

(13) In the same year he built a palace named Mahāvijaya "the great conquest" at a cost of thirty lakhs (of coins?). I could not read the first part of l. 10 which gives the position of this palace. It has, however, been read by Mr. Jāyaswal who refers to it in his note.

(14) In the tenth year he moved his army. The rest of the inscription is broken but the name *Bharadhava* is still clear.

(15) In the same year he caused the reputation of the feet of the Jina (i. e., the reputation of the worship of the Jina) to expand in the city of Pithuḍagadabha founded by former kings and one hundred and thirteen years (or thirteen hundred years)

.....
(16) In the twelfth year of his reign he caused great consternation among the kings of Northern India (*utarāpadhārājāna*), caused great panic among the people of Magadha, made his elephants drink the water of the Ganges and compelled the kings of Magadha, who had been greatly magnified previously, to bow down at his feet.

(17) In the same year the images (?) of the first Jina (Rṣabhadeva) that had been carried away by king Nanda (?) were caused to be taken back to Kalinga.

(18) Among the events of the same year Aṅga and Magadha is mentioned. Further on the name of the Pāṇḍya king is very clear. It appears that in the same year he made unprecedented gifts of horses, elephants, boats and of jewels.

(19) In the thirteenth year of his reign, which coincided with the year 164 of the Maurya era expired and with the year 165 of the same era current. He caused certain stone pillars to be set up close to the abode of the Arhats on the *Kumāri Parvata*.

(20) The record ends with a list of Khāravēla's titles and adjectives. His titles are :—

(a) King of Peace—(*Khemrājā*).

(b) King of Increase—(*Vadharājā*).

(c) King of Mendicant—(*Bhikkharājā*) and,

(d) King of Law (*Dharmarājā*).

Among his adjectives we find a phrase according to which Khāravēla was descended from a family of royal sages (*Rajasi-vasakula-Vinicchito*). He was therefore a Ksatriya by caste.

The word *Vochhine* need not be taken in that technical sense in which it is used in modern Jaina literature. On the other hand the words which follow this one, prove definitely, that Jaina canonical texts are not mentioned in this line. Therefore it should be taken in the sense in which it has always been used in the literature. *Vochhine-Vyachchhinnai* does not differ in meaning from *Vichhine-Vichchhinnāni*. The use of the words *Rāja-muriga-kāla* shows that a date has been expressed in the same line. Therefore the only possible translation of the word is "expired" a meaning derived secondarily from its primary meaning "severed" or "cut".

The summary of the Hathigumpha inscription given above, shows that the record is a very important one for the reconstruction of the history of Northern India in the second century B.C. The Cheta dynasty of Kalinga seems to have been founded during the weak rule of the successors of Aśoka when provincial governors assumed independence throughout India. Casual mention in two different places of this record gives glimpses of the early history of Kalinga during the Pre-Maurya period. Three centuries before Khāravēla and two hundred years before Aśoka, Kalinga was conquered by Nanda I of Nandivardhana, the founder of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. This invasion was not a mere

raid and Kalinga continued under the Nanda kings at least for some time. This is proved by the mention of public works undertaken during the reign of Nanda I, who excavated a canal in this country (Line 6). At the time of the conquest of Kalinga by Nanda I Jainism appears to have been the prevailing religion. This is proved by the statement that Khāravēla brought back from Magadha the images (?) of the first Jina Rsbhadeva that had been taken away by Nanda I. Beyond this we cannot glean any further information about the history of Kalinga before its conquest by Aśoka. The invocation of the Arhats and Siddhas in the first line, the expansion of Jina worship in the ancient town of Pithudagadabha, and the restoration of the images carried away by Nanda I to the country of Kalinga, prove beyond doubt that Khāravēla was a Jaina. The expedition sent to the west, inspite of or without taking heed of Śātakarṇī was most probably directed against Central India, which seems to have been occupied by Śrī Śātakarṇī, the third Andhra king, one of whose inscriptions was discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham at Sāñchi.²⁷ The inscription is incised on the third or top coping of the South gate of Stūpa No. I at Sāñchi. The characters of this record differ from those of the Hāthigumphā inscription in one detail. It is the form of the medial *ī*. In the Hāthigumphā inscription, medial *ī* is angular without any perceptible curve at the upper extremity. But in the Sāñchi inscription of the time of Śrī Śātakarṇī in the tops of all *ī* strokes are curved. This is a sign of lateness, and this inscription may be half a century later than the Hāthigumphā inscription. It is quite probable that Śrī Śātakarṇī was the contemporary of Khāravēla, in his first youth, while the Sāñchi record was incised during the last years of his reign. It proves that Śrī Śātakarṇī had conquered Mālava and Vidisā in the early decades of the 2nd century B.C. The result of Khāravēla's expedition is not clearly stated and perhaps the issue was doubtful. Khāravēla occupied the city of Masika with the help of the Ksatriyas of

²⁷ Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Andharas W. Ksatrapas, etc.*, pages xlvii-vii.

Kasaba and perhaps this was his only gain in the war. In the eighth year of his reign Khāravela attacked Magadha. Most probably Puṣyamitra was on the throne at that time.

According to the Purāṇas, Puṣyamitra reigned for thirty-six years and according to Mr. V. A. Smith, Puṣyamitra dethroned Vṛhadratha, the last Maurya king, in 185 B. C. According to Mr. Jayaswal this event took place in 188 B. C. Therefore Puṣyamitra ruled from B. C. 185 to B. C. 149 or from B. C. 188 to B. C. 152. In this campaign Khāravela defeated or slew somebody at Gorathagiri (modern Barābar Hill). He then defeated the king of Rājagriha and obliged him to flee to Mathurā. Evidently this campaign ended with the flight of Khāravela's adversary. The spoil obtained during these two campaigns, was probably spent by the Kalinga king, in building a palace named Mahaviṣaya, at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand silver (?) coins. The portion of the 10th line still extant, seems to indicate that, in the tenth year of his reign, Khāravela led an expedition against the kings of Bhārata-varṣa or (?) Northern India. Four years later in the twelfth year of his reign Khāravela led another campaign into Northern India. The wording of the inscription indicates that his previous campaigns had instilled a wholesome fear for his army in the hearts of his adversaries. This campaign caused consternation among the kings of Northern India and panic among the people of Magadha. Most probably Magadha was overrun, and when king Khāravela with his army approached the Ganges then the fall of the capital became imminent. We do not know where the capital of Magadha was at this time. Most probably the seat of regal power was at Pāṭalīputra on the Ganges. We do not know by what route Khāravela proceeded from Kalinga to Magadha. The absence of the names of Rādha or Gauḍa is significant and seems to indicate that Khāravela advanced to attack Magadha through the mountain passes of Chōṭā Nāgpur, instead of proceeding along the sea coast through Orissā and Bengal. The advance to the Ganges where Khāravela's elephants drank the water of the holy river is a very great

feat for a Southern king. Rajendra Chola I performed this feat eleven centuries later and this exploit is mentioned in all inscriptions of the period with reverence. In latter record Rajendra Chola bears a title "Gaṅgegoṇḍā" the "conqueror of the Ganges." The fourth campaign of Khāravēla was very successful as it ended in the complete submission of the king of Magadha. The events of the thirteenth year have no political importance and in the absence of other record we are quite in the dark about the fate of Khāravēla's kingdom or that of his successors. A minor inscription in one of the caves at Khandagiri mentions a king of Kalinga named Kudēpa-siri, who may be a descendant or a successor of Khāravēla as he bears the same titles as Khāravēla e.g., *Khara, Mahāmeghavāhana Kalingā dhipatin*.

The last two lines of this inscription, which contain the disputed date, did not come out clearly in any of the impressions, because the water applied to the paper gradually drained and accumulated over the last two lines and before the papers on these lines were dry enough for the application of ink, the upper portion began to peel off. Hence I decided to take an impression of the last two lines only. In this impression lines 16-17 came out more clearly than on the previous ones. (See Plate IV).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Dates B. C.	Events.
286	Death of Aśoka. Kunāla's accession;
228	Daśaratha's accession.
220	Samprati's accession.
211	Śālisuka.
210	Somadharman(?) Foundation of the kingdom of the Chetas in Kalinga.
198	Birth of Khāravēla.
195	Vṛhadratha.
188	Murder of Vṛhadratha, Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's — accession.
183	Khāravēla, heir-apparent.
174	Khāravēla's accession (Maurya Era 152).
173	Devastation of Kalinga by a storm. Khāravēla restores the city. (First Regnal year of Khāra- vēla).
172	First expedition undertaken in defiance of Sata- karṇī (Sri-Sātakarṇī) the Andhra king of Deccan, Khāravēla sends an army to the west. Occupa- tion of the city of Masika or Musika.
171	Festivities in the city of Kalinga.
171	Khāravēla receives the permission of Buddhists (?), provincial (<i>Rāṭhika</i>) and local (<i>Bhojaka</i>) chiefs.
169	Khāravēla extends a canal excavated by king Nanda I three hundred years ago, and the roads of Tana- suliya (Tosali ?) as far as the city of Kalinga.
166	Second expedition—Invasion of Northern India— battle of Barābar (<i>Gorathagiri</i>)—Defeat of the king of Rājagṛha and his flight to Mathurā.
165	Building of the Mahāvijaya palace by Khāravēla.

- 164 Third expedition—Khāravēla over-runs Bhāradhava—i.e., Northern India and causes the Jaina worship to increase in the old town of Pithuḍa-gadabha.
- 163 ? Menander invades India.
- 162 Fourth expedition—Invasion of Northern India by Khāravēla—consternation among princes of Northern India—panic in Magadha. Khāravēla advances up to the banks of the Ganges. King of Magadha (*Paṣyāmītra* ?) submits to him. Images of *Riṣabhadeva* taken away from Kalinga by Nanda I taken back. Khāravēla receives jewels from the Pāṇḍya king and gives elephants and boats on his return.
- 161 Thirteenth year of Khāravēla's reign--164 M.E., expired and 165 M.E. current. Khāravēla sets up pillars close to the abode of the Arhats on the *Kumārī Parvata* (*Udayagiri*).
- 158 Death of Paṣyāmītra.

IV.—The Tezpur Rock Inscription.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

This is an inscription on a rock on the Brahmaputra, near the city of Tezpur. It measures 6' 8" long by 3' 4" high. Each letter measures about 3". It was first brought to public notice by Sir Edward Gait twenty years ago when he was in Assam (*vide* paragraph 8 of his Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam written in the year 1897). Rubbings of the inscription were sent to Dr. F. Keilhorn, and he published his Epigraphic Notes on it in "Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen" in the year 1905. He read only the first three lines and the date, and he concluded his notes by saying, "but the exact purpose is still a riddle to me for the solution of which I am eagerly awaiting such help as may perhaps result from a repeated examination of the original inscription." So far as he read it, he was substantially right, but the rest of the inscription is greatly injured. Fissures have been formed in many places. The stone has also peeled off in many places and the wind and rain have done their work of corroding the stone almost all over.

The rubbings were next sent to M. R. Ray. Rao Saheb H. Krishna Shastri, Avl., B.A., officiating Government Epigraphist. He also gave a tentative reading without a translation, and thought that it was a land-grant made to the arbitrators for settling a dispute. His suggestions have been of great use to me. I give below a complete reading of the inscription with a translation.

The inscription is not a land-grant. It does not appear why a land-grant should be inscribed on a rock. It is the settlement of a quarrel between the boatmen, the towers and the local zamindars for tolls. As the place was near the capital the dispute seems to have assumed great proportions, and it was

necessary for the commanders of forces and influential Brāhmins to come together and settle it. The settlement was made by fixing the boundaries within which boatmen were to pass by the mid-stream and not come near the banks. Anyone transgressing the settlement was fined 100 *cowries*, a pretty heavy sum in those days.

The importance of the inscription lies, as Dr. Keilhorn justly remarks, in providing a certain and definite date for a line of kings of Prāgjyotisha of which the following members are mentioned in the plates:—

1. Pralambha married Jivadā.
2. Their son Harjara (Harjaravarman) married Tārā.
3. Their son Vanamāla (Vanamālarman).
4. His son Jayamāla Virabāhu married Ambā.
5. Their son Valavarman.

The inscription is also important in giving a sure testimony that the Gupta era was used even so far east as Tezpur in the ninth century A.D., when it was generally superseded in India by the Saka and the Vikrama eras. It is also important in showing that the Abors were then living on the northern banks of the Brahmaputra. It shows also that the Panchakula Brāhmins, perhaps the Panchasara Brāhmins of Sylhet, were even then influential in the kingdom of Prāgjyotisha, and if the words Lahili-Jhā mean as I have surmised Lahidi-Ojhas or Upādhāyas, it throws a great deal of light on the settlement of the Brāhmins in Bengal.

The language of the inscription is ungrammatical Sanskrit mixed up with words in the vernacular. "Buttikā" is certainly a vernacular word, and so is "Naurajja." The proper names are not given in their strict Sanskrit forms.

The orthography is peculiar. Except in the doubtful case of "Suddha-Vyavahara", 's' with a bar is nowhere used singly; even Paramesvara is written with a dental 's.' 'Va' is often doubled without any rhyme or reason, as in the case of 'Harjara-Vvarmma.' The superscript 'r' often doubles the

consonant as in the 'Darppa,' 'garbbita,' etc. Instead of Pravishṭa the inscription writes Pravista.

I edit this inscription from the excellent rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Spooner. This is the first time that the inscription has been completely read so far as possible in the corroded condition of the stone. I am conscious of my shortcomings, and I hope some future epigraphist, more favourably situated perhaps at Tezpur, may do it better by constantly referring to the original stone.

Though I could not go to Tezpur myself I have been greatly benefited by the advice and guidance of my friend Nagendra Nāth Vasu Prachyavidyā-Mahārāja who was, two years ago, deputed by Mr. Gurdon, the Commissioner of the Assam Valley, to inspect the stone and, if possible, to read it.



THE TEZPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION.

- Line 1. ओं । |खखि ह¹ र² प्पे खरपरावस्थित खभु³जवत्त [मद⁴]
- Line 2. दपुर्गवित्तम⁵ ह⁶ [T] राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टा [R] क
पर⁷ [ममा] हेम्वर
- Line 3. श्री हर्षरश्मिदेवस्य [वर्द्धमाने] विजयराज्ये महासामन्त
से⁸ [ना] ध्यच्च
- Line 4. ओसु⁹चित्तरूप अ¹⁰ धिकारदिने¹¹ कैवर्त्त नौ[कु¹¹] चि¹²
खम¹³भक्ष¹⁴साधणी * ¹⁵ * * *
- Line 5. नौरज्ज तस्य नाक्कजोसौ शुद्ध¹⁶व्यवहारप्रचोदभूत तत्
नौरज्जक नहि तत् प्रविस्त : * ¹⁷ *
- Line 6. ¹⁸सार्वाणीओचित¹⁹घरदत्तभट्टषोड दिनजी²⁰लाहिलीभा²¹
दत्त[रि] दग् ²²[I] सी दत्ताकववा * * * * *
- Line 7. इत्येते बलधन्ना सामन्त शिलाकुट्ट कवलेया पंच²³कुल प्रांकर
भट्ट पुत्रसोमदेवादय : । ²⁴भूचतु
- Line 8. दिर्दक् सीमांकृत प्राक्सलिलचारभक्षभुद्भमागपश्चिम्पा
नाक्क जोस याम्या प्रवरभूमित्य²⁵वरप
- Line 9. [वर्तउत्तरा] दद्विर्वाहकात् यः चपवनं करोति तस्य पंच,
वुट टकां गृहीतयमिति : ॥ ²⁶
- Line 10. गुप्त ५१०

THE TEZPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION.

Line 1.—S Om Svasti Hā¹ ru² ppesva ra pu rā vasthi
tasva bh³[u]ja bala [ma⁴da].

Line 2.—darppas-garvvita⁵ mah⁶[â]rājādhirāja paramesvara
paramabhāttā[ra]ka pa⁷ra[ma]māhesvara.

Line 3.—Śrī Ha rjaravvarmma devasya vardhamāna vijaya
rājye mahāsamanta se⁸[nā]dhyaksa.

Line 4.—Śrī su⁹cittasya a¹⁰dhikāradine kaivartta nau k¹¹[u]
ksi¹²sva¹³ bhaksa¹⁴ sādhanī ×¹⁵ X X X X.

¹ The 'æ' stroke has been obliterated by a fissure in the rock but we know from other inscriptions of this Dynasty that the name of this capital was 'Hārāppesvara'.

² There is a slight peeling off of the stone close to the left-hand limb of 'ra' Hence the Government Epigraphist read it as 'kka'.

³ The lowest part of this letter has been greatly injured. The 'u' is invisible

⁴ These two letters are very, very faint. The lower limb of 'da' and the left-hand limb of 'ma' are slightly visible.

⁵ There is a slight fissure between 'ta' and 'ma' which makes them look like a compound letter but they are not really so.

⁶ There is a fissure between 'ma' and 'hā'.

⁷ In 'Parama Māhesvara', the only letters distinctly visible are the first 'ra' and 'he'. Some traces of 'pa' and 'sa' may be obtained by a careful comparison of the squeezes but the second 'ra' is fainter still.

⁸ All the syllables in 'senādhyaksa' are very, very faint.

⁹ Dr. Keilhorn approves Dr. Bloch's reading as 'Sacitta,' but there is a right-hand stroke at the bottom of the vertical right-hand limb of 'sa' which joins the 'i' of 'ci'. This horizontal slight stroke at the lower end of the vertical line cannot but be taken as the subscript 'u'.

¹⁰ Though the stone has peeled off in many places still the letter 'a' can be distinctly traced.

¹¹ The lower angle of 'ka' has peeled off and the peeling goes in a curve to the top of the letter 'na' in 'nau'. It is probable that the peeling commenced with the subscript 'u'.

¹² The 'ka' is distinctly visible but the subscript 'sa' has peeled off.

¹³ A fissure has widened and lengthened the right-hand limb of 'sa,' but the subscript 'va' being distinctly visible, the letter has been put down as 'sva.'

¹⁴ The lowest angle of the subscript 'sa' having peeled off the compound may be mistaken as 'kka'.

¹⁵ Five letters after 'sādhanī' have wholly disappeared by a deep peeling off.

Line 5.—Nairajja tasya nákkajosí suddha¹⁶ vyavahá ra
scodbhuta tattr naurajjaka nahi tat pravistah X¹⁷X.

Line 6.—sá¹⁸ varnî śricitt¹⁹ra ghara daksa bhattaji²⁰
udinaji lāhīli jhā²¹ daksa d[i]gv[ā]sī da²²lākavava X X X X X.

Line 7.—ityete baladhyakṣā sāmanta śilā kuṭṭa kava beyā
pam²³ca kula samkara bhaṭṭa puttra soma devādayah I²⁴ Bhū
ca [tu].

Line 8.—rdi k sī mā kṛta prāksalila ksāra bhaksa bhū-
bhrdbhāge paścīmyām nákkajosa yāmyām pravara bhū
mitya²⁵ va ra pa.

Line 9.—[rvva] [ta u tta rā] d vahirvāhakāt yah cya-
vanam karoti tasya pañea vaṭṭikam grhītavya mi tih²⁶.

Line 10.

gupta 510.

¹⁶ This is doubtful. I tried 'sulka' but the upper portion has been greatly corroded and the right-hand downward stroke of 'ka' is not visible and so I have made it 'ādha'.

¹⁷ Two letters are completely lost.

¹⁸ This line contains only names of the arbitrators and is very difficult to read.

¹⁹ May be 'ṭṭa'.

²⁰ 'jī' doubtful.

²¹ The word 'Upādhyāya' becomes in Prakrit 'Uvajhyāya,' later on 'Ojha' later on still, simply 'jha'. The Maithilis still use the word 'Jha'. In Birbhūm and Bānkura in Bengal they still use the word 'jha' as 'Bānrur-jha' which in West Bengal has become 'Bānrurjye' which in English becomes Banerji. There were 'Jha's even among the Lāhīris.

²² The name of the South-Indian has hopelessly lost some syllables at the end.

²³ Whenever Brāhmins migrated to Eastern India they generally migrated in five families. The Bengal Brāhmins are the descendants of five. The Sylhet Brāhmins also migrated in five families and the pargana they live in is called 'Pancasāra'. The 'Pancakula' may be the Sylhet Pancakulas or there might have been an Assamese Pancakula.

²⁴ Two or three syllables are lost after this, leaving faint traces which I have ventured to read as 'bhācatu'.

²⁵ Two letters lost here meaning North.

²⁶ This 'visarga' is not wanted. It cannot be used as a stop as there are two vertical strokes to indicate the last stop.

(Translation.)

Om Hail ! In the ever-prosperous and victorious reign of Maharājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Parmabhaṭṭāraka, Paramamāhesvara (the great devotee of Śiva) Śrī Harjjara-vvarmadeva, living in the city of Haruppesvara and proud of his great strength of arms, there arose during the administration of Sueitta, the great feudatory chief and the commander of forces, a lawsuit of uncomplicated nature (to which there were three parties, namely,) 1 the toll-collecting¹ Kaivartts; 2 the (controller of) Towing,² and 3 the chief of Nākkajosa: of these the controller of Towing did not enter thereto. The commanders of forces, namely Sāvarnī, Cittraghara Dakṣa Bhaṭṭa-Jiu, Dinaji Lāhali-Jhā (Lāhiri Upadhyaya), the Southerner Dalākavaya and Somadeva and others, sons of Saṁkara-Bhaṭṭa belonging to the Pañcakula (Brāhmins who held Sāmantaśilākuṭṭa completely under their sway; these thus fixed the four boundaries. In the east, the mountainous country corroded by salt water, in the west Nākkajosa, in the south Pravarabhūmi and (in the north) Abor mountains. He who fails to steer (their vessels) by the mid-stream shall be liable to a fine of five *buṭṭikās* (Bengali five *burhis*, i.e. 100 cowries.)

Gupta 510.

¹ Literally the "eater of the property in the interior of boats," i.e., the Toll Collector who assessed according to the contents of the boat. This evidently appears to be the Kaivarta or the chief of the boatmen, because the adjective follows that word and closely.

² I have taken the word for 'Naurajju' the towing rope,

V.—An Account of the Maithil Marriage

Communicated by the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur of
Darbhanga.

With a Maithil Brāhman, marriage is a religious rite ; it is based upon spiritual considerations—spiritual benefits derivable from such an union. A Brāhman ought to marry because it is one of the *Sanṣkāras* (purifications) of his life without which he is not “complete”, nor competent to do any of the duties of *Girhastha* (householder). He ought to marry because a son born of such marriage will save the parents from the hell named “*Pūn*”. A son (*Putra*) means he who saves one from the hell “*Pūn*”. Consequently the marriage must be in conformity with Shāstric injunctions. A bride must be more than fifth in descent on the mother's side and more than sixth on the father's,—from the last common ancestor of her and the bridegroom. One cannot marry the daughter of his step-mother's brother, nor can he marry a girl who is an offspring of his grandfather, and so forth. Any infringement of these rules not only invalidates the marriage but is a grievous sin. And as a safeguard against such an invalid marriage, entries of the relationship with names of members of all the different Maithil families are kept from an ancient time by the *Panjikars* or *Punjiārs* (genealogists) of Mithilā. About the fourteenth century A. D., the population of Maithil Brāhmans having increased immensely and having been scattered in different places, and Brāhmans other than Maithils having come and settled in Mithilā, the necessity for more organized action in respect of the marriage rules was greatly felt. It was found that the existing record of the above entries was defective. We have on record that a Maithil Brāhman, Paṇḍit Harināth Upādhyāya by name had, by an oversight, contracted a marriage not in consonance with Shāstric texts. The story is that his wife was alleged to

have had an illicit connexion with an impure man and made to submit to an ordeal to prove her innocence by taking a fire-ball in her hands—a test in vogue in ancient days—and that her hands began to scorch—a contingency possible only in case she was sinful. Knowing that she was perfectly innocent, she solicited re-trial and was tested again. She had used the words—“ I have not had intercourse with any impure person,”—at the former ordeal. At the second one she swore that—“ I have not had any intercourse with any impure person other than my husband ” and this time the fire did not burn her, and on careful examination it was found that her husband was impure because he had married a lady who was not as enjoined by the Shāstras sufficiently removed in descent of relationship. This incident created a deep sensation in the whole of Mithilā. The Pandit Harināth Upādhyāya felt the humiliation so much that he undertook to write in Sanskrit and composed in 1326 A. D. a genealogy of the Maithil Brahmins and Maithil Kayasthas which is since that year kept with scrupulous exactness up-to-date with fresh entries made from time to time. Rājā Harsingh Deo, a Karnatika Kshatriya who was then the king of Mithilā, interested himself in the said genealogy and the marriage customs of Mithilā. He not only supervised the marriage being done according to the Shāstric rules, but made classification of Maithil Brāhmans and Kayasthas according to their religious observances. Such of the Maithil Brāhmans who performed the Agnihotra sacrifices and who devoted their time from sunrise to sunset to religious worship, were given the first place and called the Śrōtriyas ; next to Śrōtriyas were the Yōgyas (deserving) who got the second class and next to Yōgyas were the Panjibādhs who were placed in the third class and Jaibars composed the fourth. Rājā Harsingh Deo made this classification with the object of encouraging religious observances amongst the people and to show that in this world and specially so in Mithilā—the country of the Janakas,—the King Initiates—spiritualism should be the ideal of every man. And in order to perpetuate this ideal and render it all the more attractive, he ordered and incorporated the order in the marriage rules

that distinctive preference should be shown to each other by the marriage parties—by one lower in grade to the other who is in the higher grade. And the rules have been implicitly followed up to the present time under the supervision of the Mahārājās of Mithilā. Rājā Harsingh Deo was succeeded in the time of the Delhi Tughlaks by a Maithil Brāhman family, chief of whom was Rājā Shiva Singh, the patron of Vidyāpati, the great poet of Mithilā. After this family became extinct, the Mithilā Rāj was granted by the Emperor Akbar—“*Aj gāng tā sāng. Aj Kōs tā Dhōs*” (from the Ganges to the Himalayas and from the Koshi to the Gandak) to Mahamahopādhyāya Maheshwar Thākur—a Śrōtriya Paṇḍit and ancestor of the present Mahārājā of Darbhāṅgā who is a Śrōtriya of the highest grade and, by virtue of his position, the head of the Maithil Brāhmans and of the subordinate castes in Mithilā.

A Śrōtriya wishing to give his daughter in marriage obtains from an authorized genealogist called Panjiār, an Adhikārmālā, i.e., a list of persons with the names of their fathers and maternal grandfathers with whom the intended bride has no relationship according to the Shāstric rules and with whom the marriage is allowable. That person then selects provisionally one or more bridegrooms in consultation with his wife and other relations and friends. And having made the selection he applies enclosing the list, under the genealogist's signature, of the marriageable bridegrooms and obtains a marriage permit signed in each case by the Mahārājā of Darbhāṅgā who, as I have said before, is the head of the Maithil Brāhmans in caste matters also. As regards the other Divisions—Yōgyas, Panjibādhs and Jaibars—the authorized Panjiārs (genealogists) have general permission of the Mahārājā to settle marriages with due deference to the Shāstric rules and local customs. The bride's father then sends a Brāhman with authority to negotiate marriage with the bridegroom's father who accepts or declines the offer in consultation with his son and other relations and friends. While deciding about the marriage, both the parties settle between themselves about the extent of the distinctive respect or reverence due by one to the

other according to custom. Amongst Śrōtriyas the measure of such respect is estimated in rupees. One higher in grade is conventionally supposed to recover from the other who is of the lower grade, Rs. 500, Rs. 700 and Rs. 900 according to the difference in their grades as compensation for the difference between the caste status of the respective parties. This amount is not paid but is merely nominal.

There are eight forms of marriage recognized by Manu, *viz.*, (1) Brāhma, (2) Daiva, (3) Aisha, (4) Prajāpatya, (5) Gandharva, (6) Asura, (7) Paisāch and (8) Rākshas. The Brāhma form of marriage is the one in vogue in Mithilā. In this form of marriage the father of the bride makes a gift of his daughter to a suitable bridegroom, with ornaments, dress and such other property as he can afford to give. This is a pure gift in which money consideration does not enter. Such payment is conventional not only with Śrōtriyas but with all other classes of Maithil Brāhmans; and it was the intention of the law-givers that the amount should be proportional to the difference in social rank between the bride and bridegroom's parties. But in recent times, there have been some cases where money has been actually paid and accepted. Efforts are however made by the Mahārājā of Darbhāṅgā and the Maithil Mahāsāvā to remove the abuse.

The difficulties in the way of a *vaidika* marriage are considerable. The Śāstras prohibit marriage between *Sapindas* and *Sagotras*: a Maithil Brāhmin cannot marry a bride if he and the father of the bride are of the same *Gotra* or if they are agnates of the same family. He cannot marry the descendants of his father or grandfather, paternal or maternal, or of his step-mother's brother. Nor can he marry his wife's sister during the former's lifetime. A bride must necessarily be more than fifth in descent on her mother's side and more than sixth on her father's side from the last common male ancestor of herself and the bridegroom. He cannot marry in the family of a Brāhman other than Maithil. There being different sections in one class, one belonging to a particular section should marry in higher sections or in his own, because if he marries in a lower section,

his children born of such wife lose the status of their father, their positions becoming lower than his. And even in respect of his own or higher sections he should make the selection carefully. Both the bride and the bridegroom should be of noble parentage—noble in regard to family and other connections. All the Maithils are very keen about these rules, and the higher the class and section to which one belongs, the greater is the stringency with which he observes these rules.

The difficulties are still greater with the Śrōtriyas. Rājā Harsingh Deva, King of Mithilā, made the classification of the Maithil Brāhmans, as said above, on a rigid religious basis. They were graded according to the extent of their religious observances. Those who devoted their time, sunrise to sunset, to their religious worship were given the first class. Such personages were only thirteen in number. Consequently only they and their children of course composed the first class and were named Avadāta (white, spotless) Śrōtriyas. The importance attached to this class was in keeping with its self-denial. Inter-dining and inter-marriage were restricted to the members of this, their own class. A marriage when it is to take place must necessarily be arranged between the members of that class themselves. If one married in a lower class he was excommunicated by the members of his class. The punishment inflicted has sometimes been still more severe—carried even so far as to disinherit him to which effect there was some years ago a Calcutta High Court Ruling which was cancelled later on.

Originally there were only thirteen houses (families) of the Śrōtriyas holding equal social rank and their children were also Avadāta so long as the marriage could be arranged within these thirteen families. But difficulties arose later and increased gradually. The number of the Śrōtriyas was very small in those days as can be guessed from the fact that their number—males and females—is only about two thousand at the present time, in spite of the increase in the population. The marriageable places within the limited scope became rarer. As a matter of necessity a bride of the Yōgya class

had sometimes to be accepted with the special permission of the Mahārājā who was their head. The children born of such a marriage, were called Srōtriyas—followers of the vedas—but they lost the distinction of the Avadāta (spotless) as they had inferior blood in their veins: they were considered lower in position than their fathers. A measure of their position had, therefore, to be created and named. They were called Lōkas—men—descendants of the Avadātas and of their maternal grandfathers. The Lauviks, i. e., the personalities of their maternal grand-parents thus became the standards of their social rank. But a Laukik has, by custom, a tendency to deteriorate. A child will have the Laukik of the parents if both of them are of the same Laukik; but if they are of two different Lauviks, one inferior to the other, then the child will be of the inferior Laukik and not of the superior.

In course of time a number of such Lauviks sprang up with the result that we have at the present time in the Srōtriya class seven sections and about forty Lauviks graded according to their importance. And the members of each section try to hold their place by having marriages in sections higher than their own or if that is not feasible, in their own section. With the social restraints added to the Sāstric injunctions which of course have to be considered first, the scope of a marriage is considerably reduced for the Srōtriya class, the numerical strength of which is small and inferior by far to that of the other three classes of the Maithil Brāhmins. It often happens that the persons found admissible are already married, or are too old or too young or incapable otherwise. These are the difficulties which cause paucity of suitable bridegrooms of whom sometimes there is none or only one or two altogether. Definite steps for marriage are taken after all these obstacles have been overcome.

HATHDHARI CEREMONY.

When the negotiation for marriage carried through proxy is complete and the bride's father and the father of the

bridegroom agree, both the parties with their select relations and an authorized genealogist meet personally at a place on the appointed day and settle the marriage, and the genealogist mediating between the two parties makes them grasp each other's hands as—an emblem of mutual consent to the match.

SIDHĀNTA CEREMONY.

The ceremony next to *Haṭṭdhari* is *Sidhānta*. This is the formal declaration by the authorized genealogist in presence of both the parties of the non-existence of relationship between the bride and the bridegroom. On an auspicious day both the parties meet at a place between the homes of the bridegroom's father and the father of the bride at a distance from their respective houses proportionate to their relative conventional rank. Besides a genealogist who is common to both, the party of the bridegroom consists of representative relations whose number may be either four or three or two or even one according to his (bridegroom's) conventional superiority over the bride. Four relations of the bridegroom have to be present also in case he is inferior in rank to the bride. These relations are from amongst the members of the four families, viz., (1) the family of his father, (2) the family of his mother's father, (3) the family of his father's grandfather on the mother's side and (4) the family of his mother's grandfather on her mother's side. The presence at the *Sidhānta* ceremony of such representative relation or relations is necessary because it means consent of the family or families represented to the marriage. Similarly, on behalf of the bride, one or more families are represented and her superiority or inferiority in rank, as the case may be, is thus admitted. Even in equal ranks there are subtle differences which are expressed and admitted openly at the *Sidhānta* with expressions such as *Namratā* (humiliation), *sadraṣayā-namratā* (humiliation mixed with pecuniary offer), and *Artik-namratā* (humiliation to the extreme), that is to say, that distinctive preferential respect due by one to the other is admitted openly then and there. The bride's men are seated facing west and the bridegroom's men

facing the east with the genealogist in between. The genealogist consults and reads the genealogical tables of both the bride and the bridegroom and solemnly declares in presence of the parties that there is no relationship between the parties, and having assured them of the *Aswajana*, i.e., absence of relationship, gives his opinion in writing under his signature, and the *Aswajana patra*, as it is called, is taken home by the bride's father and placed before his family goddess by way of dedication.

UCHHATI CEREMONY.

Uchhati is a ceremony consisting in due respect shown to one another in a felicitous way by the party of the bridegroom and that of the bride when the former pays a formal visit to the house of the latter and obtains permission of the ladies thereof for final settlement of the marriage. This ceremony is very rare; it is prevalent only among the Śrōtriyas and even they do it only when the marriage is to take place between a bride and bridegroom of the first section of their class, and of equal or almost equal status. The ceremony takes place in the night, night-time being chosen because it gives facilities and is free from the molestations expected in old days.

On an auspicious day, accompanied by the genealogist who acts as an emissary, the father of the bridegroom and his select relations start for the house of the bride's father and when they are at a distance of about half a mile from it, they halt and send intimation through the genealogist. On receipt of the news, the bride's father in company with his relations and friends sends his genealogist to receive and conduct the bridegroom's men. The genealogist goes and approaches them with due respect and says: "If it pleases your august selves to be face to face (with the bride's party) questions and answers can be exchanged. You, Sins, have taken the trouble to come all this long way. Welcome to you, welcome!"

The bridegroom's party then proceed very slowly, as they expect the other party, to accord them a suitable reception and to come up a certain distance commensurate with their respective social ranks.

After the party of the bridegroom move on, the genealogists come back in advance to request the bride's men in equally respectful terms to go to receive them. When they have started, the genealogists return to the bridegroom's party again, inform and request them in the same words as before to proceed and they thus continue to go forwards and backwards about forty times or so until both the parties are within hearing distance and can see each other. At this stage the parties do not meet or talk to each other; they are required by custom not to recognize each other yet as marriage parties inasmuch as the absence of their relationship has yet to be ascertained again. They remain stationary while the messages are exchanged through their proxies, the genealogists, not in explicit terms but by implication. The genealogist accompanying the bride's party speaks aloud: "In this pitch dark night, what is the cause of the advent of such bright personages?" The genealogist who accompanies the bridegroom's party replies solemnly:

"Great grandson of such and such person, Grandson of such and such person, Son of such and such person, Daughter's son of such and such person, seeks the hand in marriage of the—Great-granddaughter of such and such person, Granddaughter of such and such person, Daughter of such and such person, Daughter's daughter of such and such person."

The genealogist of the bride's father says in reply: "Any mission undertaken by such personages is sure to be a success."

And this said, the bridegroom's party are taken inside into the courtyard of the house and are seated facing the east. The bride's men take their seats opposite to them close by with their faces to the west. The genealogists who are seated to the south between the two parties with their faces to the north, then read aloud and scrutinize the genealogical tables of both the bride and the bridegroom, declare the absence of relationship in the presence of both the parties and sign the *Asvajana patra*, i.e., the certificate showing the absence of the relationship and the consequent eligibility of the marriage. Then a genealogist accompanied by the bridegroom's father and some of his relations, approaches the

mother and other ladies of the house seated behind a screen and informs them of the presence there of the bridegroom's men and of their object, whereupon the ladies say : " Blessed be your mission," meaning their consent to the marriage. The genealogist and the bridegroom's men return to their seats where they stand for a time, hearing the complimentary songs sung in their honour by the ladies. Now at this stage the bride's father and the relations present their compliments (*namaskars*) to the bridegroom's men, wash their feet with water and give them *pān supāri* (betels and betel-nuts) and scents. The parties now talk to each other freely in appreciative terms expressing their joy and gratitude for the settlement of the marriage. And subsequently they take leave of each other and return home.

KANYAKOPASTHITA CEREMONY.

Kanyakōpasthita ceremony takes place after the *Uchhati* ceremony wherever the latter is observed, but in case the *Uchhati* is not observed it takes place immediately after the *Sidhānta* ceremony and generally as part of it. Where there is no *Uchhati*, the *Kanyakōpasthita* takes place as soon as the *Sidhānta* ceremony is done and in the presence of the same two parties assembled then and there. A genealogist representing both the parties declares :—

"Great-granddaughter of such and such person, Granddaughter of such and such person, Daughter of such and such person, Daughter's daughter of such and such person shall be given in marriage to—Great-grandson of such and such person, Grandson of such and such person, Son of such and such person, Daughter's son of such and such person, so-and-so by name."

And the consent of the proposed bridegroom to marry the proposed bride is also obtained then and there.

In the event of the *Uchhati* taking place, the bride's party goes to the house of the bridegroom and has the *Kanyakōpasthita* done there.

After the *Kanyākōpasthita* ceremony is over, the bride cannot be married to any person other than the one already proposed, except in the following cases occurring before the marriage takes place :—

- (1) If the bridegroom is found impotent (*Napūṃśak*).
- (2) If he is suffering from an incurable disease.
- (3) If he is found out-casted (*Patit*).
- (4) If he dies before the marriage takes place.
- (5) If he becomes a *Sanyāsī*.

Once the marriage ceremony is performed, the bride can in no case be married again.

KUMĀRA KARMA.

On the morning of the day prior to the date of the marriage the bride is seated on the *Mandap* surrounded by her female relations who apply *ukatan* (unguent) to her body and sing songs all the time. She is next taken into the tank where water contained in a *Konian* (a bamboo basket) with a bunch of mango leaves is poured over her head and body a hundred-and-one times. After the bath she puts on a yellow cloth and distributes sweetmeats, other eatables and *sindūr* (vermillion) with her own hand among at least ten married women. She is then taken to the village deities and offers prayers to them and the party return home. This ceremony is known as the *Kumārakarma*. She takes simple food without fish or flesh (*Nirūmiśh*) only once that day.

In the same evening at a purified place within the courtyard of the house, the bride puts ten handfuls of raw paddy into an earthen pan. The paddy fried by her own or her mother's or father's sister, with the latter's husband seated by her side. The fried paddy (*Lāj*) thus prepared is used in the *Lāj Havan* of the marriage next day mixed up with *Lāj* prepared in the evening at the bridegroom's house.

The same evening after the preparation of the fried paddy (*Lāj*), the *Sauntā-Netāon* ceremony takes place. The father or other male member of the house who gives away the girl in

marriage applies with *Doorbādal* (grass blade) sandal-wood paste to her *Simant*, i.e., the parting line of the hair of her head. This ceremony is a prelude to the *Sindurdān* to be performed the following day and is practically the consecration of the bride's married life.

Similarly some fried paddy is also prepared the same evening at the bridegroom's house by his own sister or the sister of his father or mother, the bridegroom putting ten handfuls of raw paddy into the earthen frying pan. This *Lāj*, as said before, together with the *Lāj* prepared at the bride's house, is used in the *Lāj Havan* on the marriage day. The bridegroom shaves his head and chin, does *ek-bhukta*, i.e., takes *Nirāmish* food and maintains abstinence in other respects that day, i.e., the day before the marriage. Also the father of the bride or whoever intends giving away the bride, does *ek-bhukta* and fasts next day till the marriage is over. He also shaves and observes certain restrictions as to food and other things.

MARRIAGE.

On the day fixed for marriage or on the day before, a Brāhman goes on behalf of the bride's party to the house of the bridegroom and obtains his permission to begin the preliminaries of the marriage, and on his return the bride's father performs *Mātrikā Pujā* and *Abhyudayika Srādh*, i.e., worship of family Goddesses and the *Pitris* on the marriage day.

The brother of the bride is sent to bring the bridegroom from his home where on arrival he (the bride's brother) is properly received, sumptuously fed and given some articles of dress. The bridegroom then starts after having offered prayers to his family Goddess and received blessings from his elders, male and female. He is accompanied by his relations and friends in procession on a scale suited to his condition. On arrival near the house of the bride's father, the bridegroom receives welcome in the shape of complimentary songs sung by the ladies some carrying on their heads pitchers full of water.

The bridegroom is then conducted inside and when he arrives about the south-east corner of the courtyard of the house, he is made to halt and the ceremonies begin again. A respectful offering of betel-nuts and the sacred thread is made through the bride's brother to the august guest. Some amount in cash, Rs. 2 to Rs. 7, is symbolically offered along with the betel-nuts and sacred thread; Rs. 2 being given in case the conventional rank of the bridegroom is inferior to that of the bride; Rs. 5 in case of equals and Rs. 7 in case the bridegroom is superior in rank. After this ceremony, the bridegroom is taken to the ladies' apartments where they are given an opportunity of seeing him before the actual marriage ceremonies commence. A few questions having been asked, he is approached by an elderly lady who presents a lighted lamp made of tortoise-shell before him. A *Ghūnsā*, i.e., ornamental garland with pendants hanging at intervals is put on his turban, and Collyrium is applied to the lids of his eyes. He is then led round the *Mandap* thrice by the same lady under *pardāh* with a piece of cloth tied round his neck or with his nose in contact with some betel leaves and pieces of red-coloured cotton underneath the fingers of her right hand. He then comes to the south-west portion of the courtyard and there at a purified place whitened with *Alipana*, which consists of auspicious Tātrik figures drawn in white powder, a wooden mortar is placed and in that some raw paddy is struck three times with a mallet by eight Brāhmans (including the bridegroom) invoking the Supreme Being with the Vedic Mantras commencing with the Mantra "The Supreme Being, thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, encompassed the Universe and extended Himself in all directions", and the husk is thus removed from the paddy. With the sacred rice so obtained, together with some rolled mango leaves fastened with silk or *Janau*, two amulets are prepared for the use and protection of the bride and the bridegroom during the first four days of the marriage. The bridegroom then comes up the *Mandap* (platform). The bride's father having purified himself by bath and performance of his *Ahnik* (daily prescribed rites) and having worshipped the

family goddess and *pitris* is present on the *Mandap* and gives the bridegroom *Arghya* according to the Vedic rites as soon as he arrives there. The bridegroom then goes to the altar which is close by, a little north-east of the *Mandap* and deposits there sacrificial fire for oblations.

Subsequently he goes into the *Koutukāgār*, i.e., the house fitted up for his and the bride's stay and for the Pūjas of the deities and on his way he halts at the place where the bride seated behind a *purdāh*, strews down betel-leaves besmeared with milk and he picks up these leaves and gives them back to her in the *purdāh*. This ceremony which is called *Hāthnataon* is meant to ascertain the extent of the bridegroom's acceptance of the bride. In the *koutukāgār* he is, on arrival, received by the female relations of the bride and after some ceremonies are performed, he brings therefrom the bride to the *Mandap*. Here (at the *Mandap*) she receives dresses and ornaments from the bridegroom while he puts on those given by her father. The *Mandap* should be a raised square platform with sides measuring sixteen cubits by the girl's hand; on the south attached to the platform should be the room where the bride is to reside with the bridegroom, with his back to the west and front to the north: and an altar four cubits square by the boy's hand should be made with bamboos, beyond the platform on the north-east—it must be free of all dust, husk or hair. The bridegroom's father, after having performed his daily religious duties should first worship the sixteen *Mātrikās* (the household Goddesses) and then propitiate the *pitris*. The bride's father, having purified himself by bathing and having performed his *Ahnikā* (daily prescribed rites) wear a white cloth should worship *Mātrikās* and propitiate the manes. Taking sips of water with his face to the west, he gets up and addressing the bridegroom, who is kneeling upright, says, "Sir, s't down, we shall do honour to you." On the bridegroom's assenting, the bride's father offers him a seat (made of grass) and taking *Vistar* (a bundle of grass to be put under the feet) in the hand while he declares three times: "Here is the *Vistar*," asks

him to accept it. The bridegroom accepts it [and holding the *Vistar* says, "I am of the noblest lineage among the people of my clan, even as the sun is among those that rise in the firmament. I tread on whosoever is jealous of me." Saying this he sits down on the *Asana* or the seat with the *Vistar* pointing to the north. The host resuming his seat takes some water (for washing the feet) in the hollow made by joining his hands together (*anjali*) and declares thrice, "Here is the water (for washing feet)." On the host requesting him to accept it the bridegroom accepts it and takes the water into his own *anjali* and washes his right foot with it while reciting the verse: "Thou art the essence of brightness and I take thee for such: let my feet be washed." The left foot should be next washed in the same manner. Again, he takes up the *Vistar* or bundle of Kusha grass as before and puts it under his feet reciting the same verse. Then taking the conch-shell consisting of blades of holy grass (*dūb*), unbroken rice (*achhat*), fruits, sandal-paste and the water, the host asks the bridegroom to accept it. The bride takes it from his hands and utters: "The sacred waters are ye; may I attain my desires through you." Saying this he places some of the rice on his head and says, "I send you to the south; go back to your source; let no calamity befall our people; my drinking water should be left behind." Reciting this verse he pours out the water on the *Arghya* to the north-east. The host then takes the water for internal purification and declares three times: "Here is the water for taking sips". He requests the bridegroom to accept the water which he does, and taking the water from his hands sips it twice while mentally reciting the verse "Endow me with glory; unite me with lustre; make me beloved of all creatures; may I be master of cattle; may my limbs be safe." The host then takes up the pot (made of bell-metal) containing *Madhuparka* (a mixture of curd, ghee and honey) and repeats three times, "Here is the *Madhuparka*." Thereupon the bridegroom, saying, "I accept the *Madhuparka*", looks at the pot in the hands of the host and says, "I see you with the eyes bestowed upon me by the sun."

He takes the *Madhuparka* saying, "I take it from the hands of *Puṣan* (one of the twelve aspects of the Sun) with the permission of the Sun-God." Then placing it on his left hand he stirs it round with his little finger and drops a little on the ground with the pinch of his thumb and forefinger and recites the verse : "Oh ! Adorable one ! I mix you together and separate from you that which is deposited at the bottom while going to taste you." In this way he pours down twice more and thereafter sips the *Madhuparka* three times reciting each time the verse : "I, of polite manners and possessing stores of grain, am going to drink this (mixture) containing the best and sweetest honey." He pours out the remaining *Madhuparka* on an unfrequented place and taking sips of water, touches his (1) mouth, (2) nostrils, (3) eyes, (4) ears, (5) arms, (6) shoulders, (7) thighs and (8) his whole body, successively reciting the following Mantras : " (1) May speech dwell in my mouth, (2) breath in my nostrils, (3) sight in my eyes, (4) power of hearing in my ears, (5) vigour in my arms, (6) strength in my thighs ; (7) may all my limbs live together in safety." A barber having placed a blade of grass in the bridegroom's *anjali* declares three times : "The cow ! " The host then proceeds to offer a cow. The bridegroom says looking at the cow, "They who asked me were told not to kill the innocent cow who is *Aditi* (mother of the Gods) ; she is the mother of Rudras, daughter of Vasus, sister of the Adityas and source of nectar. My own sins and those of my hosts have been destroyed. Set the cow at liberty to graze." Reciting this he cuts off the straw and throws it away. A space one cubit square is prepared for Homa in the centre of the altar. This space is swept clean with the *Kuśas* (which are subsequently thrown away to the north-east), besmeared with cowdung for purification and marked over with three parallel lines, one span in length, drawn across with water by the pinch formed by the thumb and the ring finger. The area being thus purified, fire (which has been kept ready in a bell-metal pot) is deposited there silently by a man with his face turned to the west. Some one is left to watch the fire while the bridegroom goes forth and brings the

bride from the marriage room on to the platform. He recites the verse : "Live up to old age ; wear this cloth ; develop thy beauty ; sanctify the bed ; live for a hundred years in happiness ; develop riches and bear male children. Oh ! long-lived maiden ! wear this cloth," and hands over the cloth to her. He also gives her the *Uttariya* (a sheet of cloth to cover the upper part of the body) saying, "May the Goddesses who cut, spin and weave the threads into this cloth, help you to cover your body with it, so that you may live up to old age ; hence cover yourself with this cloth, Oh ! long-lived one." In the same way the bridegroom too wears a cloth saying, "I wear this cloth for the sake of glory. May I live for a hundred years in happiness ; I shall develop wealth and increase my cattle." Then reciting the verse : "May the Earth and sky, Brihaspati (preceptor of the Gods) and Indra cover me with glory. I want not only fame but fortune also," he puts on his scarf. This finished, the bridegroom and the bride take two sips of water each and as the giver away of the bride says, "Look at each other," the pair are seated face to face, and the bridegroom recites the verse : "May the Vishvadevas (the Universal Gods) and the sacred waters unite our hearts ; may Matārishwan (the God of the Air) Dhatri (the Creator) and the God who guides the way, join us." Then the Janmagranthi is tied by the giver away of the bride into her cloth and the giving away of the bride takes place. The giver, taking a few blades of grass shoots (*durba*), some unbroken rice (*ackhat*), sandal-paste, fruit and some water from a conch-shell, and placing the bridegroom's hand over that of the bride recites the verse : "I, the giver, am the king of the waters ; these materials that are presided over by the Sun may be accepted by the Brāhman who is Viṣṇu." Then he gives her away saying, "In the month of ——— on ——— date of (bright or dark as the time may be) fortnight. I give away my daughter bedecked with ornaments, who is the great-granddaughter of —, granddaughter of —, daughter of —, of — *Gōtra* (sect) and — *Prabara* (race) with a wish to attain Heaven, to you — Sharma, the great-grandson

of —, grandson of —, son of —, of — *Gōtra* and — *Prabara*." This is repeated three times. The bride's deity is Prajāpati (the Lord of Creation). The word *tathāstū* (Amen) should be said in reply. "May the sky (*Dyaus*) give you and the earth (*Prithivī*) take you" should be recited by the bridegroom. The giver of the bride then takes a few blades of green grass, some unbroken rice, a fruit, sandal-paste, some water and a few coins (to be given to the Brāhmins), and saying, "I give this gold presided over by the Agni as *Dakṣinā* to you the said *Sharmā* of — *Gotra* and — *Prabara*, who are the bridegroom to confirm the giving away of my daughter on this day," distributes the *Dakṣinā*. The Brāhmins give their blessings saying *tathāstū* (Amen). A couple of cows as the symbol of the earth, may also be given as an alternative. The bridegroom recites: "Who is the giver? To whom did he give? *Kāma* (the first born child of the Absolute) gave to *Kāma*; consequently *Kāma* is both giver and taker; hence Oh,—this gift is for thee." Holding the bride by the hand and saying, "When you go to a distant place with a sad heart, may the *Diśah* (the eight or sometimes ten cardinal points), the wind that blows, the God having golden wings (i.e., the Sun) and the Fire turn your mind to me", the bridegroom leads her out mentioning her name. A man holding on his head steadily a jar or pitcher full of water, should be stationed on the south of the altar till the *Abhiṣeka* (sprinkling of water over the head) ceremony. Then the giver says, "Look at each other." Whereupon the bridegroom recites: "Do not look unkindly; do not bring about the husband's death; be mistress of cattle, be happy and illustrious; give birth to heroic sons; bring luck to the bipeds (human beings) and quadrupeds. First of all * *Sōma* acquired you, then did the *Gandharva*. Your third husband is Agni (fire) and thy fourth husband is a human being. *Sōma* gave her to *Gandharva* and the latter subsequently gave her to Agni; and Agni gave her to me

* *Sōma* presides at birth; † *Gandharva* watches as the (*maiden*) passes from childhood to girlhood; and Agni is the guardian of virginity.

with riches and sons. May Pusana make her fond of me (*Urū Ushatī vihar yasyamushantah praparam śhapan yasyamukama bahabō nioishtyas*)” and after reciting this the pair look at each other.† Thereafter the bridegroom walks round the fire and putting his right foot on a mattress placed behind the Hōma, takes his seat with the bride on his right side. Being seated he takes up some flowers, sandal-paste, betel and a piece of cloth and declares, “I appoint you (names) Sharma as Brahmā to supervise the Hōma (sacrifice) which is a part of the marriage ceremony which would be performed to-day, with these flowers, sandal-paste, betel, sacred-thread and this cloth.” Thus the Brahmā is nominated. In reply the Brahmā says, “I accept the appointment.” The bridegroom then asks him to do the needful. The reply is given, “I shall do”, whereupon the bridegroom offers him a clean seat strewn over with grasses with their tips pointed to the east while the Brahmā goes round the fire once and the bridegroom says, “Be my Brahmā in this ceremony.” On his replying, “I shall be as you say” he should be made to sit on the *Āsana* which is kept ready. The *Pranita* jug is thereafter brought forward and is filled with water and covered over with *Kuśas* and then casting a look at the Brahmā’s face it should be placed on *Kuśas* lying to the north of fire. The 16 *Kuśas* (i.e., one-fourth of the bunch which consists of 64 *Kuśas*) are strewn from the north-east with their tips to the south-east, 16 more over the space between the Brahmā and the Fire, 16 more from north-west with their tips to the south-west, and the remaining 16 are strewn over the space between the Fire and *Pranita* jug. On the west to the north of the Fire, three *Kuśas* should be kept for purification; and a *Kuśa* having two blades only should also be there. Besides this there should be the *Prokshani Patra* (a pot containing water for sprinkling), a dish containing ghee, *Kuśas* for brushing, *Kuśas* with their

† While giving the daughter away, her father gives her and the bridegroom gold, silver, land and other things in the shape of dowry. The bride and the bridegroom next go down to the altar and are seated side by side in front of the sacrificial fire,

three blades matted together, small sticks of wood for making Fire, three wooden spoons, ghee for oblations, a pot filled with 256 handfuls of rice to be given as *Dakshina* to the Brahmā. All these things should be placed one after another preceded by the *Kuśas* by which the *Kuśas* is cut to make it into a *Pavitri*. Besides these all other necessary articles should be in readiness there, which may include some fried paddy from the husks, a flat stone, and a winnowing fan. The bride's brother and another man of stout physique should also wait near at hand to be of assistance. A *Kuśas* is then made into a *Pavitri* by cutting it by other *Kuśas*. Some water is dropped thrice into the *Prokṣhani* jug out of *Pranita* jug with the two *Pavitri* in the first, and the *Pavitris* being held between the thumb and forefinger of both the hands some water is sprinkled over the head for purification. Taking up the *Prokṣhani* jug on his left hand, he again sprinkles water in the above manner. The *Prokṣhani* jug is itself sprinkled over by the *Pranita* water; and all other things that may be lying there are also purified in the same way by this water. The *Prokṣhani* jug is then placed between the Fire and the *Pranita* jug. Some butter is put into the butter-pot and melted. Some burning bits of straw are stirred round into the ghee. The *Sruva* (wooden spoon) is heated and brushed by the *Kuśas* (kept there for the purpose) inwardly by their ends and outwardly by their tips; it is then wetted by the *Pranita*; and again having been heated three times should be put down on the *Kuśas* to the right. Some ghee should now be sprinkled over the head for purification. He takes the matted *Kuśas* in the left hand and thinking devoutly of Prajāpati (Lord of all created beings) he should throw silently ghee-besmeared sticks of wood into the fire. Taking his seat he sprinkles the *Prokṣhani* water over the fire. Putting down the two *Pavitris* in the *Pranita* jug and with his right thigh upside down, he offers an oblation of ghee with the *Sruva* (sacrificial ladle) into the fire which has already been kindled by the Brahmā. Twelve oblations beginning from *Aghar mantra* are then offered successively;

each time the remaining ghee in the *Sruva* being dropped into the *Prokṣhaṇi Patra*. He mutters inaudibly, "Oblation to Prajāpati; this is for Prajāpati". Then the *Aghar* oblations, "Oblation to Indra; this is for Indra." "Oblation to Fire; this is for the Fire" "Oblation to Sōma; this is for Sōma." The latter two are called *Ajyabhāg*. Then the following oblations are offered with the verses: "Oblation for good to the Fire in the form of Gandharva, who is Truth and abode of Truth. May he protect our knowledge and manliness. Oblation to the Fire's Apsarās (Fairies) called Muda. Oblation for good to the Sun-Gandharva who joins day with night and pervades the Sāmaveda. May he protect our learning and manliness. Oblation to the Apsarās called 'Ayu' who are the rays of the Sun-Gandharva. Oblation for good to the Moon who is the Sun's ray called Sushumnā. May he protect our knowledge and manliness. Oblation to the Apsarās called Bhekurayas who are the planets of the Moon. Oblation for good to the ever-moving and omnipresent Wind-Gandharva. May he protect our knowledge and manliness. Oblation to the Apsarās called Oorjat which are the currents of the Wind-Gandharva. Oblation for good to the Jajna-Gandharva who takes care (of all creatures) and moves about graciously. May he protect our knowledge and manliness. Oblation to the Apsarās called Yayu which constitute the Dakshinā (fee given to the Brāhman for helping in the sacrifice) of the Yajna-Gandharva." "Oblation for good to the Lord of the created beings who is the moulder of the Universe and is its soul. May he protect our knowledge and manliness. Oblation to the Apsarās called Eshtio which form Rik and Sama rituals chanted by the Prajapati. Oblation to the Heart; it is for the heart. Oblation to Chittihi to Akutihi; to Akutihi to Vijñatam (that which has been learnt); to the mind; to the Shakaris; to the Darsh (new moon light); to the Purnamāsa (full moon night); to the Great; to the Rathanthar; to Prajapati (Lord of all created beings), the wrathful (when defeating hostile armies) who taught the Jaya formulas to the valiant

Indra. All beings reverently bow down to Prajāpati who carried away oblations offered to him." Now follow the *Abhyatana* formulae which are 18 in number : May Agni, the Lord of all the creatures ; Indra, the Lord of the elders ; Yama (Death), the Lord of the Earth ; the Wind, who is the Lord of the firmament ; the Sun, who is the master of the day ; the Moon that of the planets ; the Brihaspati, that of the Brāhmans ; Mitra, of the eternal objects ; Varuna, of the waters ; the Sea, of the rivers and streams ; the Crops, which are the lord of prosperity ; Sōma, that of medicinal herbs ; Savitri, that of fruits ; Rudra, that of the cattle ; Tvastri, of forms ; Vishnu, that of the mountains ; Maruts, the Lords of the hosts ; may they protect me and the Brāhmā, and may the marriage ceremony pass off smoothly. May my grandfather and father and all other *pitrīs* (ancestors) afford me a similar protection." Again oblations are offered with these *Mantras* "May Agni, the premier God, come hither, with the permission of the King Varuna and liberate the offspring of this woman from Death's noose, so that she may not have to lament the loss of her sons. May Gārhapatya Agni (the Fire that presides over the destiny of the family), protect this woman and grant her such offsprings that may live a long life. May her lap be never empty and may all her children survive her. May she enjoy happiness on account of her sons. Oh Agni ! thou art worthy of the sacrifice (that is performed in thine honour). May the whole earth and the Heaven be blissful to me. Let me have the choicest things of the earth and those of Heaven, i.e., the riches in various shape. Oh Agni ! thou art the essence of the whole body of planets ; come here showing us an easy path ; give us a bright and undecaying life ; may death go away and immortality bless us. May Yama (Death), Vivaswata's son, keep us out of danger." Here the *Pranita* water is touched. "Oh Yama ! go back by the way which is the best of all and is not trodden on by other celestial beings. I pray that you, having eyes and ears capable of seeing and hearing every thing, should not destroy my progeny, not even my son. Satisfy

yourself by this oblation offered to you." Saying this, the *Pranita* water is touched. The bridegroom and the bride slowly rise up with their faces to the east when the bride's brother pours out into the hollow made by joining hands by the bride over that of the bridegroom, some fried grains besmeared with ghee, mixing some *sanu* leaves also. With these the girl offers oblations into the Fire, reciting the following *Mantras*: "This girl worships the sun in the form of Agni with a desire that she may never be separated from her husband." This woman, while throwing the fried grains into the Fire, says—"May my husband live long and my relatives prosper. I throw these grains into the Fire for your prosperity; may Agni grant that, you and I, may live together in harmony." Then the bridegroom takes hold of the bride's right hand and says: "I seize your hand for the sake of happiness; may you live to old age with me, your husband; the Gods, viz., Bhaga the Sun and Purandhi have given you to me for directing our household affairs." This I am, that art thou; that art thou, this I am; I am Sōma and thou art Rik, I am the sky and thou art the earth; come, let us marry and join in holy wedlock; let us beget offspring; let us acquire many sons: and may all of them reach old age. Devoted to each other and beautiful to look at, and with cheerful hearts, [may we live for a 100 years and see for a 100 years and hear for a 100 years." This said, the bridegroom makes her tread with her right foot on a flat stone (that is laid on the northern side of the Fire) with this *Mantra*: "Tread on this stone; be firm like a stone, overwhelm those who think of arraying their forces against you; and rout those that have come with their forces." He also sings this song—"To-day I shall sing in praise of you, Oh Saraswati; thou art gracious and bountiful; the whole world dwells in thee: the song which I shall sing to-day will bestow the highest honour on women." Then the bridegroom with the bride before him, goes round the *Pranita* jug, the Brahmā and the Fire, while the bridegroom recites this *Mantra*—"Oh Fire, this girl of dazzling beauty was first married to you; grant now that she may marry a human being and let her be his wife for the sake of progeny."

The same rites are twice again gone through beginning from the fried grains. The remaining fried grains are poured into the fire with the words—"Oblation to Bhaga". She is led round for the fourth time; and the bridegroom offers oblations of *ghee* into the fire which are meant for Prajāpati, the *ghee* that remains over being poured into the Prokshani jug. Thereupon the bridegroom leads her on seven steps towards the north and at each step he recites this *Mantra*: "May Vishnu lead you to food by the first step; to strength by the second step; to riches by the third; to the source of happiness by the fourth; to cattle by the fifth; to six seasons of the year by the sixth; and by the seventh step Oh friend! be devoted to me by the grace of Vishnu." Then from a pitcher held over the shoulder by another, the bridegroom pours water through a bunch of mango leaves on to the bride's head, and recites the *Mantra*: "The blessed, the most blessed, the peaceful ones, provide medicine for thee." And again he does so with the Mantras: "Oh Sacred waters! ye are source of happiness; so with a liberal mind, provide food for us." "Waters! ye constitute the most blessed juice; allow us to share in it, like a doting mother." Then looking at the Sun and addressing the bride, he speaks thus,—“Having invoked the bright eye of the Divine Being that rises in the east, we wish to live, see and speak for a hundred years; and aye longer still.” Then he asks her to see the Polar star, when the sun is about to set and says—"Oh bride! you are steady; live under my protection for ever. Since Brihashpati has given you to me, so live with me with children for a hundred years." On being asked thus, she should say "I see". He should then move his hand over her right shoulder and touch her heart and recites—"I take thy heart into my will; thy mind shall follow mine; you shall rejoice heartily in what I shall say; may Prajāpati join you to me." He adds—"This girl wears auspicious ornament; come and behold her. Having blessed her, go back to your place." Then a stout man lifts her up and places her on a red bull's hide in an out-of-the-way place that may be in an eastern or northern

direction with the *Mantra*—"Here may the cows sit down, here the horses and men may in the sacrifice in which a thousand *Dakshinās* are given occupy this place. Pushan may also sit here." Thereafter the *Svistakrit Hōma* is performed at the end of which the *Brāhman* gets his fee after which he walks round the fire and is given permission to go. Then, reciting the *Mantra* "May the Waters serve the purpose of a cure for our friends" he sprinkles some water over his head. He throws away the *Pranita* water in the south-west with the *Mantra*: "May the Water be unfriendly to him who hates us and is hated by us." He resumes his seat and draws some ashes by the *Sruva* and puts a mark on his forehead, neck, forearm and his heart by his forefinger, and also puts similar mark over the bride's forehead, neck, forearm and heart. Then he rubs vermilion over the bride's head. The bridegroom gives away some money as *Karma-Dakshinā*, *Sakalarista Prasaman Bhuyasī* for the completion of the marriage and for the destruction of evils and for general distribution. Subsequently the females of the house as also the male relations shower blessings on the married couple with *Doorbākshat* uttering *Mantras*. The couple then make obeisance to the Goddess of the house and are escorted to the ladies' apartments where they are received by the ladies and presents are made to them. Returning to the *Maṇḍap* he takes some *Doorākshat*. For the succeeding three nights they should eat no food containing salt; they should sleep on the ground; and practice other observances to keep themselves pure.

The last part of the marriage ceremony which is called *Chaturthi* takes place on the fourth day. Early on that morning the couple bathe in the water preserved since the *Laj Hovan* of the first day. *Havan* is again performed this morning by the bridegroom with the bride by his side. The *Chaturthi* is a most important ceremony as it makes the man and the woman one and it represents the completion of the Vedic rites.

The following Mantrās are used on this occasion :—

“ Oh Fire! thou being the atonement for sins, thou art the expiation of Gods also. For this reason I, who am Brahman, approach thee with the prayer that thou wouldst destroy the effects of such inauspicious signs of this maiden which may bring death to her husband.”

Similar Mantras are uttered invoking the assistance of Vāyu, Aditya Sōma and Gandharva with respect to inauspicious signs calculated to bring death to the offspring, and harm to the household, and to the good name of the husband.

“ Oh Maiden! by this *Abhisheka* (sprinkling of holy water) I destroy the effects of such inauspicious signs as may bring death to thy husband, cattle, offspring and household. Then you shall live with me to old age. I unite my soul with thy soul. I unite my bones, flesh and skin with thine.”

As said above, a Śrōtriya wishing to marry, does his best to marry in a *Laukik* higher than his own, or in a *Laukik* equal to his own in order that his rank may not suffer. But sometimes even one of the highest section is compelled to marry the lowest section of his class and for this he suffers. His relations are not only indifferent to the marriage, but try to stop it if they can. He has therefore to start for the marriage secretly and marry secretly. He also leaves the house of his father-in-law on the very first day after the marriage is performed without so much as taking his meal there and returns home with the bride secretly,—*Chaturt̥hi* and other rites being performed at his own house. This kind of marriage is becoming very rare now.

After the *Chaturt̥hi* ceremony is over, minor ceremonies take place and amongst them the *Dasūt* which is an important one, is performed on the eve of the bridegroom's departure for home after the marriage days. Ten married ladies whose husbands are living entertain, bless and advise the married couple. The bridegroom is made to stand in front of the bride and one of the ten ladies does first *Nichhabar*, i.e., moves round the bridegroom's head and face a lighted lamp made of powdered rice and *sindur* and a red-coloured wick and throws it behind him wiping

off as it were all the evil influences to which he may be subject and she then applies sandal-wood paste to his forehead, collyrium to his eyes, gives him some water for *Achman* (sips) and for drink, some betel leaves for use and rings a musical box near his ears. He is then made to do *Sindur-dān*, i.e., rub vermilion over the head of the bride. All this is done by each of the ten married ladies separately one after another uttering benedictions couched in verses which are to the effect that the married couple may remain faithful and attached to each other for ever like Rama and Sitā, Mahādeva and Gouri, Indra and Sachi and so forth; that the bride who is a mere toy in the house of the ladies be the mistress of her husband's house blessed with happiness and every success in life.

The marriage ceremonies and rituals as described above excepting the *Uchhati* and the marriage performed without the consent of the bridegroom's relations are peculiar and restricted to the Śrōtriya class are prevalent more or less in all the four classes of the Maithil Brāhmans. The difference is in the manner and the scale on which the ceremonies can be performed having regard to the means of the parties.

In order to facilitate the marriage of the Maithil Brāhmans, periodical meetings (*Sabhās*) attended by authorized genealogists are held during the *Shuddha* (sacred days) at different centres such as the villages Saurath, Partapur, Sajhuar, Bhakhrail, Sahasaula, Bangāon and Govindpur-Harrahi of the Darbhānga, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Purnea districts respectively, where thousands and thousands of Maithil Brāhmans flock and such of them as wish to marry consult the genealogical registers and having obtained the *Aswajan Patra* from the *Panjiārs*, proceed to the dwelling houses of the bridal party and have the marriage performed in accordance with the *Shāstras* and the Maithil customs. It is impossible for all the Maithil Brāhmans who are several lakhs in number, to get the services of the genealogists who form a very limited class at their homes and it is possible to get them only at large gatherings where they have all their ancient records at hand.

The negotiation and settlement of the marriage of a bride and a bridegroom belonging to the Srōtriya class never take place at the above *Sābhas*. The Srotriyas have all along *Gharkhatha* (home negotiation) i.e., the negotiation and settlement done at home. They are so small in number that they can very well manage them at home. The Maithils of the other three classes have also *Gharkhatha* but they cannot do without the *Sabhas* inasmuch as their number is very large and they are variously circumstanced. As a matter of fact, even for centuries after the enforcement of the marriage rules of Rājā Harsingh Deva, the negotiations and settlement of the marriage of all the four classes of the Maithil Brāhmans took place at their homes. The *Sabhā-Gachhis*, i.e., the fixed places of the *Sabhas*, are of comparatively recent growth. A *Sabhā-Gachhi* of the village Saurath, which is the oldest of all the other *Sabhā-Gachhis*, is about the centre of Mithilā, being four miles away from Madhubani, district Darbhāngā.

In and about that village lived and taught eminent Paṇḍits who were authorities also in the genealogical matters. It was natural therefore that the *Sabhā-Gachhi* at Saurath was selected first as the best place for the Maithils to assemble and consult the genealogical records, negotiate and settle the marriage after examining the intended bridegroom in *Shāstras* at an open place under the trees which was considered suitable for administration of justice in good old days.

It is a matter of pride to the Maithils that the *Shāstric* injunctions are so strictly followed and that before a marriage is settled, the absence of the relationship is so scrupulously ascertained in the presence of the Paṇḍits, other authorities and the public, that there is no chance left for an objectionable marriage to take place—objectionable in respect of the *Shāstras* and the *Sanatan Dharma*—which the Maithil value most,

VI.—Kinship Organization of the Birhors

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Like the socio-economic organization of the Birhōr *ṭānḍā*, the matrimonial and kinship organization of the tribe show the people as occupying a very low grade in the scale of social evolution. Totemism, exogamy and father-right are the three main factors of that organization. Descent is reckoned in the male line, and marriage between persons of the same totemic clan is forbidden.

Although clan-exogamy and the recognition of kinship through the father's side alone, would appear to have primarily governed the kinship and matrimonial organization of the tribe, regard for certain blood relationships with members of other clans together with the 'classificatory' system of reckoning relationship, has gradually introduced certain additional restrictions to their simple rules of marriage and kinship. And a Birhōr of one clan may no longer marry any and every person of the opposite sex belonging to a different clan. But how slight these other restrictions are may be gathered from the fact that it is even considered permissible, though not quite proper, for a son and a daughter of the same mother, though not of the same father, to marry after their mother is dead; ¹ and the only restriction to cross-cousin marriage—marriage between the children of a brother and a sister—is that the community does not look with favour on such marriages during the life-time of either the brother or the sister. But even on this point the tribal conscience is satisfied if the contracting parties each pay to the Panch the paltry consideration of one rupee and four annas to make them regard the brother and sister as legally dead. There is a common Birhōr saying :—"With one rupee and a quarter the father's sister is made to die." The same procedure is adopted

¹ I have not however heard of any instance of such a union.

to validate the marriage of the children of two sisters when either or both of the sisters are alive. Whether a cross-cousin marriage be a modification of the system of marriage with the widow of the mother's brother, or not, a Birhōr now looks upon his mother's brother's wife in the same light as a mother and may not take any liberties with her either in speech or otherwise.

Clan-exogamy may indeed be said to be practically the sole principle of matrimonial eligibility amongst the Birhōrs, with only one exception,—namely, the prohibition against marriages between persons whom society regards as standing to one another in the position of parent and child in the 'classificatory' sense. And as society regards an elder brother and his younger brother's wife as standing to each other in the relation of father and daughter, this rule includes the prohibition against the marriage of an elder brother with the widow of his deceased younger brother. A younger brother however has the first claim to the hand of his deceased elder brother's widow; and even where he does not want to marry her, he is entitled to the bride-price payable by the man who takes her as his wife.

The kinship system of the Birhōr, is, as I have said, of the kind known as classificatory. The

The classificatory system and kinship nomenclature.

fundamental feature of this system is, broadly speaking, the application of the same relationship term in addressing most, though not all, persons of the same generation and sex. Thus, every one whom the father of a Birhōr calls 'dādā' or elder brother (or cousin) is his own 'gūngū' or 'kūkū' and his mother's 'bhaisūr', and every one whom his father calls 'bhāi' or younger brother (or cousin) is his own 'kākā' (father's younger brother) and his mother's 'iriri' (husband's younger brother) and every one whom his mother calls 'dādā' or 'bhāi' is his own 'māmu'. The following table of Birhōr terms of relationship and mutual address was obtained by means of genealogies. The terms 'brother' and 'sister' are used in the table in a classificatory sense and includes cousins, however remote :—

RELATIONSHIP TERMS.

	<i>is spoken of as</i>	<i>Abā</i>	<i>and addres- sed as</i>	<i>O Abā,</i>
Father				
Mother	"	Māe	"	O Māe.
Father's younger brother	"	Kakā	"	Eh Kakā.
Father's younger brother's wife	"	Kaki	"	Eh Kaki.
Husband	"	Kisān or Herel.	"	(father of so-and-so).
Wife	"	Erā	"	(Mother of so-and-so).
A man's elder brother's wife	"	Hili	"	Eh hili.
Father's elder brother	"	Gungū	"	Eh Gungū.
Mother's elder sister's hus- band	"	"	"	"
(A woman's) younger sis- ter's son	"	"	"	"
Wife's younger sister's son	"	"	"	"
Wife's younger sister's daughter	"	"	"	"
(A woman's) younger sis- ter's son or daughter	"	"	"	"
(A man's) younger brother's son or daughter	"	"	"	"
(A woman's) husband's younger brother's son or daughter	"	"	"	"
Younger brother's daughter	"	"	"	"
Father's elder brother's wife	"	Gungū māi	"	Eh Gungū māi.
Mother's elder sister	"	Gungū māi	"	"
Wife's father	"	Hōnjhār	"	Hōnjhār kin.
Husband's father	"	Hōnjhār	"	"
Husband's elder brother	"	Bāuhōnjhār	"	(not add- ressed).
Husband's mother's brother	"	Mamu hōnjhār	"	Mamu hōnj- hār kin.

Wife's mother's brother	<i>is spoken of as</i>	Māmu hōnjhār.	<i>and address- ed as</i>	Māmu hōnj- hār kin.
Wife's elder brother	"	Bāu hōnjhār	"	Eh Bāu hōnj- hār kin.
Wife's mother	"	Hanhār	"	Hanhār kin.
Wife's elder sister	"	"	"	"
Woman's) elder sister's hus- band	"	"	"	"
Husband's mother	"	"	"	"
Husband's elder sister	"	Aji hanhār	"	Aji hanhār.
A co-wife	"	Hirumin	"	(an elder co- wife is address- ed as 'Didi' or 'Dāi' and a younger co-wife is called by the name of her ṭandā).
Great grand-father }	"	Dādā	"	Eh Dādā.
Great grand-uncle }	"	"	"	"
Elder brother	"	"	"	"
Elder sister	"	Didi	"	Eh Didi.
Husband's elder brother's wife	"	Gōtni	"	"
Great grand-mother }	"	Dāi	"	Eh Dāi.
Great grand-aunt }	"	"	"	"
Wife's younger sister's husband	"	Sāphu bhāi	"	Eh Sāphu.
Elder sister's husband	"	Teyāng	"	Teyāng-ho.
Father's father }	"	Ajā	"	Eh Ajā.
Father's uncle }	"	"	"	"
Father's mother	"	Aji	"	Eh Aji.
Mother's brother	"	Māmu	"	Eh Māmu.
Father's sister's husband	"	"	"	"
Father's sister	"	Hātōm	"	Eh Hātōm.
Mother's brother's wife	"	"	"	"
Mother's younger sister	"	Mōsi	"	Eh Mōsi.
Mother's younger sister's husband	"	Mōsā	"	Eh Mōsā.
Wife's elder sister's son	"	Mōsā	"	Eh Mōsā.

Husband's younger brother's wife	<i>is spoken of as</i>	Gotni	<i>and addressed as</i>	mother of so-and-so.
Mother's father (or uncle)	„	Nānā	„	Eh Nānā.
Mother's mother (or aunt)	„	Nāni	„	Eh Nāni.
Son's wife's father, and Daughter's husband's father	} „	Samdhi	„	Samdhi ho.
Son's wife's mother, and Daughter's husband's mother	} „	Samdhin	„	Samdhin ho.
Younger brother	„	Bhāi, or Hūḍing	„	Bhāi (or addressed by name)
Younger brother's wife	„	Bhāikimin	„	(not addressed).
Wife's younger brother	„	Sārā	„	(addressed by name).
Elder sister's husband	„	Teyāng	„	Teyāng ho.
Elder brother's daughter	„	Bet̃i	„	Eh Bet̃i.
Daughter	„	Bet̃i	„	„
Son	„	Hōpōn	„	Eh Bet̃ā.
Elder brother's son	„	Dādā reni hōpōn	„	„
Husband's elder brother's son	„	Bauhonjor- eni hōpōn	„	„
(Woman's) elder sister's son	„	Diding-reni hōpōn	„	„
Husband's younger brother	„	Iriul	„	Eh Bet̃ā ; Eh babu.
Daughter's husband	„	Jāwāe	„	Jāwāe go ; Eh babu.
Sister's daughter's husband	„	Bhāgni Jāwāi	„	Eh Bhāgni Jāwāe (also Eh Babu).
A woman's brother's son	„	Bhāgnā	„	Eh Bhāgnā.
Younger brother's daughter	„	Bhegni	„	Eh Bhegn.

same person is not unknown in this tribe. No jests and jokes are permitted with one's father's sister or mother's brother's wife, who are both regarded in the same light as one's mother. On the other hand, jests and jokes and certain modes of speech suggestive of conjugal familiarity are freely used by persons related to each other as grand-parent and grand-child (in the classificatory sense) among the Birhōrs, as they are also prevalent among the Orāons and the Muṇḍās of Chōtā Nāgpur. And improper relations between such relatives are thought lightly of by society. It may be further noticed that similar jokes and jests are freely allowed between a man and his elder brother's wife, and great liberties are permitted between these relatives. And we have seen that amongst the Birhōrs, a widow's deceased husband's younger brother has the first choice of her hand in marriage. From these circumstances it may not be unreasonable to infer that familiar modes of speech still in use between grand-parent and grand-child are the survival of the same social regulation which Dr. Rivers met with in the island of Pentecost and Mr. Howitt amongst the Dierri of Australia and which might at one time have been in vogue amongst the Birhōrs of Chōtā Nāgpur.

As amongst most other tribes and castes of Chōtā Nāgpur,
the names of a man's younger brother's wife and of his wife's elder sister are taboo to the Birhōr and

Kinship Taboos.

the names of the husband's elder brother and of a younger sister's husband and a younger brother's wife are taboo to a Birhōr woman. Even words resembling in sound names of such relatives may not be uttered. Thus, if the name of a woman's husband's elder brother is 'Būdhū' she will not call a Wednesday by its proper name of 'Būdh' but in referring to a Wednesday she will use some such expression as 'the day after Tuesday'. It is believed that the uttering of such a tabooed name is sure to cause sickness or other misfortune to the person uttering the name or to some one of his or her family. When a Birhōr wants to say something to his younger brother's wife or his

wife's elder sister, he may not ordinarily communicate directly with such relative, but should communicate through somebody else such as his own wife; and similarly when a woman wants to say something to her husband's elder brother or sister or her younger sister's husband, she should, if possible, communicate through some third person. If any direct communication becomes absolutely necessary between such relatives, they may talk without going close to each other and without looking straight at each other's face. They may not sit on the same mat nor even tread on each other's shadow. Besides these, there appear to be no other restrictions against conversation between a man or woman and relatives of one's wife or husband. For the first three or four days after marriage a newly-married bride does not talk much, and in the presence of her parents-in-law speaks in a low voice. A wife or a husband may not address each other by name, but when questioned by others, it is permissible to mention the name of one's husband or wife.

At the ear-boring ceremony of a Birhōr baby, the *sākhi* relative after whom the baby has been named has to take up the baby in his or her arms and perforate its ears.

The Functions of certain Kin.

At marriage, the sister's husband of the bridegroom (or bride) is required to perform certain functions which will be described in a subsequent paper on "Birhōr Marriage Customs".

At the cremation of a deceased Birhōr it is his youngest son who is required to put fire to the mouth of the corpse, and then only may other sons and relatives do so.

The Birhōr father has absolute right over his sons. In

The Rights and Privileges of certain Relatives.

case the mother of his children deserts him, the father is entitled to the custody of his sons, and the mother is entitled to the custody of the daughters. At the marriage of a girl, her mother receives two rupees from the bridegroom's people. This is supposed to represent the price of mother's milk. Formerly the amount paid was one rupee

but for the last twenty-five years or so the amount has been raised to two rupees because 'the mother has two breasts from which the girl was suckled' !

During the lifetime of a Birhōr father, his sons may demand a partition of the family property, only after all the sons have been married. In the event

Succession and Inheritance.—Partition.

of a partition, the father will keep a share (usually less than that of a son) for himself and divide the rest among his sons. The eldest son gets the largest share and each of the younger sons gets a share slightly larger than that of his next brother. Where a man has two wives, the sons of the elder wife all receive a larger share than those of the younger wife. There is, however, no fixed proportion according to which the property is divided.

On the death of the father, the sons divide the property according to the same principles. Daughters are not entitled to share the father's property with their brothers. But if a man has no sons, his *ghārjāwāē*, a son-in-law living with his wife's parents as a member of the family, or in the absence of *ghārjāwāē* his daughters are entitled to his property, provided they bear the funeral expenses. In the absence of children or a *ghārjāwāē*, the nearest agnate or agnates of the deceased inherit, taking *per stirpes* and not *per capita*. Failing a near agnate, men of the same sept living in the *ṭaṇḍā* will take the property *per stirpes* on their bearing the funeral expenses.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. The Date of Umāpati.

By Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph.D. D., Litt., I.C.S.

IN my article on the *Pārijāta-Haraṇa* (*ante*, vol. iii, page 25), I discussed the date of its author, Umāpati. I said that, according to a tradition that in all probability preserved the truth, he was a contemporary of Hari or Hara, Dēva, who reigned in Mithilā in the 14th century A.D. Since that paper was published an edition of the play has appeared in Darbhanga, with an interesting Introduction by Paṇḍit Chētnāth Jhā, in which he maintains that Umāpati lived in the 17th century.

In both cases the question is one of tradition, and till further evidence becomes available it will be impossible to state definitely which, if either, of the traditions is correct. If Paṇḍit Chētnāth Jhā can produce more evidence on his side, I am quite ready to abandon my suggestion, but, at present, the evidence adduced by him appears to me to be insufficient. In my paper, although I stated that I considered that the tradition referred to by me preserved historical truth, I was careful to show, in the final paragraphs, that the matter was not proved, but only probable.

I would ask permission to state here the reasons for my assumption of this probability, and to compare them with the grounds put forward by the Paṇḍit. This will enable future inquirers to select a profitable line of investigation.

All that we know for certain about the poet is that his patron was a certain king named Harihara Dēva, Hindūpati, whose queen was named Mahēśvarī. This Harihara is frequently called a king of all kings (e.g. verse 4). He had numerous subject kings, had conquered the world, and was *Maithilēśa*, Maithil

King, or King of Mithilā. His dread scimitar cut down the forest of the Musalmāns (page 61). He was a fire of vengeance devouring them, and was the tenth, or final, incarnation of Viṣṇu, which, according to ancient prophecy, was to destroy all unbelievers from the face of the earth (verse 37). All this is, of course, the exaggeration of a courtier poet, but even such a panegyrist would not have ventured to say it without some foundation. We may safely assume that Harihara Dēva was a powerful local monarch, that he ruled in Mithilā, that he had made important conquests and had tributary kings under him, and that he had waged successful war with the Musalmāns.

So far as I know the Hari, or Hara, Dēva mentioned by me is the only king of Mithilā who answers at all to this description. He was a powerful ruler. His great tank dug at Darbhāṅgā, and the fact that he founded the still existing system of genealogical records for the higher castes of the whole of Mithilā bears witness to the extent of his sway and to the authority with which he exercised it. His name is the only one in the dynastic lists of the country that in any way agrees with that of Harihara Dēva. We have, it is true, no account of his alleged wars with the Musalmāns, but we know from independent sources quoted in my original article, that Ghāyāsud-dīn Tughlak marched through Tirhūt on his way to Lakhnautī. Musalmān historians are silent as to what happened in Tirhūt, although they enlarge upon the conquest of the latter place, and we may therefore assume that their hero had no very striking success in Mithilā. The poet may well have magnified the march into a victory of his patron, but I admit that this is a weak point in my argument.

Pandit Chētnāth Jha's argument is as follows :—

There is a tradition that a certain Gökulanātha Upādhyāya once paid a visit to Umāpati when the latter was a very old man. Gökulanātha lived in the days of Mahārāja Rāghava Simha (1698-1724¹), and Umāpati must therefore have been contemporary

¹I give the dates as found in the *Mithilādarpana*. Those given by the Pandit differ by a few years.

with Rāghava Siṃha and with his predecessor, Narapati Thākur (1678-98).

It will be observed that this also is based upon tradition, and that neither of the kings mentioned had the name of Harihara Dēva, Umāpati's patron. To get over this difficulty Paṇḍit Chētnāth Jhā states that there was at that time an independent Rājā named Harihara Dēva at a place called Makmānī (? Kam-mānī) in the Saptarī Pargana in what is now Nepal territory, a short way to the north of the present Bhaṭṭiāhi station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway. The Paṇḍit's authority is apparently the *Likhnāvālī* of Vidyāpati Thākur, a work which I have not seen, in which he says that Saptarī is described. All this is very interesting, but before accepting the identification I should like to have more particulars. This Harihara Dēva must have been a contemporary of the great rulers of Mithilā, Narapati Thākur and Rāghava Siṃha. How could a poet of Mithilā, a subject of these powerful princes, have called this petty prince-ling a lord paramount of other kings and 'King of Mithilā',—if that is the meaning of *Maithilēsa*? If he had made a claim to any such title, Narapati and Rāghava would soon have made short work of his pretensions. Again, how could he have been a conqueror of Musalmān armies? If, at that time, there had been an opponent of the Musalmāns it would have been Narapati or Rāghava, not a little local chief of Nepāl. Yet, of Rāghava Siṃha, we know that he accepted a *Mukārrarī paṭṭā* of the Tihūt Sarkār, at a rent of a lakh of rupees yearly, from Alah Virdi Khān,² who was then Faujdār of Rājmahāl.

To sum up. In both cases, the suggested chronology rests upon tradition. Each tradition has something to say for itself, and each has its weak points. The weak point of my tradition is the want of any definite proof that my Hari, or Hara, Dēva conquered the Musalmāns. The weak point of Paṇḍit Chētnāth Jhā's tradition is the fact that his Harihara Dēva cannot be made to square with the paramount, victorious, king described by the poet. Here we can leave the matter for future inquirers.

² *Mithilā darpaṇa*, I, p. 81.

II.—Nepāl, Tīrhūt, and Tibet.

By Vincent A. Smith, M.A., I.C.S.

When the great King Harsha or Harsha-var dhana of Kanauj died at the close of A.D. 646 or the beginning of A.D. 647, leaving no heir, his minister usurped the vacant throne. Just then a Chinese envoy named Wang-hiuen-t'se, who had been sent to the court of Harsha, was in India. He was attacked by the troops of the usurper, his escort was scattered, and he himself barely escaped with his life to Nepāl, which was at that time a dependency of Tibet. A combined force of Nepalese and Tibetans utterly defeated the usurper, who was taken prisoner and sent to China. Tīrhūt or Northern Bihār accordingly passed under the sovereignty of Tibet.

The duration of Tibetan rule in Nepāl and Tīrhūt has not been known hitherto. Mr. Sylvain Lévi conjectured that A.D. 879, the epoch of the Nepalese era, might possibly mark the time when Nepāl threw off its allegiance to Tibet (*Le Népal*, volume II, 1905, p. 182). But that event really occurred much earlier. Tibetan rule in Tīrhūt lasted only for about half a century from A.D. 647 or 648 to 703, the date when Nepāl also recovered its independence, as determined by Mr. E. H. Parker, a competent authority, from the histories of the T'ang Dynasty of China.

"In the year 703 it is recorded that both Nepaul and India threw off the Tibetan suzerainty, and that the then King of Tibet perished during his personal conduct of the punitive expedition that he had organized against them " (p. 133).

Mr. Parker adds in a note that he had published a full account of this war in a missionary journal called *China* about seven years previously, and that Colonel Waddell had also printed a

narrative of it about 1910 in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Precise references are not given. It is unnecessary for me to pursue the subject, the purpose of this note being merely to record the fact that both Nepal and Tirhūt made themselves independent of Tibet in A.D. 703.

Mr. Parker's important article from which my quotation is taken appeared in the first number of the *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, pages 129-152. It is entitled "China, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim; their mutual relations as set forth in Chinese official documents". That Journal being chiefly devoted to cuneiform and Semitic studies, an article in it on Indian history is liable to be overlooked.



III.—The Pumsavana Ceremony.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

The Pumsavana ceremony is intended to get a male child. It is performed in the beginning of the third month after conception when it is supposed that the foetus takes shape. Without entering into the ceremonies of *Srādh* and worship which are common to all the sacraments, I proceed to give the details of the ceremony which is peculiar to Pumsavana. A twig of a *Bar* tree with two figs is to be bought seven times with three balls of powdered barley or beans, each act of buying being accompanied by the recital of *mantras*. The twig is to be taken from the north-eastern branch of the tree. It should be absolutely free from worms. The price, that is, the twenty-one balls of barley and beans, is to be paid to the owner of the tree. Then with an appropriate *mantra* the twig is to be cut from the tree. It should be covered with *Kusa* grass and brought home through the sky and kept in the sky, that is, it should not be allowed to touch the ground. A sacred fire is to be kindled and towards the north of the fire a flat grinding stone is to be placed. The grinding stone is to be washed very carefully. The pestle should be spherical and the *Bar* twig with two figs should be crushed by either a Brahmachārīnī, or a young unmarried girl, or by a pregnant woman, or by a learned Brāhman. The water used should be preferably dew water. Then the husband should make his pregnant wife stand on *Kusas* towards the west of the fire with her head bending towards the east, himself standing behind her. He should take the pasted twig into a piece of cloth and press it by the thumb and the fourth finger of the right hand. He should press the cloth and put the juice into the right nostril of his wife, reciting a *mantra* the purport of which is to get a male child.

But there is a shorter process in which the twig is dispensed with. The husband standing behind the wife throws his right

arm on her shoulders and with the palm of his hand touches her bare navel reciting an appropriate *mantra* and there the ceremony ends.

Females giving birth to female children only, often take many vows to get male children. One of them is eating the mud from the bottom of a *Bar* or a *pīpat* tree sacred to the god Kṣhettrapāla who is worshipped by the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. His peculiar function is to protect the field sacred to any deity, Buddhist or Hindu. He is regarded as an incarnation of Lōkeśvara by the Buddhists and of Siva by the Hindus. If Kṣhettrapāla being propitiated grants the boon of a male child, he is to be worshipped with some éclat.

The worship of the god Kārtika, the son of Durgā, for four years on the last day of the month of *Kārtika* often supposed to bring about the birth of a male child.

The common idea is that if the female element prevails at the time of impregnation a female child is born, but if the male element prevails, it leads to the birth of a male child; and if none prevailed a hermaphrodite is born. If at the time of impregnation the female rides the man, a hermaphrodite is born.

Saṣṭhi, a form of Durgā, is considered as the Goddess of fecundity. She is the same as Kubjikā about the worship of which so many palm-leaf manuscripts have been found in Nepal, the oldest being written in the transitional Gupta character. If she is propitiated a female gets a number of children. But she is worshipped in the form of a *Bar* twig. A twig with several leaves is planted in a lump of clay and the lump of clay is surrounded by a piece of cloth dyed in turmeric. Sometimes the entire twig is covered with the dyed cloth, so that the whole looks like a veiled female face. She is worshipped on the sixth day of the waxing moon. Almost all the twelve waxing sixth days she is worshipped. She is also worshipped in the end of the days of impurity after childbirth. She is the favourite deity with the women of Bengal. A black cat is always regarded as ominous in the matter of

child-birth. The story about Saṣṭhi is this :—A girl gave birth to six children and they were all stolen by the black cat. But when she worshipped Saṣṭhi at the next child-birth, they were all restored to her and she found that she was the mother of seven children. All cats are regarded as emblems of barrenness. It is said that the cat always envies children because its own share of food would diminish if there were many children. The dog on the other hand, is looked upon with favour because the dog thinks that with the increase of the number of people in the house, his share would increase.

Along with Saṣṭhi, Markaṇḍeya, her husband also is worshipped. He is said to have been a very long-lived person living for seven cycles of creation, that is, for several millions of years, that is, 43,20,000,72,1,47 years.

The above is a description of the Pumsavana ceremony for those who follow the Sāmaveda. The following is a description of the same ceremony of the R̥g-Vedī Brahmanas. Curd, barley and beans and *Darbha* grass are first to be collected and conserved. The curd should be prepared preferably from the milk of a cow which has a calf of her own colour. This curd should be placed in the curved right palm of the woman in pregnancy, and in the curd should be thrown two circular grains of *mūsa* and one grain of barley, the thing forming, in the imagination, a complete male organ. She is to drink off the whole palmful of the curd with the grains, three times. The husband is to ask her "What are you drinking?" and she is to say, "I am drinking Pumsavana". This is the essence of the R̥g-Vedī Pumsavana.

The Pumsavana ceremony for Yajur-Veda is of a much simpler form. It consists simply in pressing out into the right nostril of the pregnant wife, the juice of the twig and tendril of the *Vaṭa* tree, or preferably some creepers, if procurable, and the pointed stalk of *Kūśa*, compounded together with stale water with appropriate *mantras* in the evening. The sacred fire need not be kindled.

IV.—Insect Pests and the Cultivators' Methods of Control.

By H. L. Dutt, M.A.

As the origin of insect pests and the natural laws governing their birth, growth and reproduction, have an important bearing on their methods of control, it will not be out of place here to give an idea of the cultivators' views on these subjects before considering the remedial methods adopted by them. The most elementary biological facts,—that life can only come out of life and that no organic being can spontaneously come out of nothing—do not appear to them to apply to insects which stand so low in the scale of animals. That a creeping caterpillar comes out of an egg laid by a winged moth and the same caterpillar in course of time changes its form and assumes the size and shape and even acquires the habits of the original parent moth, are facts which do not appeal to the cultivators in general. In the absence of any knowledge of insect-habit or the natural laws governing their multiplication, the cultivators attribute the appearance or disappearance of insect pests, on or from their crops, to the influence of supernatural agencies. Insect attacks are generally regarded as punishments meted out by the Almighty for their past sins and the remedial methods therefore in many cases are in the shape of expiations for their sins by offering *pujas* to God, by sacrificing animals and also by methods based chiefly on superstition. Sometimes they reason only half way in accounting for an out-break of insect pests and come to the wrong conclusion. For instance, the Aphides or Green fly, which is a serious pest of many important crops, having a delicate body, is susceptible to the extremes of temperature and humidity. In moist cloudy weather it multiplies at such an extraordinarily rapid rate that the offsprings of a few stray colonies cover the whole field in

a few days. It is only then that they force themselves, by virtue of their large number, on the notice of the cultivators, who were perfectly ignorant of the fact that the pest had been present in the field in small colonies before the cloudy days, and that the increase in number was due to the favourable climatic conditions. As they do not follow the sequence of events closely, they come to the conclusion that Aphides are born out of clouds. Another example to the point is Rice Stem fly, which is a serious pest of paddy though quite limited in its distribution. As an effect of the attack of this insect, the main central stem of the paddy plant is transformed into a long thick hollow tube which does not bear, and the affected plant becomes quite barren. This insect attacks the newly-transplanted paddy seedlings when the monsoon is in full swing. The cultivators, however, not knowing the actual cause of the disease, believe that the swelling of the stem and the consequent damage to the plant is the immediate effect of thunder, which is very common at that season. Sometimes it is difficult to get the correct information from the cultivators, and when they can not find any plausible explanation for the cause of an insect attack, they tell all sorts of lies. For example an old cultivator at Mōkāmeh tal was once asked if he knew where the *Agrotis* caterpillars, in his plot of land, came from. In reply he said that they all came from the sky, and graphically explained how, when he was working in his field, they fell from above in huge masses and knocked him down by their sheer weight; but this was a deliberate lie. With such crude and superstitious ideas as regards the origin of insect pests, no sensible remedial methods can be expected of them. In a few cases, however, they use their common sense and take satisfactory steps for combating insect attacks.

The practice of offering *pujās* is common all over the province, though the details vary in different parts. The ceremony is performed by a Brahman under a red flag, specially hoisted for the purpose in the affected area. A small earthen altar is built under it on which the offerings are placed. These *pujās* are performed for all kinds of insects on all sorts of crops, and there are special

mantras for this purpose. Another general remedy against all insects, much in vogue in Bihār, is to plant a bamboo pole in the affected area and to hang a notice on it on a sheet of paper, requesting the insects to leave the field and to go back to their homes. This notice must contain the names of the zamindar, the owner of the field, and the insect. Some *mantras* are recited when the notice is hung up. In Tirhut the following methods are practised for checking the leaf-eating caterpillar pests of paddy. A *Chamār* gets a half-burnt stick from a funeral pyre, touches the affected field with it several times, and finally plants it in the field with the burnt end up. This operation is done on Sundays and Tuesdays only. A *Chamār* is given a handful of table rice which he chews for some time and then sprinkles them all over the affected area. He then drives his herd of pigs through the attacked crop.¹ Five twigs of *jamun* tree (*Eugenia Jambolana*) are planted in the field—four at the corners and one in the centre. The person while planting must have no clothing on his body. In South Bihār (especially in Bhagalpur District) sometimes animals are sacrificed on the paddy-field to ward off insect attacks, and also to increase the yield of the crop. The ceremony begins with some *mantras*, after which a fowl and a pig are slaughtered on the field and their blood is allowed to moisten the soil. Afterwards some wine and *ganjā* (hemp) are also added to the soil. The ceremony is performed by Bhuihārs—a very low class of people and not the Brāhmans of the same name. Sometimes maize stalks or leaves of the toddy palm (*Borassus flabellifer*) are planted in the paddy-field against *Burhia* (Rice mealy bug). White ant is an important pest which attacks wheat, sugarcane, etc. In South Bihār the cultivators generally plant twigs of the common weed *Titbhart* (*Clerodendron infortunatus*) in attacked fields of wheat. For sugarcane they use the flowering heads of *Kasal* grass (*Saccharum Spontaneum*) and

¹ It is a sound idea to let in pigs in an insect-affected area, as they feed greedily on insects, but simply driving them through a crop will do more harm than good.

twigs of *Sanwar* or *Samhalu* (*Vitex Nigando*). In Orissā also they plant twigs of some trees in the fields as remedial methods. *Pujas* and *mantras* are as common there as in Tirhut and South Bihār. These superstitious customs vary in their details from district to district, and they are perfectly useless so far as the control of insects is concerned.

A few methods, however, adopted by the cultivators are sensible, and they are effective to some extent. For instance, in Tirhut they handpick the chafer grubs found in the soil in tobacco plots, and irrigate highland wheat, where possible, when affected with white ants. For white ants in sugarcane they sometimes dissolve copper sulphate or *hing* (*Asafetida*) in water and apply it to the affected plants. In Cuttack they sometimes use oil cakes against white ants. The practice of dusting plants with ash is very common among the *Koeris* throughout the province, but except as a potash fertilizer it does not help the plants in any way, unless it is mixed with kerosine oil.

It will thus appear that, except in a few cases, the cultivators are mainly guided by superstition, in their attempts to control insect pests, and the methods adopted by them are perfectly useless in the majority of cases.

V.—Note on the Cultivators' Methods of Treating Plant Diseases.

By S. K. Basu, M.A.

The following note on the cultivator's methods of treating diseases of plants is based partly on personal knowledge, and partly on information collected from the neighbourhood of Sabour. It will therefore be seen that the note is far from complete and can not be said to represent the practices of the Province of Bihār and Orissā as a whole, as these practices must needs vary from district to district depending on the race and tradition of the people of the district concerned. An attempt has been made by Mr. Dutt to collect information from each division through the Agricultural Inspectors, but I am inclined to think that their replies contain in general terms the practices of their divisions as they came to their knowledge but do not contain complete information. If each district agricultural officer is instructed to collect this information in the course of his official intercourse with the cultivators an interesting treatise on the subject could be built up in due course.

The cultivator's term for blight is *āṣb* in Bihār, the corresponding Bengali term being *rog* (disease). Evidently therefore he knows that, like animals, plants are also liable to disease. In visiting infected areas I have always been told *āṣb lāgā*, that is, a crop has been affected with disease. This generally refers to fungus blights or blights caused by physical agencies, and does not include insect attacks. Asked about the cause of the disease, particularly if it is produced by the invisible fungus, the cultivator would say that he did not know the cause or that it was produced by the Divine Will. But some intelligent cultivator would say that that was due to unfavourable wind. For example, in a disease of paddy called *chātra*, in which plants die in patches,

the cause is assigned to the blowing of west winds in the month of *Bhādo* (August-September). Again, in the case of a potato disease known as *dukhinā* the cause is assigned to the blowing of south wind early in the morning. I consider it to be an intelligent guess to attribute the cause of plant diseases to unfavourable winds. It indicates the power of observation of some unusual circumstances; for, the prevailing wind in the month of *Bhādo* is the east or north-east wind, and the prevailing wind in the potato season (winter) is the north or the north-west wind; hence any unusual change in the course of the wind, if it is accompanied by any crop disease, is assigned to be the cause of such disease. In some cases, I have been told that mismanagement of the soil or even want of manure leads to crop diseases; for example, if a paddy-field is cultivated when the soil is dry, disease is said to follow; also if maize is sown in a poor soil a disease known as *kāndwā* is said to appear on the crop. Again, if due regard is not paid to the indications of the stars in the matter of sowing of seeds, disease is said to be the inevitable result. Many diseases are said to be caused by a too wet or too dry condition of the soil or the atmosphere. In the aboriginal tracts of South Bhagalpur some persons are believed to control the demons which they let loose in the fields of their enemies, and these evil spirits are said to cause diseases of crops. I am told that this kind of belief owes its origin to the Santāls though this is by no means confined to them.

As regards treatment it may be said in a general way that diseases of unassignable causes generally go untreated or are treated by superstitious practices. So also is the case with insect damages which are out of proportion to the ability of the cultivator to cope with. To illustrate my statement I may mention that the *chatra* disease of paddy, or the *dukhinā* disease of potato which is supposed to be caused by unfavourable wind, is not treated, or is treated by *mantras*, *pujas*, and other mysterious practices, such as fixing branches or twigs of special plants in the affected fields. But the *kundwā* disease of maize, which is supposed to

be due to impoverishment of soil, is treated by applying manure to the land.

Insects which attack valuable crops (like tobacco in Tirhut) are unearthed and killed outright. Crickets, which eat young seedlings of cauliflowers and cabbages, are killed by the *Koeries*. Application of wood ash or ash obtained by burning cowdung cake to young seedlings of cucurbits, brinjals and other vegetables attacked with insects is a common practice among the *Koeries*. Young and valuable grafts of mangoes which are sometimes attacked by a disease called *Kāriā* (sooty mould) are treated by an infusion of tobacco leaf. Late varieties of mangoes are said to be bitten by mosquitoes and other insects, in consequence of which the fruits rot on the trees; under such circumstances fumigation of cowdung cake or wood is resorted to. As a general rule, it may be said that in extensive cultivation where the damage covers wide areas no attempt is made to destroy insect pests, perhaps owing to a feeling of utter helplessness; but in intensive cultivation, market gardening in particular, destruction of insects is resorted to whenever found necessary, and no scruples exist among the *Koeries* in this respect.

In Crop Pest Handbook, leaflet No. 11, I have described a paddy disease whose cause was not known to the cultivators but the treatment which they followed, I was told by reliable persons at Chinsurah and elsewhere, was found very effective in combating the disease.

VI.—A Note on TOTEMISM amongst the ASURS.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

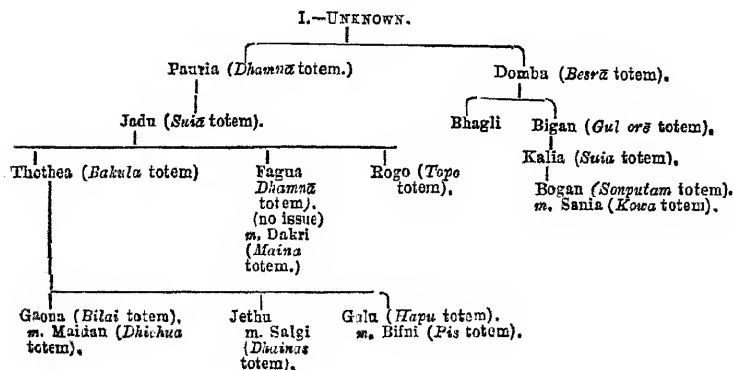
The Asurs of Chōtā Nāgpur appear to be divided into three classes. These are the *Thānia* or settled Asurs, the *Sōeka* or nomadic Asurs, and the *Birjiā* Asurs ¹ who in their turn are subdivided into *Thānias* (settled Birjiās) and *Uṭhlus* (migratory groups). The Birjiā Asurs further recognize subdivisions of their sub-tribe based on other considerations, such as *Sindūrāhā Birjiās* or those who use *sindūr* or vermillion as well as oil at marriages, and *Telia* or those who may use only oil and not *sindūr*; and *Dūdḥ Birjiās* or those who do not eat beef and *Rārḥ Birjiās* or those to whom beef is not taboo. These are cross divisions.

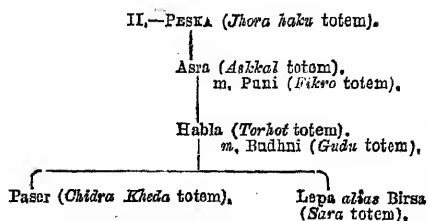
From what little I have hitherto seen of the Asurs, I am convinced that a thorough study of the totemic system of the Asurs will provide fresh data calculated to throw some light on the origin or at any rate on the development and decay of totemism. It would appear that among the different groups of Asurs living in the hills and jungles in the Rānchi and Palāmau districts, and in the States of Surguja and Jashpur, may be found traces of some of the different stages through which totemism has probably passed.

Thus, among the Birjiās of the Tumbadāg hill near the Netarhāt plateau on the borders between the Rānchi and Palāmau districts I found what appears to be an early form of totemism. Among these people may be seen something like what Sir James Frazer calls "individual" totemism. These Birjiās, it would appear, believe that a child receives its totem from the spirit of some relative or neighbour, dead or living, which casts its shadow (chhāi) on the child at birth. Thus,

¹ The *Birjiās* are, however, to all intents and purposes, a separate tribe.

Faguā Birjiā naively explained to me that the spirit of his father's grandmother whose totem was the *Dhāmnā* snake "overshadowed" (*chhāvalak*) him at his birth and thus he himself had the *Dhāmnā* snake for his totem, although his father's totem was the *suiā* bird and his mother's the *mainā* bird. The name of the relative or neighbour whose spirit thus "overshadows" a child at the moment of his birth is revealed by the *māti* (spirit-doctor) at the "Name-giving" ceremony. And the child receives the name, as also the totem of such relative or neighbour, dead or living. It sometimes happens that the clan-totem is changed in the third or fourth generation. With the change of the family totem, the "muā" or ancestor-spirits are also changed: and "consequently," as I was told, the bar to inter-marriage with other branches of the family is also removed. In some places, the clan-totem of a family, I was told, was regularly changed in every fourth generation, but, during my short stay among the people, I could not get any definite information as to this. A Birjiā who had begun giving me this information, was stopped by his companions, and further information was thus withheld. There is no belief analogous to that held by certain Australian tribes and described by Sir James Frazer as the "conceptional" origin of totemism. Two genealogies are given below to illustrate the individual totemism of the Tumbādāg Birjiās:—





I was able to collect the following totem names in vogue amongst the Birjiās :—

Bird totems—

Suiā.	Kharchā orē.	Askāl.
Piō.	Sonputām.	Gōhi.
Dhichuā.	Gul orē.	Puni.]
Dhanes.	Besrā.	Jhōrē.
Kōwā.	Töpō.	
Sugā.	Bakilā.	
Pātsugi.	Perōā.	
Fikrō orē.	Hāpu.	
Putām.	Mainā.	

Snake totems—

Dhāmnā.
Chidra kheḍa.

Fish totems—

Kajrāt.

Animal totems—

Gudu chuṭu (small mouse).	Sārā (monkey).
Chauria chuṭu (white mouse).	Beng (frog).
Tōrhöt (large lizard).	Teṭenga (chamelion).
Kachuā (tortoise).	Barewā (wild dog).
Bilāi (cat).	

It is easy to see that totemism is fast decaying amongst the Birjiās and other tribes in these parts. Thus, at Rāngē Mohuātoli on the northern slope of the Pākri Pāṭ range only about ten miles from the Tumbādāg Hill, I found a settlement of Birjiās among whom "individual totems" no longer exist, and most of whom do not even know their own *gotras*, although they

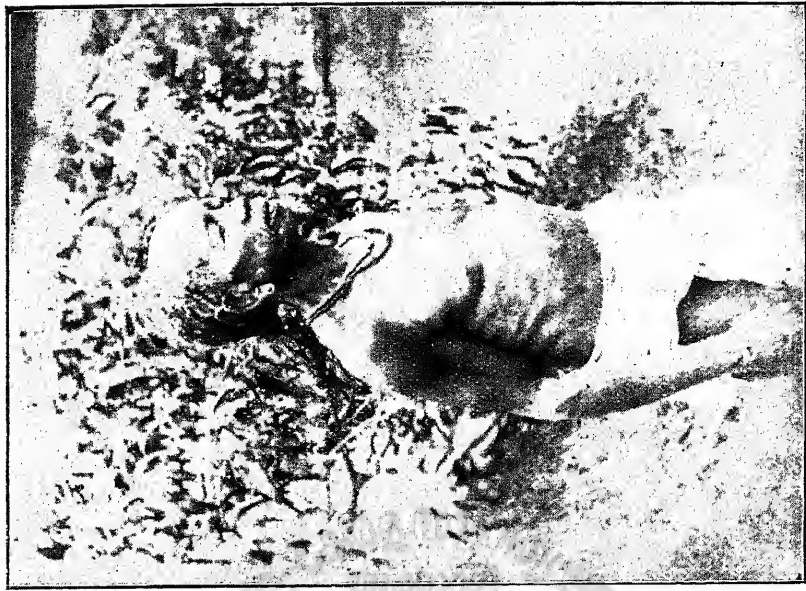
maintain that *gotra* or totem name must be hereditary. But their ignorance in this respect is so palpable that they described themselves as belonging to the *Sindurahi gotra* "because *sindur* is used at marriages". When pressed for information as to whether they knew any animal or plant totem in use amongst their tribe, an elderly man amongst them said "We must belong to the *Teṭengā gotra*, as the *teṭengā* has on its body marks like those made with vermillion."

Generally, however, no resemblance is supposed to exist between a person and his totem. Such of the Birjiā groups as know their *gotras*, abstain from domesticating, beating, killing or eating their own totem birds or animals. A Birjiā also abstains from killing or eating the birds or animals which are the totems of his parents, brothers, children and wife, because killing or eating such totem bird or animal is regarded as tantamount to killing or eating the relative whose totem it is. The Birjiā regards his totem bird or animal as his kin and makes his *salams* (salutation) to it when he meets one of the species. When he sees the dead body of such a bird or animal, he weeps over it, takes it up in his hands, and either buries it in the ground or collects some fuel and cremates it, and finally makes obeisance (*salam*) to its spirit and goes away. No portion of the body of one's totem bird or animal is used as a symbol at their *pujas* or sacrifices, as among the Birhōrs. A Birjiā may not marry an individual of the opposite sex having the same *gotra* or totem as his own, as that would be marrying one's own kin. If, however, such an union takes place through ignorance of the clan name, a divorce (*sākāṃchāri*) is arranged as soon as the truth is known. And the truth is easily inferred when the wife repeatedly falls ill shortly after marriage. There is no bar, however, to a marriage between persons belonging to two subdivisions of the same *gotra*, such as between a person of the *Gudu Chuṭu* totem and one of the *Chavria Chuṭu* totem.

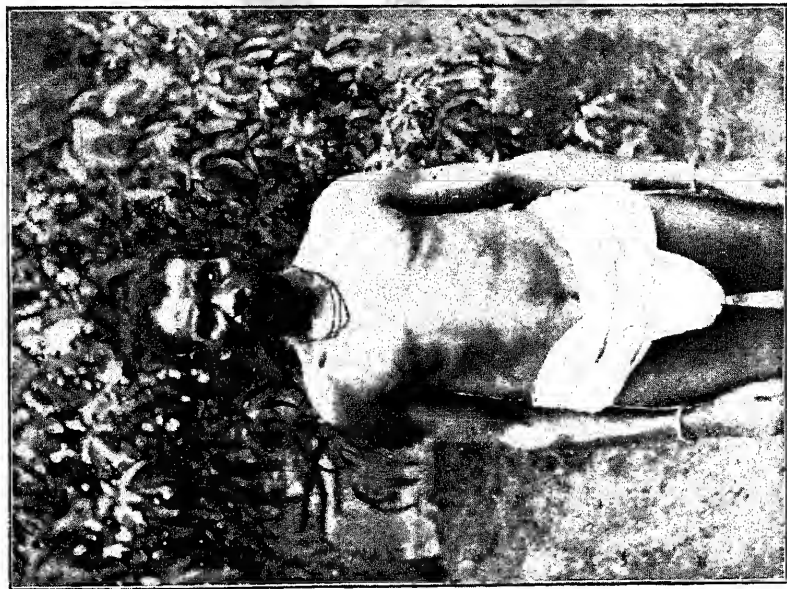
Among the "settled" Asurs at villages Pakhar and Bondobair in the Lohardāga thana of the Rānchi district, I found that even the restriction as to marriage within the totem is no longer



A. Asur Old Man



B. Profile of A



C. Middle-aged Asur male



D. Profile of C

observed. This seems to be due to the fact that the Asur families in those and the neighbouring villages are very limited in number, the only *gotras* living in those parts being the "Tithhi" (bird), "Bāghoar" (tiger), "Kerkeṭā" (bird), "Induār" (fungus), and 'Topoār' (bird with its subdivisions "kāria" or black and "lalki" or red). I found instances of marriage in the same subdivision of a totem (e.g., of a *Kāria* Topoar man with a *Kāria* Topoar woman). The restrictions as to eating or killing or otherwise harming the totem animal or bird are, however, observed amongst these Asurs. Their women observe these restrictions with respect to the totem of their fathers but not of their husbands.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

“*Paiyadarśi-praśastayah or Piyadasi-Inscriptions*” with Sanskrit and English translations (1917). Under the above title Professor Ramāvatāra Śarmā, M.A.,⁵ Sāhityācharya, of Patna College, has collected and edited the inscriptions of Aśoka. All the available inscriptions of Aśoka have been collected together, for the first time in this volume. The texts of the inscriptions (including the recently-discovered Maski edict) are printed in Nāgari and the translations of the Kalasi, Delhi and the minor edicts are given in Sanskrit and English. All the different versions are given in parallel columns and can be read at one time without turning the page for the same text. With a few exceptions (e.g. विष-वज्जि, p. 20, which although given by Bühler is now superseded and has to be read as [इध राज] विसयन्धि)*, the readings are fairly up-to-date. Credit is due to the editor for the Sanskrit translation which will be greatly appreciated in this country.

I may take this opportunity to point out that what has been read up to this time as *dipi* ought to be read as *nipi*. Hultzsch has already pointed out that *dipista* is a misreading for *nipista*. The Artha-Sāstra helps us in solving both *nipi* and *nipista*. *Nivī* was the official ‘file’ of the Mauryas, so-called because it was ‘tied’ (*nīvī*, a tie) and sealed (*samudra*). Its history is something like our modern ‘red tape’. *Nipista* was thus *nivistha*, ‘put down in official despatch’, ‘recorded’, and *dharmā-nivī*, a ‘*dharmā* despatch’. [‘*Dharma*’ was a regular service organized by Aśoka, as is apparent from the *dharmā-mahā mātras* and *dharmā-yutas*, the Ministers of the *dharmā* and the subordinate members of the *dharmā* service. *Dharma-nivī* and *dharmā-lipi* were royal despatches in the *dharmā* department.

K. P. J.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh's house, Patna, on the 27th June, 1917, at 5 p. m.

PRESENT :

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
- (2) The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S.
- (3) The Hon'ble Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-law.
- (4) Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., M.B.A.S.
- (5) Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., Secretary.

(1) The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

(2) The Secretary said that he had written a letter to Mr. Raja to the address noted at the last meeting asking whether in view of the fact that he has now left the Province he wished his name to be retained on the Council, but had received no reply. Mr. Jayaswal suggested that as he had not replied, it should be assumed that he consented to resign. It was resolved accordingly that Mr. Raja's name be removed from the Council as resigned.

(3) Resolved that the allowance of Rs. 20 to the Secretary's clerk and Rs. 15 to the Honorary Treasurer's clerk be discontinued from the 15th July and that an advertisement be at once inserted in the *Beharee* and *Express* for a clerk on Rs. 35. He must have passed the Matriculation Examination at least and must know typewriting.

(4) The following gentlemen were elected Life Members :—

1. Raja D. Sudhal Deb, Feudatory Chief of Bamra State, P. O. Deogarh.
2. Raja Dharanidhar Deb Indra Deo, Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P. O. Bonaigarh.

And the following as ordinary member :—

- (1) F. P. Dixon, Esq., B.A., I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector, Arrah.

(5) Resolved unanimously that in view of the efficient and valuable anthropological and ethnological work that has been and is being done by the Anthropological Secretary Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, both in regard to the aboriginal races of Chota Nagpur and other aboriginal races of the Province and the valuable articles which he has contributed to the Journal of the Society, and in view of the loss caused to Babu Sarat Chandra Roy's legal practice, through his having taken up this work, the Council recommend to Government that they should be pleased to increase the grant of Rs. 3,000 per annum to Rs. 3,600 which the Council understands is the amount of the grant made by the Government of Bengal to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for the Anthropological Secretary of that Society.

6. The purchase of the following articles was sanctioned :—

4 glazed almirahs for the Library.

6 office chairs.

1 office table for Secretary.

1 clerk's table with drawers.

1 large table for Library.

4 what-nots for the office.

1 type-writer's table.

Any minor office equipments, such as inkstands and other articles that may be required.

The estimates to be approved by the Vice-President.

**I.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held at the Society's Rooms
on Monday, the 1st October, 1917, at
6 p.m.**

PRESENT :

1. The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
 2. V. H. Jackson, Esq., I.E.S.
 3. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.
 4. Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L., Secretary.
1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
 2. The following were elected ordinary members :—
 - (1) Mr. Hiralal Amritlal Shah, Mangal Market, Bombay.
 - (2) The Hon'ble Babu Gopabandhu Das, Satyabadi, Puri.
 - (3) Babu Kripa Sindhu Misra, M.A., Satyabadi, Puri.

3. It was resolved that all the antiquarian and ethnological articles, owned by the Research Society, and all coins belonging to the Society, which are now kept in the Coin Cabinet, be made over to the Patna Museum.

4. Read a letter, demi-official No. 352-36, dated the 8th September, 1917, from Mr. R. D. Banerjee, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey Department, Western Circle, asking for a complete set of the Journal of the Society. Resolved that the Society's Journals will be sent provided the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, will send in exchange the annual reports and other publications of that Circle, commencing from the date of the first issue of this Society's Journal.

5. It was resolved that the Secretary do prepare a list of Societies which exchange their publications for the Society's Journal, showing the number of copies which have been respectively sent and received, when it will be considered what other Societies should be asked to exchange publications.

6. It was resolved that the Honorary Treasurer be asked to submit a list of outstanding subscriptions, and to at once send reminders to those who have not paid their subscriptions for the past or current year, and that Rules 11 to 14 be strictly observed in future.



**III.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held at the Society's Rooms
on Friday, the 23rd November 1917,
at 4-30 p.m.**

PRESENT :

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
 - (2) The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S.
 - (3) Dr. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.
 - (4) V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.
 - (5) K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A.
 - (6) Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L., Secretary.
- 1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
 - 2. The following gentlemen were elected members of the
Society :—
 - (1) Brother George, Kurji (Patna).
 - (2) Maulvi Muhammad Yusuf Siddique, Assistant
Master, Murshidapur, Nizam's State, District
Ahmednagar.

3. Considered the application to the President, of Pandit Biswanath Rath, employed to search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Orissa, for an Assistant, etc.

Resolved that the Vice-President be authorized to deal with the matter in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction.

4. The question of funds for the Society's Library was considered. It was resolved that a statement should first be prepared of the Financial Position of the Society and the matter be considered at the next meeting.

5. Considered Government letter No. 404, dated the 21st April 1917, conveying sanction of Government to a grant to the Society of Rs. 800, for the purpose of searching for and cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscript and asking for a Report for the approval of Government of the arrangements which the Society proposes to make for spending the grant. Read also a note dated the 19th November 1917, submitted by the Secretary to His Honour the President, suggesting that His Honour might consult the Maharaja of Darbhanga, when he shortly visits Darbhanga.

Resolved that the result of any action which His Honour the President may take in the matter be awaited, and the matter be brought up at the next meeting.

6. Mr. Jackson called attention to the great delay which occurs in the distribution of the Journal. It was resolved that in future the Journal be despatched by the Society and not by the Government Press.

